THE

DESCRIPTION

OF

GREECE,

BY

PAUSANIAS.
THE

DESCRIPTION

OF

GREECE,

BY

PAUSANIAS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES,

In which much of the Mythology of the Greeks is unfolded from a Theory which has been for many Ages unknown.

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

MAPS AND VIEWS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Vida jacet Pietas.—Ovid.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR R. FAULDER, NEW BOND-STREET.

MDCCXCIV.
PREFACE

PAUSANIAS the Caesarean seems, says Fabricius *, to be the same with that Pausanius who is called by Galen † the Syrian sophist; who according to Philostratus ‡ was a hearer of the Attic Herodes; and who had for his disciples Aelian §, and the sophist Aspasius ||. That this Pausanius was the author of the ensuing work, is judiciously conjectured too by Fabricius, as it does not appear, that there is any other person of the same name mentioned by ancient writers, to whom it can be so properly ascribed. Fabricius farther observes, that as Pausanius affirms in

* Biblioth. Græc. tom. 3.
† IH. 14. De locis affectis.
‡ 2. de Sophist. p. 590.
|| Suid. in Aσπασίου.

A 3

his
vi P R E F A C E.

his Prior Eliacs, that he composed this Description of Greece in the year after the restoration of Corinth, it follows, that he must have lived in the fourteenth year of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and in the year of Christ 174. But at that period it is probable, says the same critic, that he was advanced in years, and had prior to this flourished under Antoninus Pius, because he mentions the emperor Adrian as reigning in his time.

Our Pausanias travelled not only through Greece, Macedonia, and Italy, but likewise through the greatest part of Asia, as far as to the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon. He says too of himself, that he visited Palæstine, and that he saw Jordan and the Dead Sea. But though he was a prompt and ingenious declamer, yet he was a bad rhetorician, which it seems was generally the case with the Cappadocians; and hence it is asserted in a Greek epigram*, that it is easier to find a white crow, or a winged tortoise, than a good Cappadocian rhetorician. He was the author of several works besides the present, of which the reader may see a catalogue in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, and the loss of which must be greatly regretted by every artist, philologist, and historian.

* Antholog. lib. 2. p. 250.
As to the ensuing work, it ever has, and doubtless ever will be considered as an invaluable treasure of Grecian history and antiquities: for Pausanias with the most consummate accuracy and diligence, has given an account of the temples and remarkable buildings, the statues and festivals, the games and sacred offerings, the mutations of empires, and the illustrious transactions of kings in every part of Greece. He has besides given a concise history of some of the most eminent warriors, and related some of the most interesting battles of former times. As he was a pious too, though not in conjunction with philosophy; he everywhere discovers a mind impressed with a sense of the highest duties, and shews himself to be one, to whom, in the language of the emperor Julian*, "it appeared more proper to give credit to cities in certain historical particulars, than to the vehemently wise, whose little soul is indeed acute, but beholds nothing with a vision healthy and sound." Hence, he is careful in noticing the punishment with which impiety is frequently attended in the present life, and the remarkable manner in which oracular predictions have been verified. In this last particular indeed,

* See page 127 of my translation of Julian's Orations to the Sun, and the Mother of the Gods.
His book may be considered as a treasure of popular evidence for the truth of his religion. For, if it be but once admitted that such oracles were given, and that such events afterwards happened as are here related, to which those oracles referred, it is impossible that such a regular series of predictions should in so many instances have been accomplished by any casual concurrence of circumstances, or any tricks of fraudulent priests. In short, the philosopher and the historian, the critic and the naturalist, the poet and the painter, the statuary and the architect, the geographer and the antiquary, may find in this work an ample fund of solid instruction and refined amusement: for Pausanias had the art of aptly uniting conciseness with accuracy, and the marvellous of venerable traditions and mystic fables with all the simplicity of unadorned description.

Yet notwithstanding these excellencies, his language is inelegant through its abruptness, and intricate through the peculiarity of construction with which it abounds. Indeed, the obscurity of his diction is so great, that he may perhaps be considered as the most difficult author to translate of any in the Greek tongue; for his meaning is frequently on this account inaccessible to the most consummate verbalists, and can only be penetrated.
treated by one who is in the habit of understanding words by things, as well as things by words.*

The translator of such an author into any modern language may certainly expect that his translation, if faithful upon the whole, will be treated with lenity by every class of readers except venal critics, who censure or praise a work according to the taste of the age, and not according to its intrinsic merit; and who endeavour to crush the slow-rising fame of unprotected genius, with the same savage unconcern that a ruffian stabs the benighted traveller in some lonely path. As I have therefore endeavoured to give the sense of Plutarch with the utmost fidelity of which I am capable, and with as much elegance as his work can be reasonably supposed to demand in a translation, I solicit, and make no doubt of obtaining, forgiveness from the candid reader, for such errors as may be naturally supposed to attend the completion of so arduous an undertaking.

* Plutarch in his Life of Demosthenes observes, that what happened to him with respect to his knowledge of Latin, may seem strange though it be true: "for (says he) it was not so much by the knowledge of words that I came to the understanding of things, as through experience in things I attained to the signification of words."
I may add, that I have a still farther claim to lenity from the liberal reader, as I have been under the necessity of composing the whole of this work in the space of ten months; and those who know any thing of literary labour must be fully convinced, that to accomplish this, without committing some trivial errors at least, demands a vigilance which no weariness can surmise into negligence, a perseverance which no obstacles can retard, an ardour which no toils can for a moment abate.

In short, whatever may be the defects of my translation, and whatever may be its destiny with the public, I can assure the reader, that it is not made from the Latin, French, Italian, or indeed any language but the Greek. That it is not from the Latin, any one but a malevolent critic may be easily convinced by comparing it with the Greek; and that it is not from any living language is no less certain; for (as those who are acquainted with me well know) I neither understand, nor desire to understand, any modern tongue but the English, being fully convinced, that nothing so much debilitates the true vigour of the understanding as an excessive study of words. Of the truth of this observation our countryman Bentley, who certainly
mainly was one of the most eminent verbal critics that ever lived, and who is on this account called by Fabricius Lumen Angliae, the Light of England, is an egregious proof. For his pretended emendations of Milton bear the strongest marks of a mind enervated by intense application to words; of a mind which had been so long in the habit of substituting one word for another, as to think at last, that the most becoming were alike defective with the most improper expressions; and in short of a mind which was equally insensible to the graces and the fire of poetry, to elevated conceptions and magnificent diction, to all the delicacies of taste and all the brilliancies of wit. The utmost, therefore, that can be said of his pretended emendations is, that they are different readings! Kuhnlius too, the editor of Pausanias, is another striking instance of the truth of my assertion: for in a note to page 419 of his edition of Pausanias, after having corrected one part of a corrupt passage in the original respecting a chest, he leaves the other no less faulty part uncorrected, and gives a translation of it which contains one of the grossest blunders that ever any author committed. For his version is this: Ex eburneis vero animaculis que super arca sunt, alia ex auro, alia aequae ac arx ex cedro composita. That is, "Of the ivory little animals,
animals which are upon the chest, some are of gold, but others, as well as the chest, are made of cedar.*"

With respect to the notes, my principal design in composing them, was to prevent the knowledge of the ancient theology from being entirely lost; and to accomplish this, I have unfolded in them a theory which seems for many ages to have been entirely unknown. It is true indeed, that the authors from whom the theological and mythological information which the notes contain is derived, i.e. the latter Platonists, are considered by verbal critics, and sophistical priests, as fanatics, and corrupters of their master's doctrine. But whatever weight the opinion of men of this description may have with the vulgar, the discerning and liberal reader well knows that the former of these never read a book, but in order to make different readings of the words in it, and that the

* The original of this passage is as follows: ζωδία δὲ ἀλεφάντος ἐπὶ αὐτός, τα ἐν χειμώνα, τα ἐν ἅμι αὐτός. οἱ Παυσανίαις τός κεραβών. Here if ζωδία δὲ ἀλεφάντος ἐπὶ αὐτός is corrected into ζωδία δὲ ἀπό κεραβών, τα ἐν οἰκίᾳ, we shall have the obvious meaning of Pausanias, and the translation will run thus: Of the animals on the chest, some are of ivory, others are of gold, and others, as well as the chest, are made of cedar. For had Pausanias committed the same blunder as Kuhnian, he would have said τα μεν χειμώνας, and not τα δὲ χειμώνας.
latter wilfully pervert the meaning in some places, and ignorantly in others, of every valuable author whether ancient or modern. Let the liberal reader too consider, that the latter Platonists had most probably a traditional knowledge of some leading parts of their philosophy; that they had books to consult which are now lost; and that they are acknowledged to have been men of great genius and profound erudition, even by those who read without thinking, and by those who read but to censure and pervert.

As my intention therefore, in the notes, was to unfold and propagate the wisdom of the ancients with all the ability I was capable of exerting, and in as copious a manner as opportunity and the size of the work would permit, I have been sparing in philological and historical information: yet notwithstanding this, I have given a large, and I presume a satisfactory account of the perpetual lamps of the ancients; a curious history of human bones of prodigious magnitude which have been discovered, from Phlegon Trallianus; and have from ancient authorities explained two or three passages in the Iliad, which have been misunderstood by all the modern commentators and translators of that incomparable work. To the reader who is not satisfied with this, I shall only observe,
observe, that it is neither safe nor honourable to
descend from philosophy to philology; and that
it would be as absurd to expect that the man who
has given himself up to the embraces of the for-
mer, should associate much with the latter, as
that the eye which has often beheld with rapture
the costly rooms of some magnificent palace, should
frequently delight to view the narrowest and the
least conspicuous of its avenues.

Of the Oracles, of which there are many in
this work, I have given a prose translation, because
I consider them as invaluable pieces of compo-
sition, in the translation of which every word
ought as much as possible to be preserved, from
the obscure and profound meaning with which
every word is pregnant. That this is impossible
to be effected by a poetical version into any mo-
dern language, every one who has the least know-
ledge of the Greek tongue must be fully convinced.
Most of the epigrams and citations from poets
I have translated into verse; and the few that the
reader will find with a prose translation, were such
as I found too difficult to translate poetically, in
the short space of time allotted me for the com-
pletion of this arduous work.

Some fashionable readers will, I doubt not,
think that my translation abounds too much with
connective
connective particles. To such I shall only observe, that beauty in every composite consists in the apt connexion of its parts with each other, and is consequently greater where the connexion is more profound. It is on this account that the sound of the voice in singing is more pleasing than in discourse, because in the former it is more connected than in the latter; that a palace is more beautiful than a rude heap of stones; a kingdom than a democracy; and in short whatever is orderly and regular, than whatever is disorderly and confused. In the present age indeed, it cannot be an object of wonder, that books are composed with scarcely any connective particles, when men of all ranks are seized with the mania of lawless freedom, bear indignantly all restraint, and are endeavouring to introduce the most dire disorder, by subverting subordination, and thus destroying the bond by which alone the parts of society can be peaceably held together. Of the truth of this observation the French at present are a remarkable example, among whom a contempt of orderly connexion has produced nothing but anarchy and uproar, licentious liberty and barbaric rage, all the darkness of atheism, and all the madness of democratic power.

To
To the pedantic reader, who will doubtless be
disgusted at my using everywhere in this translation
Delphos for Delphi, I shall only observe, that if
he does not think the authority of such men as
Sir William Temple, Dryden, Waller, and
Swift, sufficient to prove that Delphos in the sin-
gular number is good English, though it is nei-
ther good Latin nor good Greek, he has my free
consent to make an erratum of it, and substitute
Delphi in its stead; though I shall always consider
it more safe and honourable to follow the example
of men of wit and genius, than to abide by the
pert decisions of grammatical triflers.

To critics in general I shall make a declara-
tion similar to that which I have elsewhere given,
that I shall pay no attention whatever to criticisms
that are merely the result of ignorance; but if I
find them attended with malevolence, I shall not
fail to expose the baseness of such species of com-
position, in a copious appendix to my next pub-
lication: and would every author whose labours
have been infamously abused adopt this plan, he
would either by-intimidating such literary bullies
secure himself from their attacks in future, or ren-
der them the scorn and derision of every man of
discernment and worth.

THE
THE DESCRIPTION
OF
GREECE.

BOOK I.

ATTICS.

CHAP. I.

In that part of the Grecian continent which is situated about the islands of the Cyclades, and the Ægean sea, the promontory Sunium raises itself from the Attic land. This promontory serves as a port to sailors; and the temple of Minerva Sunias is situated on its summit. But to one failing to a greater distance, Laurium presents itself to the view (which formerly supplied the Athenians with silver), and a desert island of no great extent, which is called by the name of Patroclus. For one Patroclus, a commander of the Egyptian three-oared galleys, which Ptolemy the son of Lagus sent in aid of the Athenians, secretly landing on this island, enclosed it with a wall, and drew a trench round it, at that time when Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, making an irruption into it with his army, laid waste
2

THE DESCRIPTION

da waist the country, and at the same time invested it with his ships by sea. But the Piræus was formerly a town. For before Themistocles governed the Athenians, the Piræus was not a haven, but Phalerum, because in this part the sea was the least distant from the city; and they say that Mnesheus failed from thence towards Troy, and prior to him Theseus, in order to punish Minos for the death of Androgeus.

But Themistocles, when he had obtained the government of the Athenians, rendered the Piræus a haven, because it appeared to him to be more conveniently situated for sailors, and had three ports, instead of one, which the Phalerum contains. And, indeed, even in my time, there were harbours for ships in the Piræus; and near the greatest of the three ports the sepulchre of Themistocles is situated. For they say, that the Athenians repented of their conduct towards Themistocles, and that his kindred took his bones from Magnesia, and brought them to this part. The children likewise of Themistocles appear to have returned, and to have suspended a picture in the Parthenon, in which Themistocles himself is painted.

But the temples of Minerva and Jupiter, together with the brazen statues of these divinities, are the most worthy to be inspected, of every thing which the Piræus contains. And Jupiter is seen holding a sceptre, and victory, but Minerva a spear. In this place, too, Archesilas painted Leosthenes and his children; that Leosthenes, who, being the general of the Athenians and the other Greeks, vanquished the Macedonians in Boeotia; and afterwards in another battle drove them beyond the Thermopylae, and enclosed them in Lamia, which is situated in a direction opposite to Octa. There is likewise here a long porch,
OF GREECE.

which serves as a market-place, for those who dwell near the sea; for there is another market-place, for such as are farther distant from the port. But in that part of the porch which is near the sea, Jupiter and the town are represented; and this was the work of Leochares. But towards the sea, Conon built the temple of Venus, after he had vanquished the three-oared galleys of the Lacedæmonians, near Cnidus, in Carica Chersonnesus. For the Cnidians reverence Venus above all the divinities, and have various temples sacred to this goddess. But of these temples, the more ancient is called Doris, the next to this in antiquity, Acraea; and the most recent is called, by the multitude, Cnidia, but the Cnidians themselves denominate it Euplæa.

But the Athenians have other ports besides these; one in Munychia, and this contains the temple of Munychian Diana; but another in Phalerum (as I before observed), and together with this, the temple of Ceres. This port likewise contains the temple of Minerva Sciras, and at some distance from this, the temple of Jupiter, together with the altars of the gods called unknown, of the heroes, and of the children of Theseus and Phalerus. For the Athenians report that this Phalerus was the companion of Jason in the Colchian expedition. There is also the altar of Androgeus the son of Minos; but it is called by the name of the hero, though it is known to be the altar of Androgeus, by such as endeavour to learn the particulars of this country in a manner superior to others. About the distance of twenty stadia from hence, is the promontory Colias, to which place the fragments of the ruined fleet of the Medes were driven by the storm. And here the statues of Venus Colias, and of the goddesses who are
called Genetyllides, are contained. But it appears to me that these divinities which are worshipped in Colias, are the same with those goddesses which the Phocensians, a people of Ionia, call the Genniades. But in the way which leads from the Phalerum to Athens, the temple of Juno is situated, which has neither doors nor a roof. It is reported that this temple was burnt by Mardonius the son of Gobryas; but the statue which exiteth at present, was (it is said) the work of Alcamenes, and this it seems was not injured by the Mede.

CHAP. II.

But on entering into the city, the first thing which presents itself to the view is the monument of the Amazon Antiope. And this Antiope, according to Pindar, was ravished by Pirithous and Theseus. But Hegias, the Trazenean poet, relates this particular as follows: "Hercules, when he besieged Themiscyra near the river Thermodon, was not able to accomplish his design; but Antiope falling in love with Theseus (for Theseus was the companion of Hercules in the assault) surrendered to him the town." And such is the relation of Hegias. But the Athenians relate, that when the Amazons came into the city, Antiope was slain with an arrow by Molpadia, but that Molpadia was slain by Theseus: and, indeed, the Athenians possess the sepulchre of Molpadia.

But on ascending from the Pirceus you may perceive certain ruins of walls, which Conon after the naval battle at Cnidus restored. For those walls which Themistocles raised after the expulsion of the Medes, were thrown down during
OF GREECE.

during the dominion of the thirty tyrants. But along this way the tombs of the most noted men are seen; such as of Menander the son of Diopithes, and the empty sepulchre of Euripides. For Euripides was buried in Macedonia, to which place he travelled in order to see king Archelaus. But as to the manner of his death, the general report concerning it may be admitted as true. And poets, indeed, as it appears, have lived with kings. For prior to Euripides, Anacreon was the familiar of Polycrates the Samian tyrant; Æschylus and Simonides betook themselves to Hiero of Syracuse; Philoxenus associated with Dionysius, who afterwards tyrannized in Sicily; and Antagoras the Rhodian, and Aratus Solensis were the familiars of Antigonus, king of the Macedonians. But as to Hesiod and Homer, they either were not fortunate enough to be the companions of kings, or else they voluntarily despised an association with them; the former, perhaps, through the rural life which he embraced, and his unwillingness to travel; but Homer, who had travelled to a prodigious distance, considered the advantage which he might derive from the riches of potentates, as far inferior to general renown. Though even Homer, in his poems, represents Demodocus as the familiar of Alcinous; and relates, that Agamemnon left a certain poet with his wife.

But not far from the gates there is a tomb, on which a soldier is placed standing by a horse. Who the soldier is, I know not; but Praxiteles made both the soldier and the horse. But on entering into the city, there is an edifice raised for the sake of those processions which take place, sometimes once a year, and at others in uncertain periods of time. Near to this, is the temple of Ceres, in which the statue of the goddess herself, of her daughter Proserpine,
6 THE DESCRIPTION

serpine, and of Iacchus holding a torch, are contained. But it is signified on the wall, in Attic letters, that all these are the works of Praxiteles. Not far from this temple is the statue of Neptune, hurling his spear at the giant Polybotes, to whom the fable subsisting among the Cœans, about the promontory of Chelon, or a tortoise, pertains. But the inscription which exists at present refers the image to some other person, and not to Neptune. There are porches too, which reach from the gates to the Ceramicus; and before these porches, there are brazen images both of men and women, by whom something great had been achieved, and who are rendered illustrious by renown. But one of these porches contains little temples of the gods, and that which is called the gymnasion of Mercury. It likewise contains the house of Polytion, in which certain of the Athenians, and these by no means the most ignoble, are said to have been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. But at present this house is dedicated to Bacchus: and this Bacchus they call Melpomenes, for the same reason as they denominate Apollo Musægetes.

In this place too are to be seen the statues of Pæonian Minerva, of Jupiter, Mnemosyne, and the Muses; and likewise the offering sacred to Apollo, which was both dedicated and made by Eubulis; and lastly Acratus, one of the Æcmons attending upon Bacchus, whose face alone projects from the wall. But after the temple of Bacchus, there is an edifice containing statues made from clay, and among these Amphiæyon, king of the Athenians, is to be seen receiving both the other divinities and Bacchus at a banquet. In the same place, there is likewise the Eleuthereusian Pegæus, who first introduced Bacchus to the Athenians, being assisted by the Delphic oracle, which caused
OF GREECE.

caused him to remember the prediction, that the advent of Bacchus would take place in the times of Icarius. And after this manner was the kingdom obtained by Amphicryton. But it is reported that Actæon first reigned in that place which is now called Attica. On the death of Actæus, Cecrops succeeded to the government, and married the daughter of Actæus, by whom he had three daughters, Erixe, Aglauros, and Pandrosus, and a son, Eryxichthon, who did not reign over the Athenians, because he died while his father was alive; and hence, on the death of Cecrops, Cranæus, who was the richest and most powerful of the Athenians, obtained the government. But they report that Cranæus had other daughters besides Atthis, from which last, the region which was formerly called Actæa was denominated Attica. Amphicryton, however, forcibly expelled Cranæus from the kingdom, though at the same time he had married his daughter. But he himself afterwards, through the machinations of Erichthoniæus and his associates, lost the kingdom. They report, indeed, that the father of Erichthoniæus was not a mortal, but that his parents were Vulcan and Earth.

CHAP. III.

BUT the Ceramicus derived its name from the hero Ceramus, who is said to have been the son of Bacchus and Ariadne. In this place, that which first presents itself to the view on the right hand, is a building called the royal porch, in which the king sits, who holds an annual government, which they call a kingdom. About the roof of this porch there are certain earthen statues, viz. Theseus hurling Sciron into the sea, and Aurora carrying away Cephalus, who, being a most beautiful person, is said
fain to have been beloved and forcibly taken away by Aurora. It is likewise added, that Phaeton was the issue of this amour, and that Aurora made him the guardian of the temple. And this account of the affair is given both by others, and by Hesiod in his poem, entitled, The Catalogue of Women. Near the porch, the statues of Conon and his son Timotheus are placed, together with that of Evagoras king of the Cyprians, by whose means king Artaxerxes gave the three-oared Phœnician galleys to Conon. And by a conduit of this kind, indeed, he behaved like an Athenian, and like one who derived his origin from Salamis: for his ancestors were Teucrus, and the daughter of Cinyras.

In the same place too, the statue of Jupiter, surnamed Eleutherius, is to be seen, and the statue of the emperor Adrian, who benefited both other nations, and in a most eminent degree the Athenians. But the other porch which is raised behind this, contains the pictures of those gods who are called the twelve; and at the extremity of the wall there is a picture of Theseus, together with the democracy and the town. This picture too evinces, that Theseus established a just republic for the Athenians. But a report different from this is spread among the vulgar, that Theseus assigned the administration of affairs to the people, and that the democratic government as delivered by him remained till it was overturned by the tyrannic invasion of Pisistratus. There are other false reports made by the multitude, who are destitute of historical information, and who think that everything is true which they have heard from their childhood related by singers and tragedians. It is also asserted, that even Theseus himself reigned, and that, after the death of Mnestheus, the Theban rulers remained
remained to the fourth generation. But if to genealogize were my intention at present, I should enumerate those who reigned from Melanthus as far as to Clidicus, the son of Æsimidus. The same picture likewise contains the achievements of the Athenians at Mantinea, who were sent thither for the purpose of assisting the Lacedæmonians. But Xenophon and others have described all the war, the oppression of Cadmeia, the destruction of the Lacedæmonians in Leuctrica, the irruption of the Bœotians into Peloponnesus, and the aid which was given by the Athenians to the Lacedæmonians. The picture too represents the battle of the knights, among which the most illustrious of the Athenians is Grillus, the son of Xenophon, and of the Bœotian knights the Theban Epaminondas. And all these were painted for the Athenians by Euphranor.

The same person likewise in a temple near to this painted Apollo, who is called Patroux. But before the temple, Calamis painted an Apollo whom they denominate Alexicacus, or a disperser of evil. According to report, this name was given to the god, because by an answer from the Delphic oracle he caused a pestilence to cease, which raged in the time of the Peloponnesian war. The temple too of the mother of the gods, which was the work of Phidias, is to be seen in this place. And near it stands the senate-house of those who are called the five hundred, in which they deliberate every year about the affairs of the Athenians. But this senate-house contains a sculptured image of Jupiter the counsellor, and of Apollo, both which were produced by the art of Priæsas, and besides these, a representation of the town, which was the work of Lyson. But the legislators were painted by Caunius Protogenes. And Olbiades, who is to be seen here, was the son of that Calippus who led the Athenians
THE DESCRIPTION

to the Thermopylae, in order to guard Greece from the incursions of the Gauls. But the Gauls inhabit the extreme parts of Europe, where the sea is of a prodigious extent, and its boundaries are innavigable. For the swelling of its waves, the rocks with which it abounds, and the savage beasts with which it is infested, surpass all that is to be found in any other sea. The river Eridanus runs through this country, upon the banks of which the daughters of the Sun are said to have bewailed the misfortune of their brother Phaeton. It is however but lately that they were called Gauls; for formerly they called themselves, and were also denominated by others, Celtæ.

CHAP. IV.

These people having collected an army together, betook themselves to the Ionian sea, and overthrew the Illyrians, together with every nation as far as to Macedonia, and even the Macedonians themselves. Lastly, they invaded Thessaly; and when they drew near to the Thermopylae, most of the Greeks made no resistance to the incursions of these Barbarians, because, prior to this, they had suffered great losses from Alexander and Philip; and Antipater and Cassander afterwards had well nigh destroyed Greece; so that they considered it as by no means disgraceful, if through imbecility they withheld their assistance. But the Athenians, though by the length of the Macedonian war they were wearied more than the rest of the Greeks, and had sustained many losses in engagements, yet they courageously marched to the Thermopylae, with the Grecian volunteers, choosing this Calippus for their general on this occasion.
OF GREECE.

But the Athenians occupying the narrowest of those passages which afford an entrance into Greece, prevented the ingress of the Barbarians. The Celtæ however discovering that passage through which Ephialtes Trachinius formerly led the Medes, and assaulting from thence the Phocensian guards, passed over the mountain Oeta, without the knowledge of the Greeks. But the Athenians in consequence of this being invested on both sides by the Barbarians, rendered themselves illustrious to the Greeks by their valiant behaviour in this engagement. But those who survived this battle had a prodigious labour to undergo with respect to their ships, on account of the mud with which the gulf Lamiacus abounds at the Thermopylae. And this, as it appears to me, is occasioned by the hot water which runs from this part into the sea. It is difficult therefore to express with what labour, after they had received the Greeks on their decks, they were forced to sail through the mud with ships heavy with men and arms. And after this manner were the Greeks saved by the Athenians.

But the Gauls having passed through the narrow avenues of the mountain, and not esteeming the capture of the town a matter of great consequence, were in the highest degree anxious to plunder Delphos, and seize the riches of the god. And these indeed were opposed by the Delphi, the Phocenses, and those who inhabit the cities situated about Parnassus. An army of Ætolians too was collected together for this purpose: for at that time the Ætolians were remarkable for the vigour of their youth. But as soon as the engagement began, it is reported that thunder fell upon the Gauls, and fragments of rock torn from Parnassus; and that three armed men of a terrible appearance
appearances stood before the Barbarians. They farther add, that two of these men came from the north, viz. Hyperochus and Hæmadochus, but that the third was Pyrrhus the son of Achilles. But the Delphi, in memory of this engagement, perform funeral obsequies to Pyrrhus, whose sepulchre prior to this was wholly neglected by them, on account of his having been their enemy. After this, a great part of the Gauls passed over to Asia in their ships, and depopulated its maritime part. But some time after the inhabitants of Pergamus, who possessed that country which was formerly called Teuthrania, drove the Gauls from the sea; and they taking possession of Ancyra, a Phrygian town, seated themselves beyond the river Sangar. This city was built by Midas, the son of Gordius; and in my time an anchor was to be seen in the temple of Jupiter, which Midas discovered, and a fountain which bears the name of Midas. They report that Midas poured wine into this fountain, for the purpose of taking Silenus.

This Ancyra therefore was taken by the Gauls; and not only this but likewise Pesinutes, which lies under the mountain Agdisis, and where Attis is reported to be buried. The Pergamenians yet retain the spoils of the Gauls, and pictures of their transactions with them. But the land which is inhabited by the Pergamenians is said to be sacred to the Cabiri. They consider themselves, however, as belonging to the Arcadians, which passed over with Telephus into Asia. But the report of their other wars (if they ever engaged in any other) has not been spread among all nations. They accomplished however three illustrious undertakings; viz. the possession of the empire of lower Asia; the expulsion of the Gauls from the place which they had before occupied; and daring with Telephus for
OF GREECE.

for their leader to engage with the forces of Agamemnon, when the Greeks through ignorance of the country wandering from Ilium, attempted to plunder the Mysonian plains, as if they had been Trojan land. But to return from this digression.

CHAP. V.

NEAR the senate-house of the five hundred there is a place called Tholus, where the Prytanes sacrifice, and which contains certain silver statues, but of no great magnitude. Above these there are the statues of those heroes from whom the Athenian tribes were afterwards denominated. But it is related by Herodotus who it was that substituted ten tribes instead of four, and gave them new names instead of the old. But of the sur-names (for so they are called by them) one is Hippothoon, the son of Neptune and of Alope the daughter of Cercyon; but another is Antiochus, one of the sons of Hercules from Meda the daughter of Phylas; and the third is Ajax, the son of Telamon. But from among the Athenians, Leo, who is reported in compliance with the oracle to have devoted her daughters for the public safety. Erechtheus likewise has a place among the sur-names, who vanquished the Eleusinians in battle, and slew their general Immaradus, the son of Eumolpus. Besides these, there are Ægeus, and Oeneus the bastard son of Pandion; and of the children of Theseus, Acamas. Likewise Cecrops and Pandion (for I saw the statues of these among the sur-names); but I am ignorant which of these is honoured by them. For a more ancient Cercrops reigned, who married the daughter
daughter of Aethus; and a latter Cecrops, who went into Euboea, and who was the son of Erechtheus, the grandson of Pandion, and the great-grandson of Erichthonius.

Likewise Pandion the son of Erichthonius reigned, and another who was the son of the latter Cecrops, and who being driven from the kingdom by the Metionidæ, and flying to Megara (for he had married Pyla the daughter of the Megarensian king), was there deprived of his life through disease. And his monument is to be seen near the sea, in that part of Megara which is called the rock of Minerva Ethiopia*. But his sons being again ejected by the Metionidæ, returned from Megara to Athens. And among these, the elder Ægeus obtained the kingdom. But Pandion did not educate his daughters with a prosperous fortune, nor did he leave behind him any sons who might revenge the injuries which he had received; though for the sake of strengthening his power, he entered into alliance with the Thracian king. But it is impossible for man to avoid that destiny which is assigned to him by divinity. For when Tereus who had married Procne ravished Philomela, in contempt of the Grecian laws, and not content with this slew her afterwards with his sword, he provoked the very women to inflict on him the punishment of his guilt.

But there is another statue of Pandion in the tower which deserves to be inspected. And these indeed are those ancient men from whom the Athenians denominated their tribes. There are others also much more recent than these; viz. Attalus Mysus and Egyptian Ptolemy, and of my time the emperor Adrian, who is a most religious cultivator of divinity, and who confers the greatest felicity on his subjects. This emperor never undertakes a war willingly;

* A coot, or sea-mew.
OF GREECE.

Ingly; and has alone revenged the revolt of the Hebrews, who dwell above Syrus. But such temples of the gods as he has either raised or adorned with offerings and necessary apparatus, what gifts likewise he has freely bestowed on the Grecian cities, and has granted to the solicitations of the Barbarians;—all these are committed to writing at Athens, in the common temple of the gods.

CHAP. VI.

But with respect to the actions of Attalus and Ptolemy, the memory of these has in a great part perished through antiquity, and partly by their negligence who lived with these kings, for the purpose of transmitting to posterity a written account of their transactions. On this account I consider it as belonging to my province to relate what deeds they accomplished, and how the Myrian and Egyptian kingdoms, and the command of the neighbouring nations, were obtained by their ancestors. The Macedonians then believe that Ptolemy is in reality the son of Philip Amyntas, but they fictitiously assert that he is the son of Lagus: for they report that his mother when with child of him was given by Philip in marriage to Lagus. But they say that Ptolemy performed other splendid actions in Asia, and that he assisted Alexander when in danger among the Oxydracæ, more than all his other royal allies. And on the death of Alexander, he vigorously resisted those who attempted to give the whole of his dominions to Aritæus, the son of Philip; and was the cause of the nations being divided into separate governments. But Philip departing into Egypt flew Cleomenes, to whom Alexander
THE DESCRIPTION

Alexander had given the government of Egypt; and this because he was intimate with Perdiccas, and therefore could not be trusted. Besides this, he persuaded those Macedonians who were ordered to carry the dead body of Alexander to Aega, to deliver it to him; and when he had received it he buried it at Memphis, agreeable to the Macedonian rites. After this, not doubting but Perdiccas would make war upon him, he strengthened Egypt with a guard. But Perdiccas, for the purpose of adorning his army (according to appearance) brought with him Aridæus the son of Philip, and the boy Alexander, who was the offspring of Alexander by Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes; but his real intention was to attempt by this means to deprive Ptolemy of the kingdom of Egypt. He was however himself expelled from Egypt, and besides this was not admired for his warlike abilities so much as he had formerly been; and lastly, being prior to this greatly envied by the Macedonians, he was killed by his own body-guards.

But the death of Perdiccas immediately excited Ptolemy to political measures. In consequence of which he took Syria and Phœnicia; and afterwards received into his confidence Seleucus the son of Antiochus, who was ejected by Antigonus, and who fled to him for refuge. Besides this, he prepared to take vengeance on Antigonus, and Cassander the son of Antipater; and persuaded Lyæimachus who governed in Thrace to become his associate in the war, as he had acquainted him with the flight of Seleucus, and had admonished him that the power of Antigonus, if it received any further increase, would be the object of universal dread. In the mean time Antigonus prepared for the war; though he was not bold enough to venture an engagement till he heard that Ptolemy through the revolt of the Cyrenæans
OF GREECE.

Cyrenæans had marched into Lybia; for then he presently subjected the Syrians and Phœnicians to his dominion, and giving them his son Demetrius for a governor, who was indeed nothing more than a youth, but a youth of a promising disposition, he descended to the Hellespont. But before he had passed over it, he again led back his army, on hearing that Demetrius was vanquished in battle by Ptolemy. Demetrius, however, did not entirely yield up the country to Ptolemy, and destroyed no very considerable band of Egyptians by his stratagems. But then Ptolemy, supposing that Antigonus would approach without delay, withdrew himself into Egypt.

After this, in consequence of a storm, Demetrius, failing to Cyprus, first of all vanquished Menelaüs the commander of Ptolemy's fleet, in a naval battle, and afterwards Ptolemy himself, who was advancing to engage him. And on Ptolemy's flying into Egypt, Antigonus assaulted him by land, and Demetrius by sea. But Ptolemy, who was now arrived at the extremity of danger, that he might preserve his kingdom, placed a guard at Pelusium, and brought his three-oared galleys from the river to bear upon the enemy. And Antigonus, indeed, through his want of present supplies, laid aside all hope of taking Egypt; but at the same time sent Demetrius with a great army and many ships against the Rhodians, as one who hoped that by taking the island he should possess a very convenient fortification against the attacks of the Egyptians. But the Rhodians through their military prowess and machines vigorously resisted the enemy, and Ptolemy at the same time assaulted them with all his force.

Antigonus, who had thus attacked Rhodes without success, and prior to this Egypt, shortly after dared to march

Vol. I. C

his
THE DESCRIPTION

his army against Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, though he lost a great part of his army in the attempt; and died, wearied principally with the length of the war against Eumenes. But of all the kings that opposed Antigonus I consider Cassander as the most impious, who, though the kingdom of Macedonia was preserved for him through Antigonus, yet engaged in war against a man by whom he had received such a singular benefit. However, on the death of Antigonus, Ptolemy again took Syria and Cyprus, and brought back Pyrrhus into the Thesprotian Epirus. And Cyrene having revolted from him, he re-took it in the fifth year of its revolt, through Magas the son of Berenice, who was at that time his wife.

But if this Ptolemy was in reality the son of Philip Amyntas, it may easily be believed that his intemperate love of women, which even proceeded to a degree of infancy, was derived from his father. For after he had married Eurydice the daughter of Antipater, and had several children by her, he fell in love with Berenice, whom Antipater sent into Egypt as the companion of Eurydice; and by this woman also he had children as the fruits of his love. But when he was near his end, he left the kingdom of Egypt to his son Ptolemy, from whom one tribe of the Athenians is derived, and who was the offspring of Berenice, and not of the daughter of Antipater.

CHAP. VII.

THIS Ptolemy likewise, falling in love with Arsinoe who was his sister on both sides, married her; by no means, indeed, acting in this respect agreeable to the Macedonian laws,
laws, but to the Egyptians whom he governed. But he
slew his younger brother Arsæus, in consequence, as it is
said, of his employing stratagems against him. The same
Ptolemy likewise took the dead body of Alexander from
Memphis, and slew another brother, the offspring of Eu-
ydice, perceiving that he incited the Cyprians to revolt.
But Magas, the brother of Ptolemy by the same mother,
but whose father was Philip (not the Macedonian, but a
man unknown, and from among the common people), was
thought by his mother Berenice worthy to govern the
Cyrenæans. Thus Magas, causing the Cyrenæans to revolt
from Ptolemy, marched his army into Egypt. Ptolemy,
however, having guarded his dominions against the in-
cursions of the enemy, waited the approach of the Cyre-
naeans. But when the revolt of the Marmaridæ, who are
of the Lybian Nomades, was told to Magas during his
march, he led his army back to Cyrene. Ptolemy, how-
ever, attempted to pursue him, but was hindered on the
following account. When he prepared to sustain the at-
tacks of Magas, he led on his mercenary troops and about
four thousand Gauls; but understanding that these soldiers
were forming stratagems to besiege Egypt, he brought
them through the Nile to a desert island, where they all
perished, slaughtered by each other, and consumed by
famine.

But Magas having married Apamen, the daughter of
Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, persuaded Antiochus to
violate the league which his father Seleucus had made
with Ptolemy, and to invade Egypt. Antiochus, in con-
sequence of this, beginning to draw out his army, Ptolemy
sent troops into all the parts which were subject to An-
tiochus; and this in such a manner that the more imbecil
might
THE DESCRIPTION

might like robbers lay waste the land by their excursions, and that the more powerful might vanquish them in battle. And this conduct indeed was attended with such success, that it prevented Antiochus from leading his army into Egypt. This is that Ptolemy, who, as I have before observed, sent an auxiliary fleet to the Athenians, against Antigonus and the Macedonians; but in reality nothing of any great consequence was accomplished by him, conducive to the safety of the Athenians. He had likewise sons from Arsinoe, not she who was his sister, but an Arsinoe the daughter of Lysimachus; for his sister Arsinoe, whom he had married, died prior to her delivery; and a province of Egypt receives from her the appellation of Arsinoites.

C H A P. VIII.

But our discourse requires that we should relate the circumstances pertaining to Attalus, since he is one of the causes of the surnames to the Athenians. There was a Macedonian of the name of Docimus, one of the commanders of Antigonus, who afterwards delivered both himself and his possessions into the hands of Lysimachus, and who had a eunuch whose name was Philetarus Paphlagones. But such particulars as were transacted by this Philetarus when he deserted Lysimachus, and how he drew Seleucus over to his party, it is necessary I should insert in my account of Lysimachus. This Attalus then was the son of that Attalus, who was the brother of Philetarus, and who possessed that kingdom which was delivered to him by his cousin Eumenes. But the greatest of
OF GREECE.

of his exploits consisted in compelling the Gauls to fly from the sea, and take refuge in that land which they now inhabit.

But after the images of the surnames the statues of the gods are to be seen, Amphiaraus and Peace carrying the boy Pluto. In the same place, too, there is a brazen statue of Lycurgus the son of Lycophron, and a statue of Callias, who, according to the common report of the Athenians, made a peace for the Grecians with Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes. There is likewise a statue of Demosthenes, whom the Athenians banished into the island Calauraeas near Treczen; but afterwards recalling him, they again banished him after the slaughter at Lamia; and Demosthenes, returning to the same island, destroyed himself by drinking poison. Of all the Grecian exiles, he alone could not be drawn over by Archias to Antipater and the Macedonians. The native country of this Archias was Thurius; and he engaged in a very impious employment. For he led all those captive to Antipater in order to be punished, who, prior to the slaughter which the Greeks received in Thessaly, were adverse to the Macedonians. Demosthenes, therefore, possessed too much benevolence for the Athenians: and it appears to me to have been well said, "that a man who applies himself without parsimony to the government of a republic, and credits the assertions of the people, will never end his days with felicity."

Near the statue of Demosthenes is the temple of Mars, in which, besides the statue of Mars, there are two statues of Venus. That of Mars is the work of Alcamenes; but that of Minerva was made by a Parian man of the name of Locrus. In the same place there is a statue of Bellona,
THE DESCRIPTION

the work of the sons of Praxiteles. But about the temple, Hercules and Theseus stand, and Apollo, whose hair is bound with a fillet. But the statues of the men are Calades, who is said by the Athenians to have written laws, and Pindar, who deserves other rewards from the Athenians as well as a statue, because he has celebrated them in verse. Not far from these are the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton who slew Hipparchus; the reason of which action, and the manner in which it was perpetrated, are related by others.

But of these statues, some were produced by the art of Critias, but the more ancient are the work of Antenor. But Xerxes when he took Athens (the Athenians having deserted the city) carried away these as spoils, though Antiochus afterwards sent them back to the Athenians. In the vestibule of the theatre which they call odeum, or a music-school, the statues of the Egyptian kings are to be seen, who have all of them the name of Ptolemy, but are distinguished by different surnames. For they call one Philometer, another Philadelph; and to the son of Lagus the Rhodians have given the surname of the Saviour. But of the others, Philadelph is he who was mentioned by us when we related the particulars about the surnames; and near him is the statue of his sister Arsinoe.

CHAPTER IX.

But he who is called Philometer is the eighth from Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and was so called in derision; for we do not know of any king who was so hated by his mother; since, though he was the eldest of her sons,
OF GREECE.

sons, she would not suffer him to reign, and caused his father to banish him to Cyprus. Different causes are assigned of this implacable hatred of Cleopatra towards her son; and among the rest, that she hoped by this means her youngest son Alexander would be more obedient to her desires, and on this account she attempted to create him king of Egypt; but finding the people averse to this, she sent Alexander into Cyprus, in appearance as a general, but in reality, that through him she might become more formidable to Ptolemy.

Lastly, from among the number of her eunuchs, she exposed wounded in an assembly those which she thought were most attached to her interest, feigning that Ptolemy had devised stratagems against her, and that the eunuchs were thus wounded by him. But the Alexandrians were so moved on this occasion, that they were ready to destroy Ptolemy; and not long after he had escaped the danger in a ship, Alexander returning from Cyprus was declared king. Cleopatra, however, was deservedly punished with death for the flight of Ptolemy, by Alexander himself, whom she had raised to the government of Egypt. But the crime being detected, and Alexander through fear flying from the people, Ptolemy returned into Egypt, again assumed the royal authority, and warred upon the Thebans who had revolted from his command. Besides this, having reduced them under his dominion in the third year after their revolt, he so heavily fined them, that they retained no vestige of their former prosperity, though, prior to this, they surpassed in riches the most wealthy cities of Greece, the temple itself of Delphos, and the inhabitants of Orchomenus.

C 4

But
THE DESCRIPTION

But Ptolemy dying soon after this, the Athenians, for the benefits which they had received through him, decreed him many honours which it is needless to mention, and erected brazen statues of him and Berenice, who was his only legitimate child. But the statues of Philip and his son Alexander are placed after the Egyptian kings, whose actions are too great to be inserted in a work undertaken with another design. To the Egyptian kings, indeed, as persons that deserved well of the public, the rewards of true honour are assigned; but nothing remains for Philip and Alexander, but the flattery of the multitude. For indeed they paid the same honours to Lysimachus, though not so much from design as from the necessity of the times. This Lysimachus was a Macedonian, and was one of the officers of Alexander's guard, whom Alexander once in a fit of anger ordered to be thrown into a den with a lion; but when he found that Lysimachus had vanquished the lion, he ever afterwards admired his fortitude, and honoured him equally with the best of the Macedonians. But on the death of Alexander, Lysimachus governed that part of Thrace which borders on Macedonia, over which Alexander, and prior to him Philip, ruled.

This part of Thrace indeed is not large, but the whole of Thrace contains such a multitude of men, that except the Gauls it is more populous than any other nation; and it is on this account that prior to the Romans no one ever conquered the whole of Thrace. But now all Thrace, and whatever bears a Gallic name, is subject to the empire of the Romans. However, they only esteem those parts of Gaul which are well cultivated, but they neglect the other parts, which are useless either through excessive cold or the
the barrenness of the soil. Lyshmacus, therefore, obtaining the command of that part of Thrace which we have mentioned, made war first of all upon his neighbours the Odrysians, and afterwards upon the Dromichætes and Getæ. But as in warring with these he had to engage a people by no means unskilled in warlike affairs, and much superior to him in number, he saved himself by flight from the danger with which he was surrounded. In this battle his son Agathocles, who then for the first time fought in conjunction with his father, was taken by the Getæ. But Lyshmacus, who in other battles afterwards was not more fortunate, and not considering the captivity of his son as a trifling matter, made peace with the Dromichætes, gave up that part of Thrace which is beyond the Isar to the Getæ, and promised his daughter in marriage; complying by this means with the necessity of the times.

It is reported by some, that it was not Agathocles but Lyshmacus himself that was taken prisoner; and that he was liberated by Agathocles, through making those conditions with the Getæ which we have related. But as soon as he returned, he married his son Agathocles to Lyfandra, the daughter of Ptolemy Lagus and Eurydice; and afterwards passed over into Asia with a fleet; and having taken the kingdom of Antigonus, built that city near the sea which the Ephesians now inhabit, and brought into it the Lebedians and Colophonians, whose cities he had taken. And the capture of these cities is lamented by Phœnix, a writer of Iambic verses. But I do not think that Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, was alive at that time; for he would certainly in some of his writings have bewailed the capture of Colophon. Lyshmacus likewise made war upon
THE DESCRIPTION

upon Pyrrhus the son of Æacides. For observing his frequent absence from Epirus, he both laid waste the rest of the country, and came to the sepulchres of the kings of Epirus. Hieronymus Cardan adds, which I cannot believe to be true, that Lytymachus, having dug out of the earth the remains of the dead, scattered the royal bones. But Hieronymus may be supposed to have written this in consequence of his aversion to all kings except Antigonus, whom he celebrates with praises which are by no means his due. Indeed, it must be obvious to every one, that this report concerning the tombs of the kings is nothing more than a calumny. For who can believe that a Macedonian would violate the sepulchres of the kings of Epirus? To which we may add, that Lytymachus would doubtless be cautious in his conduct with respect to the dead bodies, not only of the ancestors of Pyrrhus, but of Alexander; since Alexander descended on his mother’s side from Epirus, and consequently from the Æacidae. Besides, not long after an alliance took place between Pyrrhus and Lytymachus, which evinces that no implacable hatred of each other was produced by the war. But Hieronymus, perhaps, had causes of complaint against Lytymachus, and this for the greatest, that Lytymachus, having raised the city of the Cardianians, built Lysimachia instead of it, in the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus.

C II A P. X.

BUT Lysimachus, as long as Aridæus reigned, and after him Cassander and his children, remained in friendship with the Macedonians; but when Demetrius the son of
OF GREECE.

of Antigonus obtained the government, Lysimachus, fearing that he should be warred upon by Demetrius, thought proper to commence hostilities himself, well knowing that the desire of increasing his kingdom was hereditary to Demetrius from his father; and at the same time perceiving that he had departed into Macedonia, being called by Alexander the son of Cassander, and that finding him dead on his arrival he had taken possession of the Macedonian government, on this account he ventured to engage with Demetrius at Amphipolis, but had well nigh through this engagement lost the possession of Thrace. However, being assisted by Pyrrhus, he both retained his kingdom, and afterwards ruled over the Nestians and Macedonians. For Pyrrhus possessed a great part of Macedonia; but coming with an army from Epirus, he assisted Lysimachus for the present. But Demetrius departing into Asia against Seleucus, as long as Demetrius was formidable in war, Pyrrhus was the associate of Lysimachus in battle. But when Demetrius was taken captive by Seleucus, the friendship of Lysimachus and Pyrrhus was dissolved. Hence war being announced on both sides, Lysimachus vanquished in a great battle Antigonus the son of Demetrius, and Pyrrhus himself; took possession of the whole of Macedonia, and forced Pyrrhus to return to Epirus.

But many calamities befall men through love. For Lysimachus, now advanced in years, and being considered as fortunate with respect to his children, Agathocles likewise having children from Lyfandra, notwithstanding all this, married Arsinoe the sister of Lyfandra; and the fearing left her children on the death of Lysimachus should be in the power of Agathocles, is said on this account to have
THE DESCRIPTION

have formed stratagems against the life of Agathocles. It is also asserted by some, that Arsinoe fell in love with Agathocles, and that he not complying with her desires, she plotted his death. They report likewise, that Lyfimachus afterwards perceived the daring wickedness of the woman; but that then he was incapable of doing anything farther, in consequence of being deprived of all his friends. Lyfimachus, therefore, having destroyed Agathocles through the persuasions of Arsinoe, Lyfandra fled to Seleucus, and carried her sons and brothers with her, who, surrounded with such a calamity, took refuge with Ptolemy. But Alexander attended these in their flight to Seleucus. This Alexander was indeed the son of Lyfimachus, but by his wife Odrysiades. These, when they came to Babylon, supplicantly entreated Seleucus to make war upon Lyfimachus. And at the same time Philætærus, to whose care all the wealth of Lyfimachus was entrustèd, grievously bearing the death of Agathocles, and thinking himself on this account suspected by Arsinoe, seized upon Pergamus above Caycus, and, sending an ambassador, gave both the wealth in his possession and himself up to Seleucus.

But Lyfimachus being informed of all these particulars, immediately passed over into Asia, and began himself the war; but engaging with Seleucus, his army was vanquished with a great loss, and he lost his life in the battle. Lyfandra having obtained his dead body with much entreaty, Alexander the son of Lyfimachus by Odrysiades carried it away, and afterwards buried it in Chersonesus. And there, even now, his sepulchre is to be seen between the street Cardia and Paçiya. And such are the particulars respecting Lyfimachus.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XI.

But at Athens there is an image of Pyrrhus, who has no other alliance with Alexander, except that of being descended from the same ancestors. For Pyrrhus was the son of Æacides Arybbas; but Alexander was the son of Olympias the daughter of Neoptolemus. And Alcetas the son of Tharypus was the father of Neoptolemus and Arybbas. But from Tharypus to Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, fifteen generations intervene. For he first of all after the destruction of Troy, disdaining to return into Thessaly, drove to Epirus, and there took up his abode, in compliance with the admonition of the seer Helenus. This Pyrrhus had no children by Hermione; but by Andromache he had three sons, Molossus, Pielus, and Pergamus, who was the youngest of all. But Andromache bore to Helenus Cestrinus, Helenus having married her after the death of Pyrrhus at Delphi. But when Helenus, dying, left his kingdom to Molossus the son of Pyrrhus, Cestrinus, collecting together a band of Epirots, took possession of that region which is situated above the river Thyamis. Pergamus, however, passing into Asia, slew Arius, who ruled in Teuthrania, and who in a single contest strove with him for the possession of the empire; and besides this, he called the cities which even now remain, by his own name and that of Andromache; for Andromache followed her son, and there is yet an heroic monument of them to be seen in the city.

Pielus however remained in Epirus, to whom rather than to Molossus, Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, and his fathers,
fathers, refer their origin. But the empire of Epirus remained in the possession of one king, till Alcetas and Tharypus; for the sons of Alcetas, disagreeing among themselves, did not reign with mutual concord, till they had made an equal partition of the kingdom to each other. But afterwards Alexander the son of Neoptolemus dying in Lucania, and Olympias through fear of Antipater returning to Epirus, Æacides the son of Arybbas accomplished as well other things in compliance with Olympias, as likewise assisted her with his forces in carrying on a war against Aridæus and the Macedonians; and this, though the inhabitants of Epirus were repugnant to his designs. Olympias, obtaining the victory, was guilty of great cruelty with respect to the death of Aridæus, and was still more impiously cruel towards the Macedonians; and on this account she cannot be thought to have been punished undeservedly afterwards by Cassander. Her hatred, indeed, prevented Æacides in the beginning from being received into the kingdom by the Epirots; and when he had found out the means of living in friendly terms with them for a time, Cassander again opposed his coming to Epirus. But a battle ensuing between Philip the brother of Cassander and Æacides, near Oeniadæ, Æacides died not long after of a wound which he had received in the engagement. The Epirots after this permitted Alcetas to reign, who was the son of Arybbas, and the elder brother of Æacides; a man incapable of restraining his anger, and on this account ejected by his father. Such, indeed, was his impotence with respect to curbing his rage, that he had no sooner obtained the kingdom than his fury broke out upon the Epirots, who, in consequence of
OF GREECE.

of this, making an insurrection in the night, slew both him and his sons.

But after Alcetas was cut off, they restored the kingdom to Pyrrhus the son of Æacides; who was no sooner in possession of the royal authority, but Cassander, a very young man, and not sufficiently instructed in the affairs of government, denounced war against him. But Pyrrhus, on the approach of the Macedonians, betook himself to Egypt, to Ptolemy the son of Lagus; and he soon after giving him his daughter in marriage, who was born of the same mother as his other children, furnished him likewise with an army and fleet, which enabled him to recover the possession of Epirus. But Pyrrhus, as soon as he was settled in his kingdom, turned his arms in the first place against the Corcyraeans, perceiving that this island was situated opposite to his dominions, and not being willing that it should afford an opportunity to others of invading him. But after the capture of Corcyra, what losses he sustained in warring with Lysimachus, and how, having vanquished Demetrius, he governed the Macedonians, till he was again expelled by Lysimachus, likewise what were the greatest transactions of Pyrrhus till that time;—all these particulars we have already related in our account of Lysimachus.

But it appears that no Grecian prior to Pyrrhus warred upon the Romans. For it is not reported that either Diomed, or the Argives that followed him, ever fought against Æneas; and it is certain that the Athenians, who hoped to subdue other parts of the earth and all Italy, were hindered by the Syracusan slaughter from trying their fortune with the Romans in war. But Alexander the son of Neoptolemus, who was of the same family
family with Pyrrhus, and was his elder, died in Lucania be-
fore he could come to an engagement with the Romans.

C H A P. XII.

Pyrrhus, therefore, was the first of the Grecians
who marched an army beyond the Ionian sea against
them; being called upon for this purpose by the inhabi-
tants of Tarentum. For these people having waged a long
war with the Romans, and finding themselves unequal to
the contest, persuaded Pyrrhus, whose friendship they had
before conciliated by assisting him with naval forces
against the Corcyreans, to aid them in the war. But
they particularly sent the elders of Tarentum to Pyrrhus,
whose business it was to inform him that Italy surpassed
all Greece in felicity, and that it was not by any means
just he should desert his friends who suppliantly implored
his assistance.

This information of the elders recalled to the memory
of Pyrrhus the destruction of Troy, and inspired him
with the hope of a prosperous event to the war; since he,
who derived his origin from Achilles, would by so doing
take up arms against a colony of Troy. But Pyrrhus, as
soon as he had determined to war upon the Romans (for
he never loitered in his undertakings), immediately fitted
out long ships, and took care that globular vessels might
be ready for transporting horses and soldiers. There are
certain books indeed extant, composed by men of no
great renown, and which are inscribed Commentaries of
Actions. When I read these books, I especially admire
the boldness of Pyrrhus in battle, and his providential care
with
with respect to future contests; for then, before the Romans knew of his approach, he passed over with his fleet into Italy, and the Romans did not perceive he was landed, till engaging with the Tarentines, he shewed himself with an unexpected army, and falling on them contrary to their expectations, disordered their troops, as it was reasonable to suppose must be the case. And even then, finding that his forces were unequal to the Romans, he procured elephants which might come into contact with them during the engagement. But Alexander was the first of the European princes that possessed elephants, in consequence of having conquered Porus and the Indies; though after the death of Alexander, both other kings, and especially Antigonus, possessed a great quantity of these animals. But Pyrrhus in the war with Demetrius seized a number of elephants; and these rushing into the army of the Tarentines terrified the Romans, who thought them to be something else and not the animals which they were. For every one doubtless knows, that the ancients were well acquainted with the use of ivory; but these animals do not appear to have been seen by any but the Indians, Lybians, and the neighbouring people, till the Macedonians passed over into Asia.

But the truth of this observation seems to be evinced by Homer, who, in describing the beds of kings, and the houses of the more fortunate among these, says, that they were adorned with ivory; but never makes the least mention of the elephant: for had he ever seen this animal, it appears to me that he would much rather have mentioned it, than have related the battle of the pigmies and cranes. But after this, an embassy called Pyrrhus into the Sicily of the Syracusans. For the Carthaginians invading Sicily
THE DESCRIPTION

with a fleet, and having desolated all the Grecian cities, at last besieged Syracuse, which was the only city that remained safe. But Pyrrhus learning from ambassadors the condition of the Syracusans, left Tarentum, and all the Italian coast, and passing over into Sicily, repulsed the Barbarians, and freed Syracuse from the siege. After this, though he knew that the Carthaginians excelled all the Barbarians in naval discipline, as being descended from the Phœnician Tyre, yet he did not hesitate to engage with them, trusting alone to the forces of the Epirots, the greatest part of whom, even after the taking of Troy, were neither acquainted with the sea, nor knew the use of sail. But the truth of this is confirmed by Homer in the Odyssey, when he speaks of a people,

"Who ne'er knew sail, or heard the billows roar."

CHAP. XIII.

But then Pyrrhus being vanquished in a naval battle, fled to Tarentum with the remains of his army. Here he was greatly distressed, and devised the following means for his safe retreat, as he knew that he could not leave the Romans without fighting. In the first place, in consequence of being vanquished after his return from Sicily, he sent letters into Asia, and to Antigonus, from some of the kings requesting an army, and from others money, but from Antigonus entreating both. But when the ambassadors returning gave him letters in answer to those which he sent, he assembled the princes of the Epirots and Tarrentines, and there read to them, not what the letters contained, but words signifying promises of assistance. A report
port therefore immediately spreading to the Romans, that the Macedonians and other nations were preparing to assist Pyrrhus, caused the Romans to desist from any further hostilities.

In consequence of this, Pyrrhus the following night passed over with his ships to those mountains of Epirus, which are called the Ceraunii, and recovering his strength, after the losses which he had sustained in Italy, he denounced war against Antigonus, accusing him on several accounts, and particularly for his negligence in not assisting him in his Italian war. In this engagement he presently vanquished the proper forces of Antigonus, and his mercenary Gauls, and drove him to the maritime cities; Pyrrhus himself, in consequence of this victory, reducing under his dominion the higher Macedon and Thessaly. But the greatness of this battle, and the victory of Pyrrhus, are particularly evinced by the arms of the Celtæ, which are suspended in the temple of Minerva Itonia, situated between Phera and Larissa, and which are dedicated with the following epigram: "Molossian Pyrrhus offers these shields to thee Ionian Minerva, as trophies seized from the bold Gauls, whose army was vanquished by Antigonus; a circumstance which is by no means wonderful, since the Æacidae are only now what they formerly were, mighty in the concerns of war." And such is the inscription in this place. But in the temple of Dodonaean Jupiter, Pyrrhus suspended the shields of the Macedonians, with the following inscription: "Those who possessed the wealthy Asian lands, attempted to bring Greece into slavery; but now about the pillars of the temple of Jupiter the orphan shields of the boastful Macedonians are hung."

Indeed Pyrrhus had well nigh vanquished all Macedonia,
THE DESCRIPTION

and would certainly have entirely subdued it, if Cleonymus had not called him into Peloponnesus. This Cleonymus, though he was a Lacedæmonian, yet brought an army with hostile intentions into the country of the Lacedæmonians, the reason of which I shall explain, after I have related the family of Cleonymus. Pausanias, who led the Greeks to Platæa, had a son whose name was Pleistonax; and this Pleistonax was the father of a Pausanias whose son was that Cleombrotus who, fighting against Epaminondas and the Thebans, died in the Leuctrian battle. But the sons of Cleombrotus were Agefispolis and Cleomenes; and Agefispolis dying without children, Cleomenes obtained the kingdom. This Cleomenes had two sons, the elder of which was called Acrotatus, and the younger Cleonymus. Of these Acrotatus died the first; and Cleomenes dying soon after, a contest about the kingdom arose between Arcus the son of Acrotatus, and Cleonymus. And it was this contention which led Pyrrhus into that country.

The Lacedæmonians, indeed, before the Leuctrian battle, had never sustained any losses in war, and on this account they were far from supposing that they should be vanquished in a pedestrian contest. For the soldiers that followed Leonidas, did not bring assistance sufficient for the destruction of the Medes; and what the Athenians performed at Sphacteria with Demosthenes for their general, was a theft of war, rather than a victory. The first overthrow which they received was in Boeotia: the second, which was much greater than the first, was occasioned by Antipater and the Macedonians; and the third arose from the unexpected incursions of Demetrius. But perceiving that Pyrrhus was entering their borders with hostile intentions, this being the fourth army which opposed them,
them, they prepared to meet him, associating to themselves for this purpose the Argives and Messenians. These, however, were vanquished by Pyrrhus, who at the same time had well nigh taken the city. But after he had laid waste the lands, and by this means acquired a great booty, he refrained a little from any further hostilities.

In the mean time, the Lacedaemonians applied themselves to the care of the siege. But as Demetrius, prior to this, had invaded Sparta, the Lacedaemonians had fortified it with strong trenches, and every thing necessary to its defence. However, during this long continuance of the Laconic war, Antigonus having recovered the Macedonian cities, hastened to Peloponnesus, as he well knew that Pyrrhus, in consequence of Lacedaemon and a great part of Peloponnesus being subdued, would not immediately return to Epirus, but would march to Macedonia, and there pursue the war. But as Antigonus prepared to lead his army from Argos into the Laconic territories, Pyrrhus himself approached to Argos. Here an engagement ensuing, Pyrrhus was victor, and even entered with the flying vanquished enemy into the city. The order of his army in consequence of this being (as is usual in such cases) dissolved, and the enemy vigorously fighting for their temples, houses, narrow avenues, and other places of the city, Pyrrhus was deserted by his troops, and received a wound in his head. It is reported that this wound was caused by a tile thrown by a woman, and that it occasioned his death. But the Argives assert, that it was not a woman that slew him, but Ceres herself, assuming for this purpose the form of the woman who was apparently the cause of his destruction. And such is the report of the Argives concerning the death of Pyrrhus, which is

D 3 also
THE DESCRIPTION
also confirmed by Leuceas, who described in verse the Argive affairs. But the Argives, in compliance with the oracle, have erected a temple to Ceres, in the place where Pyrrhus fell; and in this temple Pyrrhus himself is buried.

C H A P. XIV.

It appears to me indeed a matter truly admirable, that all of the name and family of the Æacidae have died in a manner similar to Pyrrhus. For Achilles is said, by Homer, to have been slain by Paris the son of Priam, and by Apollo. Pyrrhus the son of Achilles was cut off by the Delphi, by the command of the Pythian oracle. And our Pyrrhus, the descendant of Æacus, died in the manner which the Argives and Leuceas relate. Hieronymus Cardan, however, differs from these in describing the manner of his death; but this is not to be wondered at, if we consider that a man who has been the associate of a king, will necessarily write in his favour. For if Philistus is to be pardoned, who, through the hope of being restored to Syracuse, concealed some of the most impious actions of Dionysius, Hieronymus deserves much greater indulgence for writing favourably of Antigonus. And such was the degree of vigour to which the power of the Epirotes arrived.

But, on entering the Odeum at Athens, you will behold many things deserving notice, and among the rest a statue of Bacchus. Near this statue there is a fountain, which they call Enneacrunos, or pouring water from nine pipes, and which was adorned in this manner by Pisistratus. There are wells indeed in every part of the city, but this
is the only fountain. But there are two temples above the fountain, one of Ceres and Proserpine, and in the other there is a statue of Triptolemus, the particulars of which, omitting what is reported of Deiopeia, I shall now relate.

Among the Greeks, those who principally contend with the Athenians for antiquity and gifts from the gods, are the Argives; just as among the Barbarians the Egyptians contend with the Phrygians. It is reported, therefore, that Ceres, on her arrival at Argos, was hospitably received by Pelasgus, and that she was there informed by Chrysanthis of the ravishment of her daughter. But after this the hierophant Trochilus flying from Argos through the hatred of Agenor, came to Attica, and marrying a woman of Eleusis, had two sons by her, Eubuleus and Triptolemus. And such is the narration of the Argives.

But the Athenians and neighbouring nations know that Triptolemus was the son of Ceueus, and that he was the first who introduced the plantation of corn. Mufueus, however, in his verses (if these were really composed by Mufueus), says, that Triptolemus was the son of Ocean and Earth. But Orpheus (though neither are these verses, in my opinion, the composition of Orpheus), that Dysaules was the father of Eubuleus and Triptolemus, and that these two learnt from Ceres the art of planting corn, because she was informed by them of the ravishment of her daughter. But Cheorillus the Athenian, in a dramatic piece of his which is called Alope, writes, that Cercyon and Triptolemus were brothers from the daughters of Amphiictyon, and that Rharos was the father of Triptolemus and Neptune of Cercyon. It was my intention, indeed, to have related every particular about the temple at Athens, which is called Eleusinian, but I was restrained from the
THE DESCRIPTION

the execution of this design by a vision in a dream. I shall, therefore, return to such particulars as it is lawful to disclose.

Before the gates of the temple, where the statue of Triptolemus is seen, there is a brazen ox, decorated like a victim when leading to the altar. There too, you may see Epimenides the Gnosian sitting, who, on his arrival at this country, is reported to have fallen asleep in a cavern; and it is said that his sleep was not dissolved before the expiration of forty years. They add likewise, that he afterwards composed verses, and that he illustated both other cities, and the city of the Athenians. But Thales, who freed Athens from a pestilence, was not in any respect allied to Epimenides, nor was his fellow-citizen; for Epimenides was a Gnosian, but Thales a Gortynian, according to the assertion of Polymnestus Colophonius, in the verses which he made upon Thales for the Lacedaemonians. Farther distant from hence is the temple of Euclea (or illustrious fame), constructed and dedicated on account of a victory over the Medes who possessed Marathon. But I conjecture that there was no victory in which the Athenians more gloried, than this which they obtained at Marathon. And Æschylus, when he was near his end, a man who had never mentioned himself in his writings before, though he was so celebrated a poet; and who had obtained great renown by his military prowess at Artemisium and Salamis; yet, when he published his poem on the battle of Marathon, he both inscribed his own name, and that of his country, in the front of the work; and cites, as witnesses of his fortitude, both the Marathonian grove, and the Medes who descended into it.

But above the Ceramicus, and the porch which is called Royal,
OF GREECE.

Royal, the temple of Vulcan presents itself to the view. And, indeed, I am not at all surprized to find that there is a statue of Minerva in this temple, when I consider what is reported of Eriæthonius. Perceiving too, that the statue of Minerva has azure eyes, I find that this circumstance originates from a Lybian fable, which afferts that Minerva is the daughter of Neptune and Triton, and that on this account her eyes are azure, as well as those of Neptune. Near this is the temple of Celestial Venus, who was first worshipped by the Assyrians, and after these by the Paphians at Cyprus, and the Phœnicians who inhabited the city Aſcalon in Palestine. But the Cythereans venerated this goddess, in consequence of learning her sacred rites from the Phœnicians. And Ægeus introduced the worship of this goddess to the Athenians, from believing that his want of children, and the misfortunes of his sisters, were occasioned through the anger of Celestial Venus. But the statue which exists at present is formed of Parian marble, and is the work of Phidias.

Among the Athenians likewise, there is a palace of the Athmonensians, the officers of which afferts, that Porphyry rion reigned long before Acéæus, and that the temple which they possess, of Celestial Venus, was established by him. The officers of this palace, however, affert things very different from the reports of the vulgar.

C H A P. XV.

But the traveller, directing his course to that porch which is called various, from the paintings which it contains, will perceive a brazen statue of Mercury, whom they denominate
denominate Judicial. This statue is near the gate, upon which there is a trophy erected by those Athenians who vanquished, in an equestrian contest, Plistarchus the brother of Cassander, of whose horse and mercenary troops he was the general. In this porch there is, first of all, a representation of the Athenians drawn up against the Lacedæmonians in Oenoe an Argive town. The picture does not represent them as engaged in the vigour of fight, when each individual endeavours to render himself singular by his courage, but the battle seems just commencing, and they are beginning to engage hand to hand. But in the middle of the wall, the Athenians and Theseus are represented fighting with the Amazons. Of all women these alone could never be terrified by any calamity of war, or restrained from fresh engagements; but though Themisicyra was taken by Hercules, and the forces which they afterwards sent against the Athenians were vanquished, yet they fought at Troy with the Athenians, and with all Greece.

But after the Amazons, you may perceive the Grecians taking Troy, and all the kings collected together, on account of the daring crime of Ajax towards Cassandra; and this picture contains Ajax, the troop of captive women, and Cassandra herself. And in the extremity of the picture, those who fought at Marathon are represented. But from among the Boeotians, the Platæenses are to be seen, and all those Athenians that engaged hand to hand with the Barbarians. Each army appears to be equally vigorous in its attacks; and in the heat of the battle the Barbarians are seen flying, and in their hurry thrusting each other into the marsh. But in the last place, the Phœnician ships are represented, and the Grecians slaughtering the Barbarians, who
OF GREECE

who fled to these for refuge. The hero Marathon too is hereby painted, from whom the field is denominated; and Theseus in the position of one ascending from the earth. There are likewise to be seen Minerva and Hercules; for the Marathonians, as they themselves assert, first paid divine honours to Hercules.

But of those engaged in battle, the most illustrious in the picture are Callimachus, who first managed the warlike affairs of the Athenians; and of the generals, Miltiades; and besides these the hero Echetlus, of whom I shall afterwards make mention. In the same place too, brazen shields are fixed, with an inscription signifying that they belonged to the Scioneans and their allies. But the shields, which are here covered with pitch that they may not be injured by time, and the other spoils, are said to have been taken from the Lacedaemonians in the island Sphaeteria.

CHAP. XVI.

BEFORE the porch there are brazen statues, viz. of Solon, who wrote laws for the Athenians; and a little farther off, that of Seleucus, whose future felicity was evinced by prodigies by no means obscure. For this Seleucus, when departing from Macedonia with Alexander, sacrificed in Pella to Jupiter; but then the pieces of wood which were placed on the altar approached, of their own accord, to the statue of the god, and were enkindled without fire. But on the death of Alexander, Seleucus fearing the coming of Antigonus to Babylon, and flying to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, returned afterwards to Babylon. On his return, he vanquished the army of Antigonus, flew Anti-
gonus himself, and took his son Demetrius prisoner. And as all these transactions were prosperous, and the affairs of Lysimachus were ruined not long after, he delivered the government of all Asia to his son Antiochus, and hastened himself to Macedonia.

The army therefore of Seleucus was composed of Greeks and Barbarians. But Ptolemy the brother of Lysandra, who fled from Lysimachus to Seleucus, a man of ready daring, and on this account denominated Thunder—this Ptolemy, as soon as he understood that the army of Seleucus was at Lysimachia, attacked Seleucus, and slew him; and, delivering his riches to be plundered by the kings, took possession of the Macedonian government. However, daring afterwards to oppose himself to the Gauls (though he was the first of all the kings we are acquainted with that ever attempted this), he was slain by the Barbarians. But Antigonus the son of Demetrius obtained the kingdom of Macedonia which he had preserved. With respect to Seleucus, I am fully persuaded, indeed, that he was most eminently just to men, and pious towards the gods. For it was this Seleucus who took care that a brazen statue of Apollo, which had been taken away from the Milesians by Xerxes, and carried to Ecbatan, should be again restored to the Branchidae. And having besides this built the city Seleucia by the river Tigris, and brought the Babylonians to inhabit it, he neither demolished the wall of Babylon, nor the temple of Belus, and permitted the Chaldaeans to dwell about their temple.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XVII.

But, in the market-place of the Athenians, there are other works which are not obvious to every one, and among the rest an altar of Pity; which Divinity, as she is above all others beneficial to human life, and to the mutability of human affairs, is alone of all the Greeks reverenced by the Athenians. But these people indeed are not only remarkable for their philanthropy, but excel other nations in piety to the gods; for they have altars to Shame, Fame, and Impetuosity. And it is clearly manifest that these people, who excel others in piety, are equally remarkable for the good fortune which attends them. But in the Gymnasium, which is called Ptolemaeum from its founder, and is at no great distance from the market-place, there are stones denominated Hermæ, which deserve to be inspected, and a brazen statue of Ptolemy; and besides these the Lybian Juba, and the Solonian Chrysippus. Near the Gymnasium too, there is the temple of Theseus, which contains the following pictures: viz. a painting of the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons; and this battle is also represented in the shield of Minerva, and in the base of Olympian Jupiter. It likewise contains a painting of the fight of the centaurs and Lapithæ; and Theseus is represented in this picture slaying a centaur, but the battle seems to be equal among the rest. But the picture in the third wall cannot be understood by such as are unacquainted with the transactions which it represents; since some of its parts are destroyed by time, and Micon the painter has not represented the whole affair.

But
THE DESCRIPTION

But the story is as follows: Minos, when he led away Theseus and the other band of youths into Crete, fell in love with Periboea. But Theseus was averse to this amour, and not only greatly reviled Minos in his rage, but, among his other reproaches, asserted that he was not the son of Neptune; and that if he should cast that seal into the sea which he carried about him, he would not be able to recover it again. Minos, it is said, upon this immediately threw the seal into the sea; and Theseus, by the means of Amphi- trite, not only received this seal from the sea, but likewise a golden crown. But many and at the same time disagreeing reports are spread about the death of Theseus; for they assert that he was once bound by Pluto, and at length liberated by Hercules. But a relation which I have heard is much more probable, i.e. that Theseus once came to Thesprotia, for the purpose of carrying away the wife of the Thesprotian king, and that having lost a great part of his army, both he and Pirithous (for Pirithous took up arms through an eager desire of being married) were taken captive and fettered by the Thesprotian king, at Cichyrous.

But at Thesprotia, there are other things worthy of inspection, and particularly a temple of Jupiter in Dodona, and a beach tree sacred to the god. Near Cichyrous too, there is a marsh which is said to be the Acherusian marsh, and the river Acheron; and in the same place Cocytus flows a most unpleasant water. But it appears to me that Homer, having seen these places, had the boldness to insert in his poems, as well those particulars concerning souls in Hades, as the names of the infernal rivers, which he derived from the rivers of Thesprotia. In the meantime, while Theseus was detained in fetters, the sons of Tyndarus invaded Aphidna with an army, and, having taken
taken the city, restored Mnestheus to his kingdom. And Mnestheus, indeed, by no means opposed the children of Theseus in betaking themselves to Elephenor in Euboea; but considering that Theseus, if he should ever return from Thesprotia, could not be attacked without great difficulty, he caused the people, by his suppliant arts, to promise that they would not receive Theseus on his return. Theseus, therefore, departed to Deucalion in Crete; but being driven by a tempest to the island Scyron, he was benignantly received by the Scyrians, both on account of his illustrious origin, and the grandeur of the actions which he had performed. And this reception induced Lycomedes to frustrate the snares which had been planned for his death. But a temple was raised at Athens to Theseus, after the Medes had taken possession of Marathon; Cimon the son of Miltiades, at the same time overthrowing the Scyrians, revenged the death of Theseus, and brought back his bones to Athens.

CHAP. XVIII.

In the next place there is an ancient temple of the Dioscuri, in which they are beheld standing, and their sons on horseback. Here too, Polygnotus painted their achievements, and the nuptials of the daughters of Leucippus. But Micon painted those that failed to Colchis with Jason; the most accurate of whose paintings, is that of Acastus and his horses. But above the temple of the Dioscuri, is the grove of Aglaurus, to whose sisters Herse and Pandrosus, Minerva is reported to have entrusted Erichthonius concealed in a chest, at the same time forbidding them to behold.
THE DESCRIPTION

hold its contents. And they report that Pandrosus indeed was obedient to the commands of the goddess, but that her two sisters opened the chest, and, being agitated with fury as soon as they had seen Erichthonius, threw themselves headlong from the steepest place of the tower. But near the place where they fell, the Medes making an irruption, flew those Athenians, who thinking that they understood the oracle better than Themistocles, fortified the tower with wooden works and trenches. Near this is the Prytaneum, in which the written laws of Solon are preserved, and which contains the statues of Peace and Vesta. But there are statues of various men, and among the rest, of the pugilist Autolycus; for they transfer the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles to a Roman and Thracian man, the former inscription being abolished.

But, descending from hence to the inferior parts of the city, the temple of Serapis presents itself to the view; and this divinity the Athenians received from Ptolemy. The Egyptians, however, have many temples of this god; but the most illustrious temple is to be found at Alexandria, and the most ancient at Memphis. With respect to this last, indeed, strangers are not permitted to enter into it, nor even the priests themselves, till they have inhumed Apis. But not far from the temple of Serapis there is a place in which, according to report, Pirithous and Theseus amicably meeting, departed first to Lacedaemon, and afterwards to Thebœa. Near this the temple of the goddess Lucina was formerly erected, which they report came to Delos from the Hyperbœi, that it might afford assistance to the parturient Latona. But they report, that other nations learnt the name of Lucina from the Delians. And the Delians indeed sacrificial
OF GREECE.

ace to Lucina, and sing a hymn composed by Olen in her praise. The Cretans, however, who inhabit the country of Gnosta, are of opinion that Lucina was born in Amnisus, and that she is the daughter of Juno. But the Athenians alone veil the image of the goddess even to the extremities of her feet. Two of these statues, the women report, were brought from Crete, and dedicated by Phaedra; but they say, the most ancient statue was brought from Delos by Eryphichthon.

But the emperor Adrian dedicated the temple of Olympian Jupiter, and the statue of the god, which deserves to be inspected, not indeed for its magnitude, because the Romans and Rhodians possess colossal statues, but for the symmetry of its construction; for it is composed from ivory and gold, and the art displayed in the composition admirably harmonizes with the magnitude of the statue. This place too contains statues of the Emperor Adrian, two of which are of Thasian and two of Egyptian stone. But before the pillars of the temple, which the Athenians call colonies of cities, there are certain statues of brays. And the circumference of the temple is about four stadia, and is full of statues. For an image of the Emperor Adrian is placed in it from every city, all which the Athenians have greatly surpassed, by placing in the back part of the temple a colossal statue of the Emperor, which is well worthy of inspection. In the same ambit too, there are certain ancient statues, a brazen one of Jupiter, a temple of Saturn and Rhea, and a grove which they call Olympia. An opening of the earth likewise is to be seen here, about a cubit in magnitude, and they report that the water ran into this place after the deluge of Deucalion. Every year, they throw into this chasm a cake made of honey and flower.

Vol. I.  E  But
THE DESCRIPTION

But on the column there is a statue of Isocrates, who left behind him three particulars worthy of rememberance. In the first place his perseverance, which was so remarkable, that, even when he was ninety-eight years old, he still continued to have disciples. In the next place, his prudence; for he always abstained from interfering in politics and public concerns. And, in the third place, his independence; for after being told by a messenger the event of the battle of Cheronea, he voluntarily destroyed himself through grief. In the same place too, the Persæ are to be seen in Phrygian marble, holding a brazen tripod, both which deserve to be accurately inspected. And it is reported, indeed, that Deucalion built the ancient temple of Olympian Jupiter; for as a manifest token that Deucalion dwelt at Athens, his sepulchre is to be seen not far from this very temple. But the Emperor Adrian raised other edifices for the Athenians, and particularly the temple of Juno, and Jupiter Pancellenius, and a temple common to all the gods. But the most conspicuous of all the works are one hundred and twenty columns of Phrygian stone; and the walls of the porches consist of the same substance. There are likewise habitations in these which are fabricated from golden reeds and alabastron stone, and are adorned with statues and pictures. In the same temple too there is a library and a gymnasium, which is surnamed Adrian, and which contains a hundred pillars of Lybian stone.

C H A P. XIX.

But after the temple of Olympian Jupiter, there is a statue near it of Pythian Apollo; and likewise another temple of Apollo whom they call Delphinian. It is reported, that
OF GREECE.

that when this temple was finished as far as to the roof, Theseus, unknown to all men, entered into the city; that he was clothed with a garment which reached to his feet, and that his hair was elegantly disposed. They farther report, that as soon as he arrived near the Delphian temple, he was asked in detision, by those who were employed in raising the roof, why a virgin like him, fit for marriage, wandered alone? But Theseus made no reply to their question, but freeing, as it is said, the oxen from a cart which stood near, he raised the top of the cart to such a height that it surpassed the roof of the temple. With respect to that part of the city which they call the Gardens, and the temple of Venus which it contains, there is nothing in these worthy of being noticed. For there is not any thing remarkable in the statue of Venus which is near the temple, nor in the square figure sacred to Hermes. But an epigram in this place signifies, that Celestial Venus is the eldest of those divinities who are called the Parcae. But the statue of Venus in the Gardens is the work of Alcamenes, and is one of the things at Athens which deserve to be inspected. There is also a temple of Hercules, whom they call Cynoérages: but the particulars about the white dog may be understood by those who read the oracle.

The altars too of Hercules and Hebe are to be seen here, the latter of whom being the daughter of Jupiter is said to have associated with Hercules. There is also an altar of Alcamenes, and of Jolaus, who was the companion of Hercules in many of his labours. But the Lyceum is denominated from Lycurus the son of Pandion. It was however from the first, and is at the present time believed to be the temple of Apollo; and that the god was first of all denomi-
nated from thence Lycius. It is also reported that the god is the cause of the Termisfenes, to whom he fled from Ægeus, being called Lycians. But behind the Lyceum is the tomb of the Lycian Nifus, who being cut off by Minos when he reigned over the Megarensians, was taken away by the Athenians, and buried in this place. It is reported of this Nifus, that he had purple hairs on his head, and that he was warned, that death would be the consequence of the loss of these. It happened, however, that the Cretans entering into his territories, both took other cities of Megara by their incursions, and compelling Nifus to fly, besieged him within the Nisæan walls. But then, it is said, the daughter of Nifus, falling in love with Minos shaved, off her father's hairs. And such is the report about Nifus.

But the rivers which flow into Athens are, the Ilissus, and Eridanus which falls into the Ilissus, and has the same name with the Celtic Eridanus. And this Ilissus is the river upon whose banks Orithyia playing was, according to report, ravished by Boreas, and married to the god. They add too that Boreas, on account of her alliance to the Athenians, destroyed many of the three-oared galleys of the Barbarians. But the Athenians are of opinion that the Ilissus is both sacred to other gods and to the Muses; and on the banks of this river there is at present an altar of the Muses, who are called Illissides. Not far from hence is the place where the Peloponnesians slew Codrus the son of Melanthius who reigned over the Athenians. But when you have passed over the Ilissus, you will perceive the place which is called Agræ, and the temple of Diana the huntress; and on this account a bow is added to her statue. But what I am now going to relate, is not so delightful to the ear, as wonderful to behold. There is a stadium in this part,
OF GREECE.

part, of white stone, whose magnitude is evinced by this circumstance, that it commences from a mountain beyond the Illisus, and extends itself in a lunar-form figure to the bank of the river, so as to form a two-fold wall. This stadium was built by an Athenian of the name of Herodes, who consumed a great quantity of Pentelician stones in its construction.

CHAP. XX.

But there is a way from the Prytaneum, which they call Tripodes, and from whence the region is denominated. In this place there are large temples of the gods, brazen tripods, and works which particularly deserve to be remembered. For a Satyr is to be seen here, in which Praxitiles is said to have greatly gloried. They farther report, that Phryne, with whom he was in love, once asking him which was the most beautiful of his works, he consented to give her his productions, but would not inform her which of them appeared to him to be most beautiful. Phryne therefore ordered her servant to tell Praxitiles that his work-shop was on fire, and that a great part of his works were destroyed, though as yet all of them were not consumed by the fire. Praxitiles on this information hastily left his apartment, and declared that his affliction would be but trifling, if the flames had but spared his Satyr and Love. Phryne hearing this bid him be of good courage, for no calamity had befallen him, but that she had employed this stratagem, that she might force him to confess which he thought the most beautiful of his works. And Phryne, in consequence of this, made choice of his Love, in preference to his Satyr.

E 3

But
THE DESCRIPTION

But in the temple of Dionysius, which is near this place, there is a youthful Satyr extending a cup. But the Love and Bacchus which stand together were the work of Thymilus. There is also a most ancient temple of Bacchus near the theatre. And within the circumference of this temple there are two other temples, and as many Bacchus,es. One of these is called Eleuthereus, and the other was made by Alcamenes, and is fashioned from ivory and gold. The following pictures likewise are contained in the same place. First, Bacchus leading Vulcan back to heaven, which originates from this Grecian fable: Vulcan as soon as he was born was hurled from heaven by Juno; but the god, not unmindful of the injury which he had received, sent to Juno, as a gift, a golden throne which contained certain unapparent bonds, and with which the goddess was bound as soon as she was seated on the throne. All the gods, however, except Bacchus, were unable to persuade Vulcan to free Juno from her bonds; but Bacchus, in whom Vulcan placed no small degree of confidence, having intoxicated Vulcan, led him back to heaven. In the next place, there is a painting of Pentheus and Lycurgus suffering the punishment of their injurious conduct towards Bacchus. And after these, there is a picture in which Ariadne is represented sleeping, Theseus spreading his sails, and Bacchus approaching in order to ravish Ariadne.

But not far from the temple of Bacchus and the theatre, which is near it, there is an edifice which was raised, as it is said, in imitation of a structure of Xerxes. And this building indeed has been restored; for the ancient fabric was burnt by Sylla when he took Athens. But the cause of this battle was as follows: Mithridates reigned over

2
OF GREECE.

Those Barbarians who dwell about the Euxine Pontus. Though before I proceed any farther it is necessary to observe, that such as are desirous of knowing under what pretext he warred upon the Romans, and how, when he invaded Asia, he forcibly brought other cities into his power, or entered into a friendly alliance with them—these particulars I shall leave to such as wish to understand all the transactions of Mithridates. At present I shall only explain what belongs to the capture of Athens.

There was an Athenian then, called Aristion, whom Mithridates employed as an ambassador to the Grecian cities. This man persuaded the Athenians to prefer the friendship of Mithridates to that of the Romans. His persuasions, however, were not effectual with all the Athenians, but only with the common people, and these the most seditious; for such of the Athenians as were of any consequence willingly betook themselves to the Romans. But when the engagement took place, the Romans had greatly the advantage, and, a flight of the Athenians ensuing, the Romans pursued Aristion and the Athenians to the city, but Archelaus and the Barbarians to the Piræus. This Archelaus was a commander in the army of Mithridates, who, prior to this, invading the Magnetes that inhabit Sipylum, slaughtered indeed many of the Barbarians, but was himself wounded in the engagement. After this, the Athenians were besieged; and Taxis, the general of Mithridates' forces, who then invested with his army Elatea in Phocis, hearing of their defeat led his forces into Attica. 'The Roman general being informed of this circumstance, left a part of his army to continue the siege,
and hastened with the greater part of his forces to meet Taxilus in Boeotia. But on the third day after his arrival messengers came from both armies into the Roman camps; to the camps of Sylla, informing him that the walls of Athens were taken; and to the besiegers, that Taxilus was vanquished in battle near Chæronea.

Sylla, therefore, as soon as he came to Athens, collecting all such Athenians as had opposed him into the Ceramicus, ordered, that every tenth man by lot should be led to death. And the anger of Sylla against the Athenians suffering no remission, certain persons among them secretly came to Delphos, and enquired of the oracle whether it was necessary that the Athenians should be entirely destroyed. But the god, in answer to them, gave that oracle concerning the bladder. After this, Sylla was attacked with that disease which is said to have been fatal to Pherecydes Syrus. Sylla, indeed, was guilty of much greater cruelty to the Athenians than it became a Roman to inflict. It does not, however, appear to me that the behaviour of the Athenians to Sylla was the cause of their calamity, but that it arose from Jupiter the avenger of suppliants, who punished them by this means for slauetering Aristion after he had fled to the temple of Minerva for refuge. But the Athenians who suffered in this manner, in a war with the Romans, were restored to their former flourishing condition in the reign of the Emperor Adrian.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XXI.

But in the theatre at Athens there are many images of obscure tragic and comic poets; for except Menander there is not any celebrated comic poet; and of the tragic poets there are only two of great renown, viz. Euripides and Sophocles. But it is reported that, at the time when Sophocles died, the Lacedæmonians made an irruption into Attica, and that Bacchus himself appeared as their leader, commanding them to venerate a new Siren with the same honours which are usually paid to the dead. And in a dream about Sophocles, this Siren was seen with the poetical compositions of Sophocles in his hands. Indeed it is usual even now to compare poems and discourses, which are replete with an alluring power, to the song of a Siren. But with respect to the image of Æschylus and the picture in which his valour at Marathon is represented, I am of opinion that these were produced a long time after his death.

Æschylus indeed says of himself, that when he was a boy, he once fell asleep in a field, where he was watching some grapes, and that Bacchus appeared to him in a dream, and exhorted him to write tragedies. He adds, that as soon as it was day (for he was willing to be persuaded) he made trial of his skill in composing a tragedy, and succeeded with ease. But in the wall which they call Southern, and which extends from the tower to the theatre, a golden head of the Gorgon Medusa is contained; and together with it the ægis is to be seen. Likewise, in the top of the theatre there is a cave among the
THE DESCRIPTION

the rocks under the tower. In this cavern there is a tri-
pod, together with the images of Apollo and Diana
represented in the act of destroying the children of
Niobe. After I had seen this Niobe, I proceeded to the
mountain Sipylus. Near this place there is a rock and a
precipice, which to one who stands near it does not
exhibit the shape of a woman, but he who beholds it at a
distance, will think he sees a woman weeping and la-
menting.

But on proceeding from the theatre to the Athenian
tower, you will see the tomb of Calus. After Dædalus
had slain this Calus, who was the son and disciple of his
sister, he fled into Crete and afterwards to Cocalus in
Sicily. But the temple of Esculapius is well worthy of
inspection, as well on account of the statues of the god
and his sons, as the pictures which it contains. There is
also a fountain in this temple, near which they report
Halirrhoethus the son of Neptune was slain by Mars for
having disgraced his daughter Alcippe. In this place too,
among other things, there is a Sarmatian coat of mail,
which if well inspected evinces that the Barbarians are no
less skilful in arts than the Grecians. For the Sarmatians
neither have iron, nor is it imported to them from other
nations, as these Barbarians are more than all others free
from association with foreign countries. In consequence
therefore of this want of iron, they have devised wicker
instead of iron tops for their spears. Their bows and
arrows too are of cornel wood, and the tops of these are
wicker. They likewise in battle throw chains about every
enemy they meet with, and at the same time their horses
turning about, they throw down the enemy entangled in
their chains.

But
But they fashion their coats of mail after the following manner. Each of these Barbarians has a great quantity of horses; for their land is not separated into parts so as to be subservient to the use of private persons, nor does it bear anything except rustic wood, as the inhabitants are nothing more than Nomades. These horses they not only use for the purposes of war, but they sacrifice them to their country gods, and even use them for food. But collecting the hoofs of these animals and purifying and dividing them, they polish them so as to resemble the scales of a dragon. He indeed who has not seen a dragon, may compare this composition from hoofs to a pine nut while yet green. This scale-like composition they perforate, and few it together with the nerves of horses and oxen, and afterwards use it for coats of mail, which are not inferior to those of the Greeks either for elegance or strength; as they will sustain a blow given either remotely or near at hand. Linen coats of mail indeed are not in a similar manner useful to warriors, because they are pervious to the vehement percussions of iron, and only serve as a defence to hunters; for in these the teeth of lions and panthers are rendered debile and blunt. And you may perceive linen coats of mail suspended both in other temples, and in the temple of Gynæus Apollo. The grove too of this god is most beautifully planted with trees, and is no less delectable for the sweet smell which it exhales, than for the pleasant spectacles which it affords,
CHAP. XXII.

But after the temple of Esculapius, in the way which leads to the tower, the temple of Themis presents itself to the view, before which there is the tomb of Hippolytus who is reported to have died through imprecations. Indeed the very Barbarians that are not ignorant of the Greek tongue, are acquainted with the love of Phaedra, and the ministrant boldness of her nurse. But there is likewise among the Trozenians a tomb of Hippolytus, about which there is the following account. Theseus, when he intended to marry Phaedra, being unwilling, if he should have any children by her, either that they should reign over Hippolytus, or Hippolytus over them, on this account sent Hippolytus to Trozen to one Pittheus, both that he might be there educated, and that he might at length govern the Trozenians. Some time after this Theseus having slain Pallas and his sons, who had made an insurrection against him, came to Trozen for the purpose of purifying himself from the slaughter. Here it was that Phaedra first saw Hippolytus, and through the violence of her love, laid the plan of her own destruction. And a myrtle is to this day preserved by the Trozenians, whose leaves are perforated in every part. They report that this was not the case with the myrtle at first, but that it was perforated in this manner by Phaedra, with the pin that fastened her hair, through the anguish of love.

But Theseus first introduced the worship of Venus Popularis, and of the goddess Persuasion, when he led the Athenian people from the fields, and formed them into
A View of the
OF GREECE.

into one city. The ancient statues of these divinities do not exist at present, though the statues which are now extant are by no means the productions of the most ignoble artificers. There is also a temple of Earth the nurse of youths, and of virid Ceres. But the reason of these appellations may be known from the priests. Again, there is only one entrance to the tower, for the other ways are inaccessible, either through steep rocks, or a strong wall. But the summits of the vestibules, which they call Propylae, are fashioned from white stone; and at present these porches are preferred before other works, both for their ornament, and the magnitude of the stones from which they are composed. With respect to the equestrian statues I cannot say who were their artificers, whether they were made by the sons of Xenophon, or by some other, as an ornament to the place.

But on the right hand of the vestibules there is a temple of Victory without wings. From hence there is a prospect of the sea; and they report that Ægeus, hurling himself into this sea, perished. For it is said that Theseus, when he departed to slay the Minotaur, in consequence of confiding in his own valour, told his father that he would use white sails, if he returned victorious from the slaughter of the bull. But Ægeus, who was ignorant that Ariadne had been carried away, perceiving that the vessel of Theseus had black sails, concluded that his son was dead, and hurled himself into the sea. And the Athenians have a sepulchre which they call the heroum of Ægeus. On the left hand of the vestibules, there is a dwelling adorned with pictures, among which those whose figures are not sufficiently apparent are injured by time. Diomed is to be seen here, and Ulysses, the former carrying
THE DESCRIPTION

ing from Lemnos the arrows of Philoctetes, and the latter carrying the Palladium from Ilion. Among the pictures too, Orestes is represented slaying Αγίθthus, and Pylades beheading the sons of Nauplius, who came to the assistance of Αγίθhus. But near the tomb of Achilles, Polyxena is about to be slaughtered; and Homer was certainly right in omitting to mention so cruel a deed: He likewise appears to me to have acted well when relating that Scyros was destroyed by Achilles, he does not say that Achilles lived in that island with the virgins, which almost all other poets have asserted, and which Polygnotus has represented in the picture.

But the fame Polygnotus has painted Ulysses standing by Nausicaa, and the virgins who were washing their garments with her, according to the relation of Homer. There are also other pictures, and among these the picture of Alcibiades, and equestrian monuments of the victory at Nemea. Perseus too is seen here, carrying to Polydeuces at Seriphos the head of Medusa. But it is not proper that I should relate the particulars concerning Medusa in a description of Attica. Among these pictures omitting the boy carrying water-pots, and the wrestler painted by Timænetus, Musæus is to be seen, who as I find it reported in certain verses was enabled to fly through the beneficence of Boreas. It appears to me, however, that Onomacritus is the author of these verses; for there is nothing extant of Musæus which can be depended on except a hymn to Ceres, composed for the Lycomideæ. But in the entrance to the tower there is a statue of Mercury, whom they call Propylæus, and statues of the Graces, both which are said to have been made by Socrates the son of Sophroniscus, who, according to the testimony of the Pythian
OF GREECE.

Pythian Apollo, was the wisest of men; an encomium which the oracle was by no means willing to bestow on Anacharthis, though he came to Delphi with a view of receiving the elogium of the god.

CHAP. XXIII.

But among other things which the Greeks report of themselves, they relate, that, of their ancestors there were seven wise men, among which they enumerate the Lebian tyrant, and Periander the son of Cypselus; though indeed Pisistratus and his son Hippias were both more philanthropic and wise than Periander, and were likewise superior to him in warlike and political affairs; especially before Hippias gave way to his anger on other occasions, and particularly with respect to the harlot Leæna. For after the death of Hipparchus (I speak of an affair which was never before committed to writing, though it is believed by the greater part of the Athenians) he inflicted wounds on this woman till she died; and this in consequence of knowing that she was the associate of Aristogiton, and conjecturing from thence that she was by no means ignorant of the conspiracy against Hipparchus. But the Athenians, being freed from the tyranny of the children of Pisistratus, dedicated a brazen lioness to the memory of this woman; and near it is the statue of Venus, which they report was the gift of Callias, and the work of Calamis.

But not far from this, there is a brazen statue of Dütrephes pierced with arrows. This Dütrephes both performed other actions which the Athenians celebrate, and brought
brought back the hired Thracians, who (Demosthenes having set sail from Syracuse) came too late for the purpose for which they were wanted. Besides this, Dütrephe when he came to the Chalcidican Euripus, left the sea, and took Mycalefus, a Mediterranean city. But when the city was taken, the Thracians not only slew the Mycalefian warriors, but the women and children. And the truth of this assertion is evinced by the following circumstance. Whatever cities of the Boeotians the Thebans destroyed, are restored at present by those very men that fled from the slaughter. And there can be no doubt but that the Mycalefians would have returned also, if they had not been totally cut off by the Barbarians. Indeed I cannot sufficiently admire that Dütrephe should be represented pierced with arrows, at a time when it was not the native custom of any of the Greeks, except the Cretans, to fight with arrows. For we know that the Opuntian Locrians used heavy armour in the Persian war; and Homer relates that they came to Troy with bows and slings. But neither did the Malianes retain the use of arrows; nor does it appear that they knew the use of them prior to Philoctetes, or that they retained the art long after him.

But near the statue of Dütrephe (for I am not willing to write about more obscure images) there are statues of the gods, viz. one of Hygia, who they report is the daughter of Esculapius, and another of Minerva who is likewise called Hygia. In the same place too there is a stone of no great magnitude, but of a size about sufficient for a little man to sit upon. They report that Silenus rested on this stone, when Bacchus first came into Attica; for they call Silenus the eldest of all the Satyrs. But with respect to the Satyrs, that I might know something more about:
OF GREECE.

about them than others, I have discoursed with many on the subject. And among the rest Euphemus Car informed me, that when he failed to Italy, he was driven by the violence of the wind to the external sea; that there were many desert islands in this place which were inhabited by savages; and that the sailors were unwilling to land upon such of these as they had been driven upon before, but that at that time they landed on them through necessity. These islands are called by the sailors Satyræ; the inhabitants are of a yellow colour, and have tails at their loins not much less than those of horses. These people, as soon as they perceived the sailors, ran to the ship and, without uttering a word, seized the women that were in the vessel. But the sailors, being terrified in the extreme, exposed a Barbarian female upon the island; and the Satyrs not only violated that part of her body which nature points out for the purpose of coition, but every part of her body in a similar manner.

But in the Athenian tower, I saw, among other things worthy of inspection, a brazen statue of the boy Lycius (the work of Myron), holding a laver in his hand; and a Perseus, the work of the same Myron, represented destroying Medusa. In the same place too there is the temple of Brauronian Diana: and the statue indeed is the work of Praxitiles; but the name of the goddess is derived from the town Brauron, where there is an ancient image which they call Taurica Diana. There is likewise a brazen horse to be seen here, which they call Durius. And that this warlike machine was made by Epeus, for the purpose of throwing down walls, is obvious to every one who does not believe that the Trojans were perfectly stupid. But it is reported that the best of the Greeks were concealed.
THE DESCRIPTION

concealed within this horse; and indeed the shape of the brass corresponds with this report; for Mnefteus, Teucer, and the sons of Theseus leaped forth from the inside of this horse.

But among the statues which are placed after the horse, there is an image made by Critias, of a person, during the government of Charinus, running in armour. Oenobius also is honoured for the service which he rendered Thucydides the son of Olorus. For this Oenobius was the occasion of a decree being passed that Thucydides should return to Athens; though Thucydides immediately on his return destroyed Oenobius by his stratagems, whose sepulchre is not far from the gate called Melitides. But the particulars which are mentioned by other writers about Hermolythus the pancratiaist and Phormio the son of Alopichus I shall pass over in silence. The following circumstance however about Phormio deserves to be recorded: It once happened that this Phormio was deeply in debt, though for the integrity of his life and the splendour of his ancestors he was equal to any of the Athenians. In consequence of this, Phormio departing to the town Peanienis, as a fit place of retreat, was during his absence decreed the command of the Athenian fleet. Phormio, however, would not accept the command, because he could not establish his authority among the soldiers till he was liberated from his debts. But the Athenians, as they unanimously wished him for their leader, discharged the whole of his debts.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XXIV.

In this place too there is a Minerva chastising Silenus the Marsian, because he took up the pipes which the goddess had thrown away. And besides what I have mentioned, there is a representation of the battle of Theseus with the Minotaur, whether this animal was a man or a wild beast, which last is the prevailing opinion. At present, indeed, the women perform prodigious things, and such as are much more wonderful than this. Phrixus likewise is to be seen here, the son of Athamas, who was carried to Colchis on a ram. But he is represented sacrificing the ram to some unknown god (though it appears to be that divinity which the Orchomenians call Laphytius), and beholding the burning thighs which he had cut off according to the Grecian rites. There are also other statues of the gods, and among these Hercules according to the fable strangling the dragons; Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter; and a bull the gift of the Areopagites. But on what account this bull was dedicated, leaves room for abundant conjecture.

We have before observed, that the Athenians far excel other nations in their attention to divine concerns; for they first of all denominated Minerva Ergane; first worshipped mutilated Mercuries; and dedicated a temple to the Daemon of worthy men. But he who very much esteems the elaborate productions of art, may behold the following ancient statues. There is a man with a helmet on his head, the work of Cleoetas, who also fashioned the nails of this man from silver. There is likewise a statue of
THE DESCRIPTION

Earth, imploring showers from Jupiter; whether the Athenians at the time this statue was made were in want of rain, or whether all Greece was then oppressed with a vehement drought. Timotheus Cononis is also to be seen here, and Conon himself; likewise Procone deliberating concerning her son—and Itys; both which were dedicated by Alcamenes. The same person, too, made a Minerva exhibiting the plant of the olive, and Neptune exhibiting water. There is here likewise a statue of Jupiter, the work of Leochares, and of a Jupiter who is denominated Polieus. The manner of sacrificing to this divinity is as follows; but the reason of it I shall pass over in silence. They place barley mingled with wheat upon the altar of Jupiter Polieus, but they do not admit of a guard upon the occasion. The ox who is prepared for the sacrifice touches these fruits when he reaches the altar; and the priest, whom they call Buphonus, or the ox-slayer, hurling his ax at the ox (for this is their sacred custom), flies afterwards hastily away. But those that stand near, as if they did not see the striker of the ox, lead the ax to judgment. And such is their manner of performing sacrifice.

But in that temple which they call the Parthenon, and in that part of the Tortoise which is denominated Aquila, there are statues pertaining to the nativity of Minerva. And in the hinder part there is a representation of the contest between Minerva and Neptune about Attica. The statue of the goddess is formed from ivory and gold, and the image of a sphinx is placed on the cone of her helmet. But when I describe the Boeotian affairs, I shall relate the particulars respecting the sphinx. On each side of her helmet too there are griffins; and these griffins are said by Aristeas the Proconnesian, in his verses, to have fought for
OF GREECE.

for the sake of gold with the Arimaspi who dwell above the Ipedones. The gold indeed which the griffins guard, the poet says, was sent from the earth; but the Arimaspi had each of them but one eye from their birth. He adds, that the griffins are like lions, but that they have the wings and beak of an eagle. And thus much concerning griffins.

But the statue of Minerva is erect, with a garment reaching to her feet. There is a head of Medusa, fashioned from ivory, in her breast, and a Victory of about four cubits in length. In her hand she holds a spear, a shield lies at her feet, and near her spear there is a dragon, which may perhaps be Erichthonius; and at the base of the statue the generation of Pandora is represented. Hesiod, indeed, and other poets, assert, that Pandora was the first woman, and that the race of women had not any subsistence prior to Pandora. In this place I remember to have seen only one statue of the emperor Adrian, and in the entrance to the temple a statue of Iphicrates, who exhibited many and admirable works. Beyond the temple there is a brazen Apollo, which they report was made by Phidias. But they call the statue Parnopius, because the god once banished from this country locusts, which greatly injured the land. And that these insects were expelled they are indeed certain; but they do not report in what manner this was accomplished. I know, indeed, that locusts have been thrice destroyed in the mountain Sipylus, but not after the same manner; for once the god exterminated them by a violent wind; at another time by vehement heat; and the third time by unexpected cold. And such are the particulars which happened in my time respecting the destruction of locusts.
THE DESCRIPTION

C H A P. XXV.

But in the tower of the Athenians there is a statue of Pericles the son of Xanthippus, and of Xanthippus himself, who engaged in a naval battle with the Persians at Mycale. The statue of Pericles however is separated from the rest; but that of Anacreon Teuis stands near Xanthippus. This Anacreon was the first, after the Lesbian Sappho, who employed a great part of his works on amatorial subjects; and his figure is as it were that of a man singing while intoxicated. But the females which are near him, viz. Io the daughter of Inachus, and Callisto the daughter of Lycaon, were made by Dinomenes. And similar things are related of both these; for in each story we find the love of Jupiter, the anger of Juno, and a metamorphosis of Io into a cow, and of Callisto into a bear. But in the southern wall of the tower, the war of the Giants, who inhabited the isthmus of Pallene, is represented; the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons; their illustrious actions at Marathon against the Medes; and the slaughter of the Gauls in Mysia: all which were dedicated by Attalus, and each occupies about the space of two cubits.

But among the other statues there is one of Olympiodorus, who is thus honoured for the magnitude of his actions, and particularly for having raised the hopes of the Athenians, when through the iniquity of the times, and their frequent losses in war, they had almost abandoned themselves to despair. For, in consequence of that misfortune at Charonea, all Greece was distressed; since even those that
OF GREECE.

that merely beheld the danger, and such as were in the army with the Macedonians were enslaved. At that time indeed Philip took many cities, but he greatly injured the Athenians, under the pretext of a peace, by taking their islands from them, and the empire of the sea. Hence, as long as Philip reigned, and after him Alexander, the Athenians were obliged to be quiet. But when, on the death of Alexander, the Macedonians chose Arیدæus for a king (at the same time committing the administration of affairs to Antipater), then the Athenians did not think it any longer proper that Greece should be oppressed by the Macedonians. In consequence of this, they immediately took up arms, and excited others to engage in the war.

But the cities which united with the Athenians on this occasion were, of the Peloponnesians, Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, the Eleans, Phliasians and Messenians. But of those beyond the isthmus of the Corinthians, the Locrians, Phocætes, Thessalians, Cynthus, and the Aca- nanes, who contributed in conjunction with the Ætolians. But the Boeotians, who after the destruction of Thebes took possession of the Theban land, fearing that the Athenians would again eject them from Thebes, would not enter into an alliance with them in the war, but assisted the Macedonians to the utmost of their power. But when the cities, which then associated together for the purpose of carrying on war, had chosen their respective commanders, the several nations unanimously chose the Athenian Leosthenes for the general of all the forces, both on account of the dignity of his city, and his skill in military affairs; and likewise because he had benefited the whole of Greece. For when Alexander determined to distribute the Greeks who had received a stipend from Darius
THE DESCRIPTION

Darius into the Persian cities, Leosthenes, before this could be accomplished by Alexander, came with a fleet into Europe. And then indeed, when the splendour of his actions surpassed the expectations of all men, his death was not more lamentable than calamitous to all. For then the Macedonian guards, attacking the Athenians, first of all took Munychia, then the Piræus, and afterwards the long walls. Antipater however dying, Olympias departing from Epirus reigned for a time after having cut off Arideus. But, not long after this, the city was taken by Cassander, and given up to the multitude of the Macedonians.

Cassander therefore obtaining the government (that I may omit what does not belong to the Athenians), took Panætus, a wall in Attica, together with Salamis, and gave the Athenians for a ruler Demetrius the son of Phanastratus, a man renowned for his wisdom. But Demetrius the son of Antigonus, a youth desirous of being honoured by Greece, deprived this Demetrius of his government. Cassander, however, who vehemently hated the Athenians, persuaded Laches, who at that time held the first place among the people, and with whom he was very familiar, to take upon himself the royal authority; and this Lacharis was, of all the men we are acquainted with, the most savage in his manners, and the most impious towards the gods. But Demetrius the son of Antigonus, though he disagreed in some respects with the Athenians, yet overthrown the tyranny of Laches. And Laches, when he saw that the walls were taken, fled to the Boeotians. But here, having taken the golden shield from the tower, and carried away all such ornaments of Minerva as were capable of being removed, he was slain by the Corinthians, in
OF GREECE.

in consequence of their believing him to be uncommonly rich. Demetrius the son of Antigonus, however, though he freed the Athenians from their tyrants, yet did not immediately after the massacre of Lachares, restore them the Piræus; but some time after having reduced the city under his own authority, he fortified that place which they call the Museum. But within the ancient precincts, in a direction opposite to the tower, there is a hill in which the poet Musæus is reported to have sung, and in which, when worn out with age, he was buried; and in the same place afterwards a monument was erected to one Syrus. This hill Demetrius took care to fortify.

CHAP. XXVI.

SOME years after this, the best of the Athenians called to mind the deeds of their ancestors, and perceiving how much the dignity of their republic was degraded, immediately chose Olympiodorus for their commander. But he was no sooner chosen than he led against the Macedonians both young and old without any exception, trusting that he should restore the glory of his country more by the soldiers' alacrity than strength. Engaging therefore with the Macedonians in fight he vanquished them, and, pursuing them flying into the Museum, took the place, and thus freed the Athenians from the Macedonian yoke. But though all the Athenians at that time acted in a manner deserving of praise, yet the hardy undertaking of Leocrates the son of Protarchus surpassed the achievements of all the rest. For he was the first that ascended the walls, and was the first that broke into the Museum,
THE DESCRIPTION

Museum. And in consequence of his being slain in the battle, the Athenians, among other honours which they paid him, dedicated his shield to Jupiter the Liberator, with an inscription expressing his name and illustrious enterprise.

But Olympiodorus, exclusive of those great achievements which we have already related, not only recovered the Piraeus and Munychia, but vanquished the same Macedonians when they invaded Eleusis, by collecting a band of Eleusinians; and, prior to this, when Cassander intended to invade Attica, Olympiodorus failing to Aetolia persuaded the Aetolians to assist him, and by this means freed the Athenians from the impending war. But the Athenians have raised monuments of honour to this Olympiodorus, both in the tower and the Prytaneum; and Eleusis contains pictures of his achievements. The Phocensians too, that inhabit Elatea, have placed a brazen statue of Olympiodorus at Delphos, because he assisted them when they were deserted by Cassander. But near the statue of Olympiodorus, there is a brazen statue of Diana, who is called Leucophrone, which was dedicated by the sons of Themistocles. For the Magnetes, over whom Themistocles ruled by the appointment of the king, worship Diana Leucophrone. But it is not proper that I, who am describing the whole of Greece, should dwell any longer on these particulars.

Again, therefore, Endoeus was an Athenian by birth, but the disciple of Daedalus. This Endoeus followed Daedalus, flying to Crete on account of the slaughter of Calus. The statue of Minerva sitting is the work of this man, which has an inscription signifying that it was dedicated by Callias and made by Endoeus. In the same place
OF GREECE.

place too there is a building which they call Erechtheus; and in the vestibule of it there is an altar of Jupiter the supreme, upon which they do not sacrifice any thing animated; but placing a certain kind of cakes, they at the same time forbid the use of wine on the occasion. But on entering into this edifice there is an altar of Neptune, upon which, in compliance with an oracle, they sacrifice to Erechtheus, and an altar of the hero Buta, and a third of Vulcan. In the wall there are paintings pertaining to the family of the Butade. But the building itself is twofold, and contains a well of marine water, which is by no means a circumstance extremely wonderful, since the most inland inhabitants, and particularly the Aphrodisienses in Caria, have wells of this kind. There are certain writings however extant, which assert, that when the south wind blows this water yields the sound of waves; and in the rock there is a representation of a trident. But these circumstances are said to evince the contest of Minerva with Neptune for Attica.

Indeed, both the city and all the country is sacred to Minerva; for whatever other divinities they worship in their different towns, yet the reverence which they pay to Minerva is universally the same. But the most holy of all the images is that statue of Minerva which, by the common content of all the towns, before they collected themselves into one city, was dedicated in that place which is now called the tower, but was then denominated the city. It is reported that this statue fell from heaven; but whether this was the case or not, I shall not at present attempt to prove. Callimachus made for the statue of the goddess a lamp of gold, which, when filled with oil, burns day and night for the space of a year; and this is owing to the
THE DESCRIPTION

wick of the lamp being made of Carpaesian flax, which alone of all other things is un consumable by fire. Above the lamp there is a brazen palm-tree, which rising to the roof of the building dissipates the fume. But Callimachus, who made the lamp, though he does not rank among the first statuaries, yet in wisdom he excels them all; for he first of all devised a method of perforating stones; and as to his being called Cacizatechnos, or a calumniator of his own art, he either gave himself this name, or usurped it when imposed by others.

C H A P. XXVII.

In the temple of Polias, there is a wooden Mercury, not very conspicuous for the branches of myrtle with which it is surrounded, and which is said to have been the gift of Cecrops. But among the ancient gifts which deserve to be mentioned, there is a joined bed-seat, the work of Dædalus: and, among the spoils of the Medes, a coat of mail of Mæsiïus, who had the command of the horse at Platææ; and a Persian scimitar, which is said to have belonged to Mardonius. We know indeed that Mæsiïus was slain by the Athenian horse; but Mardonius, fighting against the Lacedæmonians, was slain by a Spartan soldier; so that it does not appear to me that the Lacedæmonians had this scimitar in their possession at first, or, if they had, they certainly would not permit the Athenians to take it away. With respect to the olive, they report nothing concerning it, except that it serves as a monument to prove the contest of Minerva for Attica. They assert likewise, that this olive, being burnt when
OF GREECE.

when the Persians took the city from the Athenians, bloomed the same day to the height of two cubits.

But the temple of Pandrosus joins to that of Minerva; for Pandrosus alone, of all her sisters, was faithful to her trust. The particulars, however, which appear to me most admirable, and which are not generally known, I shall take upon me to describe. There are two virgins that dwell not far from the temple of Polias, and who are called by the Athenians Canephora. These virgins for a certain time dwell with the goddess, and when the festive day arrives they carry on their heads in the night certain things which the priestess orders them to take; the priestess at the same time neither knowing what she gives them, nor the virgins what they carry. But there is a certain enclosure in the city, not far from that which is called the enclosure of Venus in the gardens; and in this there is a natural subterranean descent. Into this cave the virgins descend, leave behind them the things which they carried, and take up some other concealed thing in its stead. These virgins are for that time dismissed, and other virgins are led to the tower in their stead.

But by the temple of Minerva there is the image of an old woman, which may be easily carried, as it is not more than a cubit in height; and the inscription signifies that she was the servant of one Lysimacha. There are also two great statues of brass, in the position of two men fighting; and one of these they call Erechtheus, but the other Eumolpus. But such Athenians as are acquainted with ancient affairs, know that this Immarsadus was the son of Eumolpus whom Erechtheus slew. At the base of this statue, there is a statue of Endocus, who was the prophet of Tolmides, and another of Tolmides himself, who,
who, commanding the Athenian fleet, both injured others, and particularly the maritime land of the Peloponnesians. The same person also burnt the ships of the Lacedaemonians at Gythium; and afterwards attacking the neighbouring coasts, took Euboea and the island of the Cytherians. But passing afterwards into Sicyonia, he drove back into the city those that endeavoured to prevent him from depopulating the land. And from thence returning to Athens, he brought Euboea and Naxus in subjection to the Athenians; and marching with an army into Boeotia, depopulated the land. But after this having besieged and taken Chaeronea, he proceeded to Haliartus, where he lost his life in a battle, and his whole army was put to flight. And such are the particulars which I have learnt concerning Tolmides.

There are likewise ancient statues of Minerva, which remain indeed entire, but are discoloured with smoke, and cannot bear a blow; for the flames reached these at the same time when the Athenians flying to their ships, Xerxes seized on the city defect of its strength. There is also a representation of the hunting of a boar, concerning which I do not clearly know whether the boar is Caledonian; and together with this Cycnus fighting with Hercules.

They report that this Cycnus destroyed, among others, Lycurgus the Thracian; rewards being proposed for this single contest. He was slain however by Hercules near the river Bceus. But among other things which the Troizenians relate of Theseus, they add, that Hercules once came to Pittheus at Trozen, and that at a feast he reclined on the skin of a lion; that a number of Trozenian boys came to see him, and amongst these Theseus, who was then nearly seven years old. And the other boys indeed,
OF GREECE.

as soon as they saw the lion's skin, fled away frightened; but Theseus, who was not greatly terrified, drew back a little, and seizing an ax from the hands of the servants, was desirous of immediately attacking him, in consequence of supposing the skin to be a living lion. And this is the first account which the Troezenians give of Theseus.

But they add likewise the following. Αἰgeus concealed under a stone a pair of slippers and a sword, that through these as marks he might be enabled to discover his son. After this he returned to Athens, and Theseus when he was about sixteen years old removed the stone, and took away the slippers and the sword. The whole of this story except the stone is represented in brafs in the tower. In the same place too there is a representation of another achievement of Theseus, the history of which is as follows. A bull once laid waste both other parts of the Cretan land, and that part which is situated near the river Telephrus; for formerly wild beasts were more terrible to mankind than at present, as is evident from the Nemean and Parnassian lions, the dragons which were found in many parts of Greece, the Caledonian and Erymanthian boars, and the Crommyonian boar in the borders of the Corinthians. But, as it is reported, some of these animals were produced by the earth, some were sacred to the gods, and some were brought into existence for the punishment of men. And, indeed, this very bull is said by the Cretans to have been sent by Neptune, because Minos, who ruled over all the Grecian seas, paid no more honours to Neptune than to any other god. They farther add, that this bull passed over from Crete into Peloponnesus, and that his destruction was one of the twelve labours of Hercules.
But as soon as this bull came into the Argive fields, he fled through the Corinthian isthmus to Marathon, a country of Attica, and there, among others that were destroyed by him, he slew Androgeus the son of Minos. But Minos, believing that his son's death was a designed affair, fitted out a fleet against the Athenians, whom he did not cease to molest, till they promised to send every year into Crete seven boys and as many virgins, as a prey to the Minotaur whom Minos had inclosed in the Gnoistian labyrinth. But it is reported that Theseus afterwards drove the Marathonian bull into the tower, and sacrificed it to the goddess. And the representation of this affair is dedicated in a town of the Marathons.

C H A P. XXVIII.

I cannot however clearly assign the reason why they have thought Cylo, who deliberated about the tyranny, worthy of a brazen statue. I conjecture, indeed, that it arose from the beauty of his person, and a reputation by no means obscure; for he was victor in the second course at the Olympic games, and married the daughter of Theagenes the Megarensian tyrant. But besides what I have yet related, there are two illustrious works among the Athenians, belonging to the tenths of the warlike prey; viz. a brazen statue of Minerva, produced by the art of Phidias, which was taken from the Medes when they invaded Marathon. In the shield of the goddess, the battle of the Lapithæ and Centaurs is carved by Mys; but Parrhasius, the son of Evenor, painted this for Mys, and likewise the other figures which are beheld in the shield. But the point
point of the goddess's spear, and the crest of her helmet are even visible to those that sail from Sunium. And from among the tenth of the spoils taken from the Boeotians and Chalcidians who dwell in Euboea, there is a brazen chariot. There are also two other consecrated gifts, viz. a statue of Pericles the son of Xanthippus, and a statue of Minerva, which deserves to be inspected above all the works of Phidias, and which, because it was dedicated by the Lemnians, they call Lemnia.

But they report that two of the Pelasgi, viz. Agrola and Hyperbius, who once dwelt under the tower, surrounded the whole of it with walls except that part which was raised by Cymon the son of Miltiades. Of these men I could learn nothing farther by diligent enquiry, than that they migrated from Sicily into Arcadia. But on descending, not to the inferior parts of the city, but below the Propylæa, you will perceive a fountain of water, and near it the temple of Apollo in a cavern, and a temple of Pan. In this cavern it is reported, that Apollo cohabited with Creusa the daughter of Erechtheus. But it is said of Pan, that Philippides having sent a messenger to the Lacedæmonians concerning the irruption of the Medes into Attica, the messenger on his return related, that the Lacedæmonians would not be very forward in their march, as it was a law with them not to draw out their forces till the moon had completely filled up her orb; but that he had met with Pan near the Parthenian forest, who promised, in consequence of his regard for the Athenians, that he would assist them in the battle at Marathon. And as the result of this message, divine honours were paid to the god.

But the Areopagus is situated in a direction opposite to the tower, and derived its appellation from Mars first.
sitting in judgment in this place; the truth of which is
evinced from Halirrhothius having been slain by the god,
for the reason which we have already explained. And in
the same place afterwards, Orestes is reported to have
been judged for the murder of his mother. There is
an altar too in this place of Minerva Area, or the Depre-
catrix, which Orestes, being liberated from his punish-
ment, is said to have dedicated. But with respect to the
two silver stones upon which the accusers and defendants
sit, they call one of these the stone of reproach, and the
other of impudence. Near this place is the temple of those
goddesses which the Athenians denominate Semna the
Furies, but Hesiod in his Theogony Erinnys. But Æschy-
lus was the first that represented these divinities with
snakes in their hair; for neither the statues of these god-
desses, nor any other of the subterranean divinities, are in
the least dreadful in their appearance. The statues like-
wise of Pluto, Mercury, and Earth, are to be seen in this
place: and to these all such persons sacrifice as are ac-
quitted by the Areopagitical judgment; and not these only,
but both strangers and citizens.

Again, within the inclosure of the Areopagus there is
a sepulchre of Oedipus, whose bones, after diligent in-
quiry, were, I find, brought hither from Thebes; for I
am induced by the authority of Homer, not to believe in
what Sophocles relates concerning the death of Oedipus.
For Homer says, that Mecisteus came to Thebes, and con-
tended in the funeral games about the tomb of Oedipus.
There are other places of judgment also among the Athe-
nians, but not so illustrious as these: one of these they
call Parabytus, and the other Trigonus, in which the
judges assemble for the most trifling causes of offence;
and this last is denominated from its figure. But the
OF GREECE.

Batracius and Punicus are so called from their colours; and these names remain even at present. The greatest however of all these, and in which they most frequently assemble, is denominated Heliæa. But as to what pertains to the tribunals of capital offences, both other places, and that which they call Palladium, are destined to the judgment of murder. And that Demophon, indeed, was first tried in the Palladium is not doubted by any one, though different reports are circulated concerning his crime. For they say that Diomed, after Troy was taken, returned home in his ships, and that in his passage he drove by night, in consequence of mistaking his way, to the Phalerum. But the Argives that were with him entered the country in an hostile manner, supposing it from the darkness of the night to be some other country and not Attica. Upon this, they report, that Demophon, not knowing that it was an Argive fleet, hastened to repel their depredations, and having slain some of them, seized on the Palladium, and returned home. But as he was returning his horse threw down an Athenian, whom he did not perceive, and trampled him to death. For this affair an action was brought against him, both by the relations of the deceased and the republic of the Argives.

But in the Delphiniwm those are tried who assert that they have committed murder unjustly; and by the sentence of this tribunal Theseus was acquitted when he slew Pallas and his sons for an insurrection. For before Theseus was acquitted it was necessary that the murderer should either be banished, or slain in the same manner as he slew. But in the Prytaneum they sit in judgment upon iron, and other inanimate substances, of which the following circumstance appears to me to be the origin. When Erechtheus reigned
THE DESCRIPTION

reigned over the Athenians, the priest who is called Buphonous slew an ox at the altar of Polieus Jupiter, and leaving the ax in that place fled from the country. But the ax was immediately judged and acquitted; and this rite is observed by them every year. Indeed, other inanimate things are reported to have inflicted a just punishment on mankind; but the scimitar of Cambyse exhibits the most beautiful achievement, and the most conspicuous for the glory which it confers on the Athenians. But in the maritime part of the Piræus, there is a place called the Phreatys, where those that have been once acquitted, if they are found guilty of any other crime, apologize for their conduct from a ship, the judges at the same time sitting on the shore. They report that Teucer was the first who apologized in this manner for the death of Telamon, with which he was charged, though he was innocent of the crime. And thus much I have related for the sake of such as are desirous of being informed concerning the Athenian courts of judicature.

C H A P. XXIX.

Near the Areopagus a ship is exhibited, which was fabricated for the pomp of the Panathenaia. This ship, indeed, may be surpassed by some other; but that which is at Delos surpasses in magnitude all that I am acquainted with, for it contains nine ranges of rowers. But in the Athenian towns which are situated out of the city, and in the roads, there are temples of the gods, and sepulchres of heroes and men. The academy too is near the walls, which was once a piece of ground belonging to a private person,
OF GREECE. 85

person, but is at present a Gymnasion. On entering into this you will perceive an enclosure of Diana, and the images of Ariste and Calliste, which, as it appears to me, are appellations of Diana, and which opinion the verses of Sappho confirm. There is also a temple of no great magnitude, into which they carry every year, at stated days, the statue of Bacchus the Liberator. And such are the temples which this part contains.

With respect to the sepulchres, the first is that of Thrasybulus the son of Lycus, a man the most useful to the republic in every respect, of all the Athenians who were prior to, or contemporary with him; and of whom, omitting many things, I shall only mention the following particular. This man then subverted the tyranny of those who were called the thirty tyrants, with no more at first than thirty associates from Thebes; besides this, reconciled the jarring Athenians, and persuaded them to continue in peace with each other. His tomb therefore is the first. But to his the tombs of Pericles, Chabrias, and Phormio succeed. Every Athenian too has a sepulchre that died either in naval or land engagements fighting for his country, except those that fell in the battle of Marathon; for the tombs of these are raised in memory of their virtue, in the same place where they died. But all the rest of the Athenians are buried in the way which leads to the Academy, and columns are placed on their tombs, with inscriptions signifying the name and town of each individual.

But their sepulchres first present themselves to the view, who, when they had conquered all Thrace as far as to Brabantus, were slain by the unexpected attack of the Edoni: and it is reported that these were destroyed by thunder.
thunder. Among other commanders in the army upon this occasion, Leagrus was one, who was entrusted with the greatest part of the forces, and Decelenis Sophanes, who slew Eurybates the Argive who was conqueror in five Nemean contests, on account of his bringing assistance to the Aeginetae. And it appears that this was the third army which the Athenians sent beyond Greece. For all the Greeks with general consent warred upon Priam and the Trojans. But the Athenians of their own accord marched an army, first of all into Sardinia, afterwards into Ionia, and the third time into Thrace. Before the sepulchre there is a column in which two knights are seen fighting: their names are Melanopus and Marcatus; and they fell fighting against the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians, in the borders of the Eleusinia and Tanagraeans.

There are likewise to be seen here the tombs of the Thessalian knights who, in consequence of their ancient friendship, came to assist the Athenians when the Peloponnesians, led by Archidamus, first entered Attica in an hostile manner; and near these the sepulchre of the Cretan archers is situated. Again, among the Athenian tombs, that of Clitihenes is the first, who instituted that mode of distribution into tribes, which is observed at present; and after this the sepulchres of those knights succeed, who fell in that battle in which the Thessalians underwent the same danger with the Athenians. The Cleonaei too are interred in the same place, who came with the Argives into Attica; but on what account I shall relate in my description of the Argives. There is also a sepulchre of those Athenians who, prior to the Persian war, fought against the Aeginetae. But that institution of the people was certainly just which conferred the hono—
nour of public burial on servants, and inscribed their names on pillars, if they were such as had vigorously assisted their masters in battle. There are also monuments of other men who fell fighting in different places; but the most illustrious of all are those that fought at Olynthus. Here too you may perceive the sepulchre of Melesander, who failed through the river Mæander to the upper Caria. Those likewise are buried here who fell in the war of Cisander, through assisting the Argives.

But they report that they conciliated to themselves this alliance with the Argives, as follows: Divinity having shaken the territories of the Lacedæmonians with an earthquake, the Hilotes departed into Ithome; and this revolt obliged the Lacedæmonians to demand assistance both of others and the Athenians. In consequence of this; they sent chosen men upon the embassy, and among these Cimon the son of Miltiades. But these the Lacedæmonians appointed for the purpose, because they considered them as suspected persons. The Athenians, however, were not moderately moved with the reproach, and immediately made a league with the Argives, who were the perpetual enemies of the Lacedæmonians. Afterwards, when the Athenians were about to engage with the Boeotians and Lacedæmonians, the Argives sent them assistance; and they were nearly victors in this battle, but night coming on hindered their conquest from being complete. The next day, however, by the treachery of the Thessalian horse, the Athenians were vanquished by the Lacedæmonians.

But of those commanders whose sepulchres are to be seen in that place, Apollodorus the leader of the mercenary troops is by far the most illustrious, who was indeed an Athenian, but was sent by Aristæus, the satrap of Phrygia,
THE DESCRIPTION

Phrygia, by the Hellespont, with assistance, and preserved the city of the Perinthians, when Philip invaded it with an army. He therefore is buried in this place; likewise Eubulus the son of Spintharus, and those men whose virtue was not afflicted by fortune. For some of these when they had sworn to depose the tyrant Lachares, and others when they had formed plans for abolishing the guard of Macedonians at the Piræus, before they could accomplish their designs, were cut off by the information of spies. Here too those are buried who fell at Corinth, where the god evinced in no trifling degree, as likewise afterwards in the Leutrican battle, that those who are called bold by the Greeks were nothing without the assistance of fortune. For the Lacedæmonians, who before this had vanquished the Corinthians, Athenians, Argives, and Boeotians, suffered such a mighty loss by the Boeotians alone in the battle at Leuctra.

But after their tombs that perished at Corinth, there is one column erected over many, as the inscribed elegies evince; and some of these died in Euboia and Chios; some in the extremities of the contine:nt of Asia; and others in Sicily. The names of the commanders too are inscribed, except Nicias, and the names of the Platæan soldiers, together with those of the military townsmen. But the reason why Nicias is omitted is, I believe, that which Philiphus assigns. For he writes that Demosthenes, in making a surrender, excepted himself alone, and that when he was delivered up to the enemy he attempted to destroy himself; but that Nicias voluntarily surrendered himself, and that on this account his name is not inscribed in the column, because, after yielding himself to the enemy, he had not acted in a manner becoming a military character.
OF GREECE.

But in another pillar their names are inscribed who fought at Thrace and Megara, when the Mantinean Arcadians and Eleans, through the persuasions of Alcibiades, revolted from the Lacedaemonians; and likewise their names who before Demosthenes came into Sicily conquered the Syracusans. Their sepulchres too are to be seen here that fought in a naval battle about the Hellespont; likewise those that opposed the Macedonians in Chaeronea; and those that fought under Cleon at Amphipolis. To which we may add, those that fell at Delium in the borders of the Tanagrians; those that Leosthenes led into Thessaly; those that failed with Cimon into Cyprus; and those that followed Olympiodorus, who, though no more than thirteen in number drove out the guard of the Macedonians.

But the Athenians report that they once sent no great army in aid of the Romans, who were carrying on a war against their neighbours, and that afterwards a naval battle taking place between the Romans and Carthaginians, five Attic three-oared galleys came to the assistance of the Romans. In this place therefore there is a sepulchre of these soldiers. But we have before related the transactions of Tolmides and his soldiers, and after what manner they died; and if any one is desirous of knowing where they are buried, he will find their sepulchres in the same road with the others. Those men too are buried in this place, who, led by Cimon, acquired great martial renown; for in the same day they vanquished the enemy at Eurymedon in a land engagement. Conon likewise and Timotheus are buried in this place, viz. the father and son, both of whom, after Miltiades and Cimon, performed illustrious achievements. Zeno too the son of Mnastas is buried here, Chryseippus Solennis, Nicias the son
THE DESCRIPTION

son of Nicomedes, who was the most excellent painter of animals of his time, and Aristogiton who slew Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus. But the orators that are interred here are Ephialtes, who particularly perverted the institutions of the Areopagus; and Lycurgus the son of Lycophron, who, in collecting money for the public treasury, surpassed Pericles the son of Xanthippus by six thousand five hundred talents. The same person likewise procured for the sacred procession of Minerva golden victories, and a hundred ornaments for the virgins. But for the purposes of war he furnished shields and darts; and so augmented the fleet, that four hundred three-oared galleys might be led to a naval engagement. Among the buildings too there is a theatre, which was begun by others, and finished by him; and while he governed the republic, he built docks for ships in the Piræus, and a gymnasion which is called the Lyceum. The works however of gold and silver which he dedicated, Lachares during his tyranny plundered; but the edifices remain even at present.

C H A P. XXX.

BEFORE the entrance into the Academy, there is an altar of Love, with an inscription signifying that Charmus was the first of the Athenians that offered a consecrated gift to Love. For they say that the altar within the city, which is called the altar of Anteros, was the gift of the inhabitants, and was dedicated on the following account. Meles the Athenian, being weary of his lover Timagoras, ordered him to throw himself from a rock; and Timagoras,
OF GREECE.

Goras, who was not willing even to spare his life, that he might gratify the youth, ascended the rock, and hurled himself from its summit. But in consequence of this, the inhabitants ordered that the daemon Anteros, the avenger of the love of Timoras, should be worshipped in that place. But in the Academy there is an altar of Prometheus, from which they run towards the city, carrying with them burning lamps; and at the same time while they are running, contend with each other about keeping the lamps burning; for he whose lamp is in the race extinguished, yields the victory to his successor, and he again, if similarly unfortunate, to a third person. But if the lamps of all of them are extinguished, the victory is not left for any one.

In the same Academy too there is an altar of the Muses, and another of Mercury; and in the more interior parts there is one of Minerva, and one of Hercules. There is likewise an olive tree, which is reported to be the second that ever appeared. But not far from the Academy there is the sepulchre of Plato, whose arrival at the summit of Philosophy is reported to have been previously signified by Divinity: for Socrates in the night, before that day on which Plato became his disciple, saw in a dream a swan fly to his bosom. But the swan is a bird celebrated for its harmony. For they report that Cycnus king of the Ligurians in Gallia Transpadana was renowned for his skill in music, and that when he died Apollo changed him into the bird whose name he bore. For my own part, indeed, I can easily believe, that a man given to music reigned over the Ligurians; but it appears to me incredible that a man should be changed into a bird. But in this part of the region there is the tower of Timon, who alone...
THE DESCRIPTION

knew, that it is impossible by any means to be happy, without fleeing the society of other men. A place also is to be seen, which they call the Equestrian hill; and they report that Oedipus first came into this part of Attica; differing by this relation from the poesy of Homer. There too you may see the altars of Equestrian Neptune, and Equestrian Minerva; and heroic monuments of Perithous, Theseus, Oedipus and Adrastus. But the grove and temple of Neptune were burnt by Antigonus, who also at another time, invading Attica with an army, injured other parts of the Athenian land.

C H A P. XXXI.

W I T H respect to the small towns of Attica, each of which is inhabited just as it happens, the following particulars deserve to be noticed. Among the Halimufians there is a temple of Ceres Thesmophorus and Proserpine. But in Zoster near the sea, there are altars of Minerva, Diana, and Latona. And they report indeed that Latona brought forth her children in this place, and that unloosing her zone for the purpose of being delivered, the town from thence received its appellation. But the Propaltii have also a temple of Ceres and Proserpine, and the Anagryaii have a temple of the mother of the gods. Among the Cephalenes the Dioscuri are principally revered; for they call them mighty gods. But among the Praefires there is a temple of Apollo, to which they report the first fruits of the Hyperboreans are sent. For the Hyperboreans commit them to the Arimaspis; the Arimaspis to the Isedonians; the Scythians receiving them from these carry them to Sinope; from thence they are carried
OF GREECE.

Carried by the Greeks to the Praënenes; and lastly the Athenians send them to Delos. But these first fruits are concealed in stalks of wheat; and it is not lawful for any one to behold them.

But among the Praënenes there is a sepulchre of Erisichthon, who returning from Delos, whither he went with sacred concerns, died in the course of his navigation. With respect to Cranaus king of the Athenians, we have before mentioned, that he was driven from the kingdom by Amphiécyon his son-in-law; and they report, that flying with his army to the Lamprenes he there died, and was buried in the same place. And indeed even now there is also a sepulchre of Cranaus among the Lamprenes. There is also a sepulchre of Ion the son of Xuthus (for he dwelt in Attica, and was the general of the Athenians in the war against the Eleusinians) in that Attic town which is called Potamus. And such is the information which is derived from report.

But the Phlyenes and the Myrrhinusii have altars of Apollo Dionysodotus, of splendour-bearing Diana, of florid Bacchus, of the nymphs Itmenides, and of Earth, whom they call a mighty goddess. But another temple contains the altars of Ceres Anesidora, of Cetian Jupiter, of Mi- nerva Tithrone, of first-born Proserpine, and of the goddesses which they call Severa. The Myrrhinusii too have an image of Cœnis; but the Athmonenises worship Diana Amarysia, concerning which appellation I never could find any one able to give a satisfactory account. As far, however, as I can conjecture, Amarnthus is a town of Eubœa, and in this town they worship Diana Amarysia. The Athenians likewise have a festival sacred to Diana Amarysia, and which is in no respect less illustrious than that of the Eubœans;
THE DESCRIPTION

Euboeans; and from hence, I think, the Athmonenses derived this appellation. But I am of opinion that the image of Colæus, which is among the Myrrhinusii, was so called from Colæus. I have elsewhere too observed, that in the Attic towns they report, that many reigned over the Athenians prior to Cecrops. The Myrrhinusii, therefore, believe that Colæus was king in Attica before Cecrops. There is also a town called Acharna; and these worship among their gods Agyius Apollo, and Hercules, and have an altar of Minerva Hygeia. They likewise call Minerva Equestrian, and Bacchus Melpomenus, and Ivy; for they assert that the ivy was first seen in this place.

C H A P. XXXII.

But the mountains in Attica are, first, Pentelicus, where there are stone quarries; Parnes, which affords plenty of wild boars and bears to hunters; and Hymettus, which abounds with pastures the fittest of all others for bees except those of the Halizones. For the Halizonian bees are so gentle, that they will go a foraging along with men, and fly about unrestrained, as they are not kept in hives. They make their honey too everywhere, and this of such a concrete nature that you cannot separate it from the wax. But the statues of the gods in the Attic mountains are as follows: In the mountain Pentelicus there is a statue of Minerva; in Hymettus, of Hymettian Jupiter, together with altars of Jupiter Pluvius, and fore-seeing Apollo. But in the mountain Parnes there is a brazen image of Parmethian Jupiter, and an altar of Semalcan Jupiter. There is also another altar in the same place, upon
OF GREECE.

upon which they sacrifice to Jupiter, whom at one time they call Pluvius, and at another time Innoxious. There is likewise a mountain denominated Ancheliusus, which is not very large, and in it a statue of Jupiter Ancheliusus. But before I begin a description of the islands, I shall again discourse on the particulars relative to the Attic towns.

The town Marathon then is at an equal distance from Athens and Caryftus, a town in Euboea. The Barbarians (i.e. the Persians) first entered on this part of Attica, and being vanquished in battle, lost certain ships in their flight. But in the plain of this part of the country there is a tomb of those Athenians that fell in the battle, and pillars upon it, in which the names and tribes of the slain are inscribed. There is also another tomb for the Boeotian Plataenscns, and for servants; for that was the first time that servants engaged in battle. And there is a tomb separate from the rest, of Miltiades the son of Cimon, whose valour when he besieged Paron, not being attended with good fortune, caused him to be condemned by the people; and who died soon after his condemnation. In these plains the neighings of horses are heard every night, and men are seen fighting; and those who purposely come as hearers or spectators into these plains suffer for their curiosity; but such as are accidentally witnesses of these prodigies are not injured by the anger of the daemons. But the Marathonians highly honour those that have fallen in battle, and give them the appellation of heroes; they likewise venerate Marathon, from whom the town is called, and Hercules, asserting that Hercules was worshipped by them the first of all the Greeks.

But
THE DESCRIPTION

But it happened in this battle, as they report, that they received assistance from a man of a rustic appearance, who, after he had destroyed many of the Barbarians with a plough, suddenly vanished from their sight; and when the Athenians enquired of the oracle who this unknown person was, the god gave them no other answer than that they should worship the hero Ethelæus. But a trophy of white stone was erected in that place. They report too, that the Athenians buried the Medes that fell in the battle, considering the interment of the dead body of a man in the earth as an action in every respect holy; though, for my own part, I could neither meet with a tomb, nor grave, nor any other vestige of burial, and therefore I suspect that they threw them into any ditch or hollow that happened to present itself to their view. But in Marathon there is a fountain which they call Macaria, and of which the following particulars are reported: Hercules, when he fled from Tirynthia, that he might avoid Eurytheus, came to Ceyx king of the Trachiniains, who was his friend. But when Hercules retired from the society of mankind, Eurytheus begged that the children of Hercules might be delivered to him. Trachinius, however, who, on account of his imbecility, was fearful of a war, sent them to Theseus at Athens, considering that Theseus was capable of revenging their cause. When, therefore, the boys arrived at Athens in a supplicant habit, they report that the Peloponnesians then first tarried upon the Athenians, because Theseus would not, in compliance with the entreaties of Eurytheus, deliver to him the children of Hercules. They further report too, that an oracle admonished the Athenians, that it was necessary one of the children
OF GREECE.

children of Hercules should voluntarily devote himself to death, as they could not by any other means obtain the victory. That, in consequence of this, Macaria, the daughter of Hercules by Deianira, willingly surrendered herself to death, enabled the Athenians to obtain the victory, and caused the fountain to bear her name.

There is also in Marathon a lake, which is for the most part muddy, into which the Barbarians flying, fell, through ignorance of the way; and, as they report, many of them were by this means destroyed. Above the lake there are stone mangers of the horses of Artaphernes, and in the stone vestiges of a tent. A river also flows from the lake, whose streams near the lake are adapted to the purposes of cattle; but, not far from their ingress into the sea, they become salt, and are full of marine fishes. But the mountain Pan is at no great distance from the Marathonian plains, in which there is a cavern whose entrance is but narrow, but when you have penetrated its more interior parts, you will perceive cells and baths, that which they call Pan's flock of goats, and stones which very much resemble the shape of goats.

C H A P. XXXIII.

BUT Brauron is situated not far from Marathon, to which place they report that Iphigenia the daughter of Agamemnon fled with the statue of Taurica Diana; and that leaving it here, she came to Athens, and afterwards to Argos. And there is indeed in this place an ancient image of Diana; but who those are among the Barbarians that have the image of Taurica Diana, I shall evince...
THE DESCRIPTION

in another part of this work. But to those who are travelling near the sea towards Oropus, Rhamnus presents itself to the view, which is about sixty stadia distant from Marathon. In this place there are habitations for men by the sea; and at a small distance from the sea there is a temple of Nemesis, who of all the divinities is most implacable to insolent and injurious men. And it appears that the Barbarians at Marathon experienced the anger of this goddess; for, treating the opposition of the Athenians with scorn, they brought with them Parian marble for the purpose of erecting a trophy, as if they were certain of being victorious. But of this stone Phidias made a statue of Nemesis; and on the head of the goddess, there is a crown adorned with flags, and images of victory of no great magnitude. In her left hand too she holds the branch of an ash-tree, and in her right a cup, in which the Ethiopians are carved; but why, I can neither assign any reason, nor subscribe to their opinion who say that the Ethiopians signify the river of the Ocean, because these people dwell near it, and because Ocean is the father of Nemesis. For the Spaniards and Gauls do not dwell near the river of the Ocean, but near the last navigable sea, in which also the island Britannia is contained.

But the most distant Ichthyophagi dwell above Syene, near the Red Sea; and the bay about which they reside, is called Ichthyophagus. But the most just men inhabit the city Meroe, and the plain which is called Ethiopian. These people exhibit the table of the sun; but they have not any sea, nor any river except the Nile. There are other Ethiopians too, who dwell near the Mauri, and who extend as far as to the Nafamones. For the Nafamones, whom Herodotus considers as the same with the Atlantics, and who are
are said to know the measure of the earth, are called by
those Lyrians that dwell in the extreme parts of Lybia,
near the mountain Atlas, Loxi. And these people know
nothing, but live on rustic vines. But neither have these
Æthiopians, nor the Nafamones any rivers; for the water
which flows from mount Atlas, though it is parted into
three streams, yet no one of the streams forms a river, on
account of its being immediately absorbed by the sand.
So that the Æthiopians do not dwell near any other river
than that of the Ocean. And the water indeed which
descends from Atlas is turbulent, and crocodiles are pro-
duced near its fountain, which are not less than two cu-
bits in length. But these animals, on the approach of men,
merge themselves in the fountain; and this circumstance
causes many to suspect that this water emerging again
from the sand, produces the river Nile for the Egyptians.
But the mountain Atlas is so lofty, that it is said to reach
the heavens with its summit, and is inaccessible by reason
of the water and trees with which it is on all sides inclo-
sed. It can only therefore be known from that part which
looks to the Nafamones; for we do not know of any ship
that ever failed by its maritime parts. And thus much
concerning particulars of this kind.

But neither has this statue of Nemesis, nor any other
ancient statue of the goddess, wings. Among the Smyr-
neans, however, who possess the most holy images of Ne-
mesis, I perceived afterwards that these statues had wings.
For as this goddess principally pertains to lovers, on this
account they may be supposed to have given wings to Ne-
mesis as well as to Love. But I shall now relate what is
to be seen at the base of the statue, only first of all men-
tioning the following particular, by way of elucidation.

H 2

The
THE DESCRIPTION

The Greeks report, that Nemesis was the mother of Helen, but that Leda was her nurse; for all the Greeks are unanimous in asserting that Jupiter, and not Tindarus, was her father. But Phidias being well acquainted with these particulars, represented Helen led by Leda to Nemesis. He added also Tindarus and his sons, and a man whom they call Hippea standing by a horse. Agamemnon too, Menelaus, and Pyrrhus the son of Achilles are present, which last, first of all, espoused Hermione the daughter of Helen. But Orestes is not introduced on account of his impious conduct towards his mother; though Hermione never deserted him, but even bore him a son. But after these there is to be seen in the base, a person called Ephocus, and another young man; concerning whom I could derive no other information, than that they were the brothers of Oenoe, after whom the town is called.

C H A P. XXXIV.

AGAIN, the Boeotians formerly possessed the Oropian land, which lies between Attica and Tanagra; but at present it is in the power of the Athenians. The Athenians indeed fought a long time for its possession, but could not firmly obtain it till Philip, having taken Thebes, bestowed it on them. The city itself, which is called Oropus, is situated near the sea, but does not afford any thing greatly worthy of description. From this city, the temple of Amphiaraus is distant about twelve stadia. But it is reported that Amphiaraus flying to Thebes was swallowed up together with his chariot in an opening of the earth. According to others, however, this took place in the way which leads from Thebes.
OF GREECE.

Thebes to Chalcis, and which road is now called the chariots. But the Oropians first of all ranked Amphiaraurus among the number of the gods; and he was afterwards worshipped by all the Greeks. I can also mention others, that were once men, and were after their death worshipped as gods by the Greeks, and to whom also cities were dedicated; as for instance, Eleus in Chersonesus was dedicated to Proteus; in Bœotia, Lebadea to Trophonius; and among the Oropians there is a temple sacred to Amphiaraurus, and a statue of white stone. But his altar is distributed into five parts; one to Hercules, Jupiter, and Apollo Pæonian; a second, to the heroes, and their wives; a third, to Vesta, Hermes, Amphiaraurus, and the sons of Amphilochoth (for Alcmeon, on account of the slaughter of Eriphyle, is no part of Amphiaraurus, and does not receive any honour in conjunction with Amphilochoth); but a fourth part of the altar is sacred to Venus, Panacea, Jason, Hygia, and Minerva Pæonea; and the fifth to the Nymphs, Pan, and to the rivers Achelous and Cephisus.

But the Athenians have an altar in their city, to Amphilochoth; and in a city of Cilicia called Mallo there is an oracle of Amphilochoth, which is the least fallacious of all that exist at present. There is also among the Oropians a fountain near the temple, which they call Amphiaraurus, but to which they neither sacrifice any thing, nor yet think it lawful to use the water of it for lustrations, or washing the hands: but he who has been liberated from any disease by means of the oracle, throws a piece of impressed gold or silver into the fountain and departs; for they report that the god Amphiaraurus ascended from hence. But Iophon the Gnossian, one of the interpreters of Attic antiquities,
THE DESCRIPTION

antiquities, shewed me prophecies uttered in hexameter verses by Amphiarus; and among others that oracle which he gave to the Argives when they designed to invade Thebes. It must however be remembered, that an opinion when once received by the vulgar, is vehemently defended by them without any regard to its truth; for, except those who are reported by antiquity to have been inspired by Apollo, it does not appear that any one has been endowed with the power of delivering oracles, since all the rest have either been interpreters of dreams, or have been skilful in explaining the signification of the flying of birds, and the entrails of animals. So that it appears to me, that Amphiarus was eminently skilful in the interpretation of dreams; and the truth of this is evinced from hence, that when he was ranked among the number of the gods, he instituted the art of prophesying by dreams. But all those that come to consult Amphiarus must first be purified; and the purification consists in sacrificing to the god. But when they sacrifice to Amphiarus, they also sacrifice to all the rest whose names are inscribed in the same altar. And after the accomplishment of this ceremony they sacrifice a ram to him, and, lying down to sleep on the skin of this animal, expect the revelations of dreams.

C H A P. XXXV.

BUT there are certain islands belonging to the Athenians, and at no great distance from their country. One of these is called Patroclus, the particulars of which I have before related. The other is above Sunium, and to those that are failing
O F G R E E C E.

103

failing towards Attica, is on the left hand. It is reported that Helen drove to this island after her expulsion from Troy, and that the island was on this account called Helena. But Salamis, which is situated opposite to Eleusis, extends as far as to Megara. They report that the name Cychreus was first given to the island, by Salamis the mother of Aeolus; that the Aeginetes were afterwards brought into it by Telamon; and that it was delivered to the Athenians by Phyleus the son of Euryfao, and the grandson of Ajax, when he was made by them an Athenian. But the Athenians reproached the Salaminians many years after, because in the war against Cassander they were designedly more remiss than they ought to have been, and surrendered the city to the Macedonians, rather voluntarily than from compulsion. They also condemned Ascestades to death, who was then the prœtor of Salamis; swore that they would always remember his betraying them; and that they would deliver the Salaminians as betrayers to the latest posterity. The ruins of the Forum yet remain, and the temple of Ajax, and together with this a statue of ebony. And the honours indeed which were decreed by the Athenians to Ajax, and his son Euryfao, yet remain; and there is also an altar of Euryfao at Athens.

But a stone is exhibited at Salamis not far from the port, upon which they say Telamon sat when he beheld the ship which carried his sons to Aulis to the Grecian fleet. And these that dwell about Salamis report, that after the death of Ajax, a flower appeared in their country, for the first time, which was white and somewhat red, but less so throughout than the lily; and that it was inscribed with letters similar to those of the hyacinth. I have heard indeed what the Aeolians who inhabited

H 4

Troy
Troy after its destruction, reported concerning the judgment about the arms of Achilles, and that after the shipwreck of Ulysses they were brought to the sepulchre of Ajax. But a certain person named Mysus told me the following particulars respecting Ajax; viz. that the parts of his sepulchre which were near the shore were so washed away by the sea, that the entrance to his tomb was by no means difficult; and that I might conjecture his bulk from this circumstance, that the vertebrae of his knees, which the physicians call molæ, might vie with those quoits used by the Athletes who are called Quinteriones. Indeed I by no means wonder at the magnitude of those Gauls who inhabit the extreme parts of Gallia, which, on account of the continual cold, are almost deserts, and who are called Barenseae; for their bodies are not larger than the dead bodies which are shewn by the Egyptians. But I shall relate such particulars of this kind as appear to me worthy of inspection.

Among the Magnesians that dwell by the river Lethæus, there was a certain person called Protephanes, who in one day was declared victor at Olympia, both in the pancratium and wrestling. It once happened that some robbers, drawn by the hope of prey, broke into his tomb, and after these other persons, merely that they might behold his dead body. For his ribs were not separated like those of other men, but there was one continued bone from his shoulders to that part which is called by physicians notch. But among the Milesians, before the city, there is an island called Lade, and which is divided into two small islands. One of these they denominate Asterius, because Asterius the son of Anax was buried in it; and Anax was the son of Earth. The dead body, therefore, of this Asterius is
is not less than ten cubits in length. But the following circumstance appeared to me truly admirable. In the upper Lydia, there is a city of no great magnitude, and which is called the Gates of Temenis. In this place, a sepulchre being torn open by a tempest, certain bones were exposed to the view, which, if it were not for their retaining the figure of human bones, no one would believe, from their size, that they were the bones of a man. But a report was immediately spread among the vulgar, that this was the dead body of Ceryon, the son of Chrysaror, and that the throne also belonged to him; for a throne is to be seen fashioned in a prominent stone of the mountain. But they say that the torrent which pours along near this place should be called Ocean; and they farther add, that husbandmen often while they are plowing meet with the horns of oxen, and this because Ceryon is reported to have bred most excellent oxen. But I cannot by any means assent to this opinion, because it appears that Ceryon dwelt at Gades; that there is not any sepulchre of him extant; and that nothing but a tree remains, endowed with a variety of forms. The historians however of the Lydian antiquities give a true relation of this affair, viz. that this gigantic corpse is the dead body of Hyllus, but that Hyllus was the son of Earth, and that from him the river was denominated. Lastly, that Hercules, on account of his association with Omphale, called his son Hyllus from the name of the river.

CHAP.
C H A P. XXXVI.

BUT in Salamis (that I may return from whence I digressed) there is a temple of Diana, and a trophy in memorial of that victory which Themistocles the son of Neocles obtained for the Greeks. There is also a temple of Cychreus. For when the Athenians engaged in a naval battle with the Medes, they report that a dragon was seen in their ships; and that the oracle of Apollo informed the Athenians, that this was the hero Cychreus. But there is an island before Salamis, which is called Pthytalia. Into this they report that four hundred of the Barbarians descended, and that, the fleet of Xerxes being destroyed, the Greeks passing into this island slew the four hundred. But the island does not contain one artificial statue; though there are several rude images of Pan. But in going from Eleusis to Athens, in that way which the Athenians call the sacred path, the sepulchre of Anthemocritus presents itself to the view, whom the Megarenses, violating the law of nations, most impiously slew, when he was sent as a messenger to announce to them that they should not cultivate that sacred land. But even to the present day, they have been pursued by the avenging anger of divinity; for not even the emperor Adrian, by the benefits which he conferred on the Megarenses, could restore them to their pristine flourishing state in conjunction with the other Greeks.

After the column of Anthemocritus the tomb of Molonius succeeds, to whom the Athenians assigned the command of the army, when they sent assistance to Plutarch in Euboea.
OF GREECE.

Euboea. And near this, there is a place which they call Scirum; and which was so denominated on the following account. While the Eleusinians were at war with Erechtheus, a certain prophet came from Dodona, whose name was Scirus. This man established the ancient temple of Minerva Sciras in Phalerum, and falling in battle, the Eleusinians buried him near the torrent. And in consequence of this, both the place and the river are denominated from the hero. But near this, the monument of Cephisodorus is to be seen, who, when he governed the people, vehemently opposed Philip the son of Demetrius and king of the Macedonians. This Cephisodorus joined to himself as associates in war, together with the Athenians, Attalus king of the Myrians, and Ptolemy the Egyptian; but of the independent nations, the Etolians, and the inhabitants of the Rhodian and Cretan islands. But as the assistance from Myria, Egypt, and Crete, came for the most part too late, and as the Rhodians, whose force was wholly naval, could not make any great resistance against the heavy armour of the Macedonians, hence Cephisodorus, coming into Italy, supplicated the assistance of the Romans. But the Romans having sent him an army and a commander, so entirely vanquished the forces of Philip and the Macedonians, that they afterwards took away the kingdom from Perseus the son of Philip, and led him captive to Rome. But this Philip was the son of that Demetrius, who, the first of this family (as we have before related), after having slain Alexander the son of Cassander, obtained the kingdom of Macedonia.

CHAP.
THE DESCRIPTION

C H A P. XXXVII.

AFTER the tomb of Cephisodorus, Heliodorus Halis lies buried, whose picture is to be seen in the great temple of Minerva. In the same place too, Themistocles the son of Poliarchus is buried, and who was the great-grandson of that Themistocles who fought in a naval battle against Xerxes and the Medes. But I shall take no notice of any of his posterity, except Acestium. This woman was the daughter of Xenocles the son of Sophocles and the grandson of Leon, and all her relations from her great-grandfather Leon were made torch-bearers in the Mysteries, while she was alive. For first she saw her brother Sophocles a torch-bearer, afterwards her husband Themistocles, and when he died, her son Theophrastus. And such is the good fortune which she is said to have enjoyed. But on proceeding a little farther, you will perceive the grove of the hero Lacius, and a town which is called from him Lacida. There is likewise in the same place the tomb of Nicocles Tarentinus, who obtained the greatest renown of all the harpers; and an altar of Zephyr, and a temple of Ceres and her daughter. It is reported that Ceres was hospitably received in this region by Phytalus, and that the goddess in return for his kindness gave him a fig-tree. But the truth of this report is evinced by the following epigram in the tomb of Phytalus. “In this place the royal hero Phytalus once received the venerable Ceres; and the first bestowed on him that mature fruit which mortals denominate the holy fig; but from hence the family of Phytalus is assigned decaying honours.”

But
OF GREECE.

But before you pass over the river Cephissus, you will perceive the sepulchre of Theodorus, who as a tragic actor surpassed all of his time. Near the river there are two statues, one of Mnesimachus, the other of a boy cutting off his hair as an offering to the river Cephissus. But that it was an ancient custom with all the Greeks to cut off locks of their hair to rivers you may infer from the poesy of Homer, in which he relates, that Peleus vowed his hair to the river Sperchius, for the safe return of Achilles from Troy. Having passed over Cephissus, you will perceive an ancient altar of mild Jupiter, upon which Theseus is said to have been purified for slaughtering the progeny of Phytaulus. But Theseus slew other robbers, and Sinis, who was related to him by Pittheus his mother's grandfather. In the same place too there are the sepulchres of Theodecles, Phaselitas, and Mnesitheus, which last is reported to have been a good physician, and to have dedicated several statues, among which that of Iacchus was one. In this road there is a temple of no great magnitude, which is called the temple of Cyamitas. But I cannot affirm with certainty whether this person first of all sowed beans, or whether the temple was denominat'd out of reverence to some hero, because it is not lawful for them to ascribe the invention of beans to Ceres. But he that has been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, or has read the poems called Orphic, will know what I mean.

In this place there are two sepulchres, both excellent for their magnitude and ornament; one of these is the tomb of a Rhodian who migrated to Athens; and the other was raised by Harpalus the Macedonian, who, flying from Alexander, passed over with a fleet from Asia into Europe; and when he came to Athens, and was taken into custody by
by the Athenians, through corrupting with money both the friends of Alexander and others, escaped the danger that threatened him. But prior to this, he had married Pythionece, whose family I am unacquainted with, but who prostituted herself both at Athens and Corinth. Harpalus loved this woman so immoderately, that when she died, he raised a monument for her, the most admirable of all the ancient works which Greece contains. You may here too behold a temple, in which there are statues of Ceres, Proserpine, Minerva and Apollo. At first there was one temple sacred to Apollo; for they say that Cephalus the son of Deioneus, when he came with Amphitryon to the Teleboæ, first inhabited that island, which is now called from him Cephalenia: and they farther report, that he migrated to Thebes, in consequence of his flying from Athens, for murdering his wife Procris. Ten ages after this, the posterity of Cephalus, viz. Chalcinus and Dæcus, when they sailed to Delphos, and consulted the god about their return to Athens, were answered, that they should first sacrifice to Apollo in Attica, in that place where they saw a three-oared galley running on the ground. When, therefore, they drew near to that mountain which is called Varios, they saw a dragon rapidly proceeding to his retreats; and in this place they sacrificed to Apollo, and afterwards coming into the city were made citizens by the Athenians. But after this there is a temple of Venus, and before it a wall built of rude stone, but which deserves to be inspected.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

But those channels which are called Rheti, are only in their flowing similar to rivers; for their water is that of the sea. And some one, perhaps, may be induced to believe that they flow from the Chalcidican Euripus, and fall from the earth into a more depressed sea. These Rheti are said to be sacred to Proserpine and Ceres; and it is not lawful for any but the priests to take the fifth which they contain. And these indeed, as I understand, are the ancient boundaries of the Eleusinian and Attic lands. But Crocon is said to have polluted the country which is beyond the Rheti, and which is even at present called the kingdoms of Crocon. The Athenians report, that Saphara the daughter of Celeus was married to this Crocon, though this indeed is not the opinion of all of them, but only of those that belong to the town of the Scambonidae. For my own part I never could find the sepulchre of Crocon; but both the Eleusinians and Athenians exhibit the tomb of Eumolpus. And they report, that this Eumolpus came from Thrace, and that he was the son of Neptune and Chione; but that Chione was the daughter of the wind Boreas and Orithyia. Homer, indeed, makes no mention of his parents, but in his verses he calls Eumolpus a most courageous man. But a war taking place between the Eleusinians and Athenians, Erechtheus king of the Athenians, and Immarradus the son of Eumolpus, fell in the engagement; and the war was finished on these conditions, that the Eleusinians should deliver every thing up to the Athenians, except their Mysteries; for it was agreed that they
they should have the sole possession of these. And besides this, that Eumolpus and the daughters of Celeus should perform the sacred rites of Ceres and Proserpine. Both Pamphus and Homer call these daughters by the same names, viz. Diogenes, Pammerope, and the third Sæsara. But Ceryx the youngest son of Eumolpus survived his father, and is said by the tribe of heralds to have descended from Aglaurus the daughter of Cecrops, and Mercury, and not from Eumolpus.

But in the same place there is an heroic monument of Hippothoon, from whom a tribe is denominated, and near it that of Zarex, who is reported to have learned music from Apollo. But to me it appears that he was a foreigner; that he was by birth a Lacedæmonian; and that a maritime city of Laconia was denominated from him Zaraca. For if Zarex was a native of Attica, I am destitute of all information concerning him. But the river Cephissus runs through the Eleusinian land with much greater force than in any other place; and near it there is a place which is called Caprisicus, into which Pluto, when he ravished Proserpine, is said to have descended. Near this river Cephissus, Theseus slew the robber Polypemon, who was called Procrustes. But among the Eleusinians there is a temple of Triptolemus, of Propylea Diana, and of Neptune the father; and likewise a well which they call Callilchorus, where the Eleusinian women first instituted a choir, and sang in honour of the goddess. But in the plain which they call Rhariam, seeds are said to have been first sown, and fruits to have first increased; and on this account they use the barley which this field produces, and make cakes from it for sacrifices. In this place too a threshing-floor is shewn, which is called by the
the name of Triptolemus, and an altar which is sacred to him. But I am forbid by a dream from relating the particulars contained within the sacred wall; and indeed, though I were not prohibited in this manner, yet it is well known even to the uninitiated, that it is unlawful to hear what it is not proper to behold.

But the hero Eleusis, from whom the city is denominated, is said by some to have descended from Mercury, and Daira the daughter of Ocean; but according to others, he was the son of Ogygus: for the ancient Eleusinians, as they are unable to refer their origin to any age of mankind, have given occasion to fictitious reports, especially with respect to the race of their heroes. But in the way from Eleusis to Bœotia, Platæensis presents itself to the view, which borders on the Athenians, for formerly the Eleutherenfes separated Attica and Bœotia; but after the Eleutherenfes came into the power of the Athenians, the mountain Cithæron was considered as the boundary of each country. But the Eleutherenfes assumed an Attic name, not from the compulsion of war, but in consequence of desiring the Athenian mode of government, and the hatred which they bore to the Thebans. In this plain too there is a temple of Bacchus; and the ancient statue of this god was taken from hence, and brought to Athens; for, that which the Eleutherenfes at present possess was made in imitation of this. But not far from hence there is a cavern of no great magnitude, and near it a fountain of cold water. They report, that Antiope concealed in this cavern the twins which she brought forth, and that a shepherd finding the boys, freed them from their swaddling clothes, and washed them in the water of this fountain. But there are even at present some vestiges, both of the wall of the
Eleutherae, and of the buildings; and it is from hence evident, that the town itself was not much above the plain, towards Cithæron.

C H A P. XXXIX.

But another way leads from Eleusis to Megara; and those that travel this road, will perceive a well which they call florid. It is related by the poet Pamphus, that Ceres after the rape of Proserpine fat upon this, in the shape of an old woman; and that the daughters of Celeus finding her here, and supposing her to be what she appeared, led her to their mother; and that Meganira entrusted her with the education of her son. But not far from the well, the temple of Meganira is to be seen, and the tombs of those that fell at Thebes. For when Creon, who was the guardian of Laodamas the son of Eteocles, governed the Thebans, he would not suffer the dead bodies of the slain to be interred; but Adrastus supplicating the affliction of Theseus, and a battle ensuing between the Athenians and Bœotians, Theseus, who was victor, took care that the dead bodies should be carried to the Eleusinian fields, and there buried. The Thebans however assert, that Creon never prohibited the interment of the dead, and that they never fought with the Athenians on that account. But after the tombs of the Argives there is a sepulchre of Alope, who, after she had brought forth Hippothoon by Neptune, was slain in that place, as they report, by her father Cercyon. Indeed Cercyon is said to have behaved in a brutal manner to all strangers, and particularly to such as were unwilling to contend in wrestling; and at present there is a place not far
OF GREECE.

far from the tomb of Alope, which is called the Palæstra of Cercyon. But it is reported that Cercyon slew all those that contended with him in wrestling, except Theseus, who far excelled him in this art. For Theseus first invented the art of wrestling, and it became afterwards established from his instruction; for before this, they employed in wrestling nothing but magnitude and strength of body. And such are the particulars among the Athenians, which are the most celebrated, and the most worthy to be inspected; for from the first I have omitted every thing unbecoming the present history.

But that place which is called the Megaric land borders on Eleusis; and the government of this place, which was left by Pandion to king Pyla, was formerly in the possession of the Athenians. This is evinced by a sepulchre of Pandion, which is in the place; and from this circumstance likewise, that Nisus permitted Ægeus, who was the oldest of that family, to govern the Athenians; and he himself was thought worthy to reign over the Megaric land, and as far as to the borders of the Corinthians. And there yet remains among the Megarenses a haven which is called, from him, Nisæa. But Codrus afterwards reigning, the Peloponnecians warred upon the Athenians; and as they did not exhibit any illustrious achievement in this war, they returned home, and in their way took Megara from the Athenians, and gave it to be inhabited by the Corinthians, and the rest of their allies that were willing. The Megarenses therefore, having in this manner changed both their manners and language, became Dorians; but they say that the city was thus denominated by Car the son of Phoroneus, who reigned in this country; and that then, for the first time, temples of Ceres were erected among
THE DESCRIPTION

among them, and that they were called by the people Megara. And such are the accounts which the Megarenses deliver of themselves.

But the Boeotians report, that Megareus the son of Neptune dwelt in Onchoeitus, and that from thence he came with an army of Boeotians in aid of Nifus against Minos; that falling in the engagement, he was buried in the place where he fell, and that the city was from him called Megara, which was before denominated Nisa. The Megarenses further add, that Lelex, twelve generations after Car the son of Phoroneus, came from Egypt, and that during his government the men were called Leleges; that Pyla was the offspring of Cleion the son of Lelex, and Sciron of Pyla, and that Sciron was married to the daughter of Pandion. Likewise, that this Sciron and Nifus the son of Pandion contended for the kingdom, and that they chose Aeacus for their judge; that Aeacus adjudged the kingdom to Nifus and his posterity, but to Sciron the command of the military affairs. Lastly, that Megareus the son of Neptune, to whom Nifus had given his daughter Iphinoe in marriage, succeeded his father-in-law in the kingdom; for the Megarenses are unwilling to know any thing about the Cretan war, and the capture of the city during the reign of Nifus.

C H A P. XL.

But there is a fountain in the city which was constructed by Theagenes, of whom we have before made mention, when we related that his daughter was married to Cylon the Athenian. Theagenes, then, during his government
OF GREECE.

vermament built this fountain, which well deserves to be inspected, both for its magnitude, ornament, and the number of its pillars. The water which flows into it, is called the water of the Sithnidan Nymphs. But the Megarenses assert that these Nymphs are natives of their country; that from one of the daughters of these, Megarus was born to Jupiter; and that Megarus escaped the deluge of Deucalion by flying to the top of the mountain Gerania, which at that time had not this appellation. For they report that Megarus, following the cry of the flying cranes, escaped to this place by swimming, and from thence gave the name Gerania to the mountain. But not far from this fountain there is an ancient temple, which contains even at present images of the Roman emperors, and a brazen statue of Diana the Saviour, the cause of which appellation was as follows:—After the army of Mardonius had invaded the Megaric land, they were desirous of returning to Thebes to their leader Mardonius: but the goddess Diana caused them to begin their march by night, and in consequence of this losing their way, they bent their course to the mountainous part of the country; and thinking that an army of enemies was near them, shot their arrows at the neighbouring rock, which emitted a sound like that of groaning: but they supposing that the noise was occasioned by the groans of wounded men, did not desist from shooting till their quivers were exhausted. But as soon as it was day, the armed Megarenses attacking them unarmed, flew a great part of their forces, and, in memorial of this victory, made an image of Diana the Saviour.

But in the same temple there are statues of the twelve gods as they are called, which are said to be the productions
ductions of Praxiteles; for it is certain that he made Diana Strongylion. After this, when you enter the grove of Jupiter, which is called Olympieum, you will perceive a temple well worthy of inspection, though the statue of Jupiter is not finished, owing to the war of the Peloponnesians against the Athenians, in which the Athenians by their land and marine forces greatly consumed every year both the public and private riches of the Megarenses. The face of this statue of Jupiter is fashioned from ivory and gold, but the other parts consist of clay and plaster. They report too, that Theocofmus, who was a native of this place, made the statue, and that he was assisted in the work by Phidias. Above the head of Jupiter, the Seasons and the Parcae are represented; for it is obvious to every one, that Fate is obedient to this divinity, and that she distributes the Seasons in a manner the most becoming and the best. In the back part of the temple there are certain half-finished images, which Theocofmus intended to have adorned with ivory and gold, for the purpose of completing the statue of Jupiter. In this part of the temple too there is a brazen prow of a three-oared galley, which the Megarenses report was taken by them in the naval battle against the Athenians, when they contended for Salamis. Indeed the Athenians confess that Salamis once revolted to the Megarenses; but they say, that being excited by the elegies of Solon, they first of all contended for the island, and afterwards recovered it in war. But the Megarenses on the contrary assert, that certain exiles, whom they call Dorycleii, mixing with the natives of Salamis, betrayed this country to the Athenians.

But after the grove of Jupiter, when you ascend into the tower, which is even at present called Caria, from
OF GREECE.

Car the son of Phoroneus, you will perceive the temple of Bacchus Nyctelius; likewise a temple of Venus Verticordia; that which is yet called the Oracle of Night; and the temple of Jupiter Pulvereus, with is without a roof. But the statues of Esculapius and Hygia were made by Bryaxis. In the same place too there is a temple of Ceres, which they call Megaron, and which Car is said to have built during his reign.

CHAPTER XL.

But on descending from that part of the tower which is situated towards the north, you will perceive the monument of Alcmenes near the temple of Olympian Jupiter. For they report, that she died in the borders of the Megarenses as she was going from Argos to Thebes; and that a dispute arose among the sons of Hercules, whether her dead body should be carried to Argos, or whether it should be buried at Thebes, since the sepulchres of the children of Hercules from Megara and Amphitryon were at Thebes. But when they consulted the Delphic god on this affair, he gave them for answer, that it would be better for them to bury Alcmenes in the Megaric land. But from hence one of the historians of the affairs of his country brought me into a place which he said was called Rhun, because water once flowed into it from the mountains which hang over the city; but that Theagenes, who then governed the country, turned the course of the water into another place, and that an altar was in that part consecrated to Acheleous. Near this there is a monument of Hyllus the son of Hercules, who fought in a single contest with Echemus the Arcadian, the son of Aeropus.
THE DESCRIPTION

Aeropus. But who this Echemus was, that flew Hyllus, I shall relate in another part of this history. But Hyllus was buried at Megara. And hence, this expedition may be properly called that of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, during the reign of Orestes.

But not far from the sepulchre of Hyllus the temple of Isis is to be seen, and after it, those of Apollo and Diana. They report that Alcathous dedicated these temples, after he had slain the lion which was called Cithæronius, and which had destroyed many persons, and among the rest Euippus the son of their king Megareus. For as the oldest of the two sons of Megareus, whose name was Timalcio, had been slain by Theseus when he invaded Aphidne with the Dioscuri, they report that Megareus promised his daughter in marriage, and the possession of his kingdom, to him that should slay the lion Cithæronius. That in consequence of this, Alcathous the son of Pelops attacked the lion and slew him; and that afterwards obtaining the kingdom, he dedicated the temple of Diana the huntress, and of Agræus Apollo. And such are the reports which are circulated concerning these particulars. But for my own part, though I am willing to relate whatever the Megarenses confess to be true, yet I cannot find how all the above circumstances could possibly take place. That the lion Cithæronius, indeed, was slain by Alcathous, I can easily believe; but who ever wrote that Timalcus the son of Megareus came against Aphidne with the Dioscuri? And even admitting that he did come; how can any one believe that he was slain by Theseus? since Alcman, who wrote verses on the Dioscuri, relates, that when they took Athens, and led away the mother of Theseus captive, Theseus himself was not at home. Pindar too nearly re-
OF GREECE.

I 
os the same; that Theseus was desirous of being related to the Dioscuri, till he went into Thesprotia in order to procure a wife for Pirithous. But he who applies himself to genealogies will know how stupid the Megarenses are, since Theseus derived his origin from Pelops; and of this the Megarenses themselves are convinced, though they designedly conceal it, because they are unwilling to confess that the city was taken during the government of Nisus, that Megareus his son-in-law succeeded him, and that afterwards Alcathous succeeded Megareus. But it appears that on the death of Nisus, and in consequence of the affairs of the Megarenses being subverted, Alcathous came from Elis. And the truth of this is confirmed from hence, that he entirely raised the walls whose ancient ambit was demolished by the Cretans. And thus much concerning Alcathous and the lion, whether he fell in Cithæron, or in any other place, and concerning the temple of Diana Agrotera, and of Apollo Agræus.

But on descending from this temple, you will perceive the heroic monument of Pandion. And indeed we have already evinced that Pandion was buried in that place which is called the rock of Æthyian Minerva. To this the Megarenses perform funeral honours within the city. But the sepulchre of Hippolyte is near this monument of Pandion, of which the Megarenses give the following account. When the Amazons warred upon the Athenians, on account of Antiope being taken by Theseus, many of them fell in the battle; but Hippolyte, who was the sister of Antiope, and who then commanded the Amazons, fled with a few forces to Megara. But being there greatly deserted on account of the unfortunate event of the war, and particularly from the uncertainty of being able to return
THE DESCRIPTION

turn Themiscyra safe to her country, she at length died through grief, was buried in the place which I have mentioned, and her tomb is fashioned in the shape of an Amazonian shield. And the sepulchre of Tereus is not far from this, who married Procne the daughter of Pandion.

But Tereus, as the Megarenses report, reigned about those fountains which are called the fountains of Megaris. It appears to me, however, and marks of the truth of my opinion yet remain, that he reigned in Daulis above Charonea; for the Barbarians formerly possessed many parts of that country which is now called Hellas, which Tereus, after his cruelty to Philomela, and the destruction of Itys by the women, was not able to subject to his dominion. And Tereus indeed slew himself among the Megarenses, who immediately raised a sepulchre for him, to which they sacrifice every year, using in the sacrifice pebbles instead of meal: and they report, that the bird called hoopoop was first of all seen in this place. But the women, when they came to Athens, wasted away through grief and weeping for what they had suffered and done. And it appears to me, that one of these was reported to have been changed into a nightingale, and the other into a swallow, because these birds sing in a sorrowful and lamenting strain.

CHAPTER XLII.

But the Megarenses have another tower which is called Alcathis, to which when you ascend, you will perceive on the right hand the sepulchre of Megareus, who came in the Cretan war from Oncheitus to the assistance of the Megarenses. A hearth also is to be seen here, of those gods that are called Prodromos, to whom they report Alcathous
OF GREECE.

Cathous first sacrificed when he was beginning to raise the wall. But near this hearth there is a stone, upon which they say Apollo laid his harp, when he assisted Alcathous in building the wall. But that the Megarenses formerly paid tribute to the Athenians, is evident, from hence, that Periboea the daughter of Alcathous was sent, together with Theseus, with a tribute into Crete. The Megarenses indeed affirm, that he was assisted in raising the walls by Apollo, and that the god placed his harp on the stone which I have mentioned. And this report is confirmed from hence, that if the stone be struck with a pebble, it will render the same sound as a harp when struck, which appeared to me a circumstance of a very wonderful nature; though the Colossus of the Egyptians in Thebes, which is beyond the Nile, and not far from that place which they call the Syringes, appeared to me much more wonderful. For there is even yet in this place the statue of a man sitting, which the vulgar call the monument of Memnon. This statue they report came from Aethiopia to Egypt, and as far as to Susa. And the Thebans indeed deny that it is the monument of Memnon; but affirm that it is the statue of one of their natives called Phamenophes. I have likewise heard it asserted, that this is the statue of Sesostris, which Cambyses dismembered: and even now the upper part, from the head to the middle of the body, lies on the ground; but the remaining part is yet in a sitting posture, and every day when the sun rises utters a sound similar to that which would be produced from the bursting of the string of a harp or a lyre.

But among the Megarenses there is a senate-house, in that place which, as they report, was once the sepulchre of Timarchus, who, as I have before asserted, was not slain by
by Theseus. On the top of the tower there is a temple of Minerva, and in it a statue of the goddess, which is wholly of gold except her hands and the extremities of her feet; for these, as well as her face, are fashioned from ivory. There is also another temple of Minerva who is called Victory, and a temple of Astartes, of whom, as there is no account given by the Megarensian historians, I shall relate a few particulars from my own opinion. Telamon then, the son of Aeusus, married Periboea the daughter of Alcathous; and it appears to me that his son Ajax, when he succeeded Alcathous in the government, dedicated this statue of Minerva. But the ancient temple of Apollo was constructed from tiles, but afterwards was built by the emperor Adrian from white stone. The statues, however, of Apollo Pythius and Decumanus are in a most eminent degree similar to the images of the Egyptians. But that statue which they call Archegetes is similar to the Æginetic works, and is wholly formed from ebony. I have heard too, from a certain Cyprian botanist, that the ebony does not produce either leaves or fruit, and that it is never seen exposed to the sun; that its roots are indeed under the earth, which the Æthiopians dig out, and that there are men among them skilled in finding the place of its concealment.

But there is a temple not far from hence of Ceres Thesmophoros; and on descending into this, you will perceive the tomb of Callipolis the son of Alcathous. But Alcathous had also an elder son, whose name was Echepolis, and who was sent by his father into Ætolia to assist Meilager against the Calydonian boar. The youth however being slain by the boar was the cause of the death of Callipolis; for he, on hearing the news of his brother's death,
OF GREECE.

death, ran to the tower where his father was sacrificing to Apollo, and threw down the wood from the altar. But Alcathous, who did not yet know of the death of his son, and judging that Callipolis had acted in an impious manner, slew his son in his wrath, by violently striking him on the head with one of the pieces of wood which he had thrown down from the altar. But in the way which leads to the Prytaneum there is an heroic monument of Ino, which is defended with a bulwark of stones, and invested with olives spontaneously produced. But the Megarenenses are the only Greeks who assert that the dead body of Ino was cast on the maritime coast of their country, and that Clefo and Tauropolis, the daughters of Clefon, and the grand-daughters of Lelex, found and buried it. They further add, that Ino was first called by them Leucothea; and they every year perform a sacrifice to her.

CHAP. XLIII.

BUT they likewise report, that they have the heroic monument of Iphigenia; for, say they, she died among the Megarenenses. But I have heard a far different account of Iphigenia from the Arcadians; and I know that Hesiod, in his catalogue of women, relates, that Iphigenia was not slain, but that through the will of Diana she became Hecate. And agreeable to this Herodotus writes, that in Scythia such as have been shipwrecked sacrifice bulls to a virgin, and that the virgin is called by them Iphigenia the daughter of Agamemnon. Adraftus also is honoured by the Megarenenses, who, they report, died among them while he was leading back the army from Thebes. And they assert, that old
old age, together with sorrow for the death of his son Aegialeus, were the causes of his death. There is also a temple of Diana, which they report was built by Agamemnon when he came to Calchas, who dwelt with the Megarenses, for the purpose of persuading him to follow him to Troy. They say too that in the Prytaneum, Menippus the son of Megareus, and Echepolis the son of Alcathous, are buried.

But there is a stone near the Prytaneum, which they denominate Anaclethra, because Ceres (if it may be credited) during her wandering search for her daughter called upon her in this place. And indeed even at present, the Megarensian women perform a ceremony which corresponds to this report. But there are tombs within the city of the Megarenses. One of these is the sepulchre of those that died in fighting against the Medes; but another is that which they call Aesymnium, and is an heroic monument. For when Hyperion the son of Agamemnon, and the last that reigned over the Megarenses, was slain by Sandion for his avarice and insolence, they were not willing to be any longer governed by one person, but chose annual magistrates who should alternately possess the supreme authority. But when Aesymnus, who was not second to any one among the Megarenses in renown, came to Delphos to enquire of the oracle by what means his country might be happy, the god gave him for answer, among other things, that the Megarenses would be prosperous, if a number of them consulted together. But they supposing that the oracle related to the dead, built a place of consultation in this part, in such a manner that the sepulchre of heroes might be contained within its ambit. But of proceeding from hence to the heroic monument of
OF GREECE.

127

of Alcathous, which the Megarenses at present use for the purpose of preserving their writings, two sepulchres present themselves to the view; one of these is said to be the tomb of Pyrges the wife of Alcathous, and the other of Iphinoe the daughter of Alcathous, who died a virgin. At the tomb of this last, girls, prior to their nuptials, perform funeral sacrifices, after the custom of their country, and cut off their hair in the same manner as the daughters of the Delians once sacrificed their hair to Hecætæia and Opis.

But in the entrance to the temple of Bacchus there is a sepulchre of Alkyratea and Mantes, who were the daughters of Polyidus, the son of Coeranus, the grandson of Abas, and the great grandson of Melampus. Polyidus himself, indeed, is said to have come to Megara, that he might purify Alcathous from the slaughter of his son Callipolis; and to have built the temple of Bacchus, and dedicated the image, the whole of which is at present concealed except the face, for this is sufficiently conspicuous. A Satyr too stands by the image, fashioned from Parian stone, and the work of Praxiteles. And this last statue they call Patrius; but the other Bacchus they denominate Dafyllius, and is said to have been dedicated by Euchenor the son of Coeranus, and the grandson of Polyidus. But after the temple of Bacchus there is a temple of Venus, and an ivory statue of the goddess who is surnamed Praxis: and this is the most ancient of every thing which the temple contains. There is also to be seen here an image of the goddess Persuasion, and likewise of another goddess whom they call the Consolatrix, both which were produced by Praxiteles. In the same place too there is a Love, an Incres, and a Pathos;
THE DESCRIPTION

Pothos, which deities, as they differ in their names, so likewise in their operations; and these were made by Scopas.

But near the temple of Venus, there is a temple of Fortune; and the statue of the goddess was produced by the art of Praxiteles. And in a temple near to this, the Muses are to be seen, and a brazen Jupiter, the works of Lysippus. There is also among the Megrenses a sepulchre of Coroebus, of whom I shall here relate what is commonly reported in verse, though the same things are celebrated by the Argives. When Crotopus reigned in Argos, it is said that his daughter Pfamathe brought forth a son from Apollo, and that, vehemently dreading the anger of her father, she exposed the child to perish. In consequence of this, it happened that the infant was torn to pieces by the dogs that guarded the royal cattle; and Apollo, in revenge of his slaughtered son, sent among the Argives a dreadful beast, which was called Pæna, and which tore away infants from the arms of their mothers. But Coroebus, in commiseration of the Argives, slew this monster. However, as the anger of the god still remained, he punished the Argives with a pestilent disease; and Coroebus of his own accord came to Delphos, that he might be punished by the god for the slaughter of Pœna. But the Pythian deity would not suffer Coroebus to return to Argos, but ordered him to carry a tripod from the temple, and that in whatever place the tripod should fall, he should there build a temple to Apollo, and there fix his habitation. The tripod therefore happening to fall near the mountain Gerania, he there built a town, which he called Tripodiscus. But the sepulchre of Coroebus is in the forum of the Megrenses; and the elegies inscribed in it contain the above circumstances relative to Pfamathe and
OF GREECE.

and Coræbus. On the top of the tomb there is a representation of Coræbus slaying Poena; and these statues appear to me to be the most ancient of all the stone images which I have seen in Greece.

C H A P. XLIV.

But Orfippus lies interred not far from the sepulchre of Coræbus, who, though he used to contend in gymnastic exercises with his loins girded after the manner of the ancient Athletæ, yet in the Olympic race he ran naked. They report likewise, that Orfippus after this, commanding an army, took away a part of the neighbouring land. I can easily indeed believe that he neglected the girdle in the Olympic race, as knowing that a man naked must run with much greater facility than he whose loins are girded. But when you return from the forum into the way which is called Straight, you will see, on turning a little to the right hand, a temple of Apollo Tutelaris. This temple contains an image of Apollo, well worthy of inspection; likewise images of Diana and Latona, and other statues which were made by Praxiteles. Latona is represented with her children. But in the ancient gymnasium, near the gates which are called Nymphades, there is a stone in the shape of a pyramid, of no great magnitude. This pyramid they call Apollo Carynus; and in this place there is a temple of Lucina. And such are the particulars which the city contains.

But if you descend to the haven, which at present is called Nisæa, you will perceive the temple of Ceres the wool-bearer. And many reasons indeed are assigned of this
THE DESCRIPTION

this appellation, and, among the rest, that the name was given by those who first took care of sheep in this country. With respect to the roof of the temple, any one may infer, that it has fallen down through length of time. And in this part there is a tower, which is called Nisaea. But, on descending from the tower, you will perceive near the sea the tomb of Lelex, who is said to have reigned here after he was driven from Egypt; and it is further reported, that he was the son of Neptune, and of Libye the daughter of Epaphus. There is an island too near Nisaea, of no great magnitude, to which they report Minos drove the Cretan fleet when he warred upon Nisyros. But the mountainous part of the Megaric land borders on the Bœotians, and contains the towns Pagæ and Ægithæna. But as you go to Pagæ, by turning a little out of the public way you will perceive a stone pierced with darts, owing to the Medes once shooting at it in the night. In Pagæ too there is a brazen statue of Diana the Saviour, which deserves to be inspected. Its magnitude is equal to that which the Megarenses possess, and its figure is the same.

There is also an heroic monument here, of Ægialeus the son of Adrastus. For this man, when the Argives warred a second time upon the Thebans, died in the first engagement at Gifas, and his relations carried him to Pagæ, belonging to the Megarenses, and there buried him; and even at present his monument is called Ægialeum. But at Ægithæna there is a temple of Melampus Amythaon, and a man of no great magnitude stands on a pillar. They sacrifice to Melampus, and every year in honour of him celebrate a festival. But they assert, that he neither predicted future events through dreams, nor by any other means.
means. I likewise heard when I was in Eretea, a town belonging to the Megarenses, that Autonoë the daughter of Cadmus, being worn out with grief and lamentations for the misfortune of Aëteon, and the other calamities of her father's house, migrated hither from Thebes. And indeed the sepulchre of Autonoë is to be seen in this town. But, on going from Megara to Corinth, there are several tombs, and among these that of Telephas the piper. And they report that Cleopatra, the daughter of that Philip who was the son of Amyntas, ordered this sepulchre to be made.

There is also a monument of Car the son of Phoroneus. This at first was nothing but a heap of earth, but afterwards, through the admonition of the oracle, was adorned with the stone Conchites. And this stone is alone of all the Grecians possessed by the Megarenses, and many things are fashioned from it in the city. It is exceeding white, and softer than any other stone. But Sciron is said to have been the first who rendered that way, which they call Sciron, pernicious to light-armed soldier, when he commanded the forces of the Megarenses. But the emperor Adrian so enlarged it, that opposite chariots might be driven along it with safety and ease. The following fable too is circulated concerning the rocks which project in the narrow part of the way. Ino, together with Melicerta her youngest son, threw herself into the sea from that rock which they call Moluris; for Learchus her eldest son was slain by his father. And Athanas is said to have acted in this manner, in consequence of being irritated with fury. It is also reported, that he acted with such immoderate rage towards Ino and her children, be-
cause he considered her as the cause of the pestilence with which the Orchomenians were afflicted, and of the death of Phrixus; not perceiving that all these happened from a divine cause. They say, therefore, that Io, flying to the sea, hurled herself together with her son from the rock Moluris. But the boy being carried on a dolphin, as it is said, to the isthmus of the Corinthians, among other honours which he received after, his name was changed from Melicerta to Palæmon; the Isthmian games were celebrated on his account.

It is certain, indeed, that the rock Moluris is sacred to Leucothea and Palæmon; but the other rocks, which are adjacent to these, they consider as execrable, because when Sciron dwelt among them, he threw from thence every stranger that came upon the coast into the sea; and a marine tortoise is said to have dispatched them as they were swimming. But these marine tortoises differ only in their size and feet from such as belong to the land; for their feet are similar to those of the sea-calf. But Sciron himself afterwards underwent the same punishment, being thrown by Theseus into the same sea. On the summit of the mountain too there is a temple of Jupiter, who is called Apheius. And they say that it was so denominated, because when Aeacus sacrificed (in conformance of a great dryness happening to the Greeks, from immoderate heat) agreeable to a certain oracle, to Panellenian Jupiter, the god after the sacrifice removed the calamity. In the same place there are statues of Venus, Apollo and Pan. But proceeding a little farther on, you will perceive the sepulchre of Eurystheus, who they report was slain by Jolaus, and buried here, when he fled from Attica, after having been vanquished.
OF GREECE.

vanquished in battle by the children of Hercules. And on
descending from hence, you will perceive the temple of
Apollo Latous, and after it the boundaries of the Me-
garenses towards Corinth; in which limits, they report,
Hyllus the son of Hercules contended in a single contest
with Echemon the Arcadian.
THE Description

BOOK II.

CORINTHIACS.

CHAP. I.

The Corinthian region, which is a part of the country of the Argives, derives its name from one Corinthus, who I find, after the most diligent enquiry, is alone said to be the son of Jupiter by the Corinthian vulgar. For Eumelus the son of Amphilytus, and of the nation of the Bacchiadæ, and who is reported to have written verses, affirms in his history of Corinth (if that work was composed by Eumelus), that Ephyse the daughter of Ocean dwelt first of all in this land; and that Marathon afterwards, who was the son of Epopæus, and the grandson of Aloeus the son of the Sun, flying from the iniquity and reproach of his father, brought a colony into the maritime part of Attica: but that Epopæus dying, he came to Peleponnesus, and having distributed the kingdom among his sons, returned again to Attica. He adds, that from his son Sicyon the country which was before called Afopia, was denominated Sicyonia, and in like manner Ephyrae was called, from Corinthus, Corinthia. But at present none of the ancient Corinthians inhabit Corinth; for the inhabitants consist
OF GREECE. 135

of such persons as were sent into it by the Romans. But this was owing to a council of the Achaians, of which the Corinthians formed a part, and together with the rest warred on the Romans under the command of Critolaus. For this man, after he was appointed general by the Achaians, persuaded many of those that dwell beyond Peloponneseus to revolt. But the Romans having vanquished the combined forces, both took away the arms of the other Greeks, and demolished the walls of all the fortified cities. And they report that Corinth, which was destroyed by Mummius who then commanded the Roman army, was afterwards restored by Caesar, who was the first that established the present form of the Roman government. He is also said to have restored Carthage.

But in Corinth there is a town called Cromion, from Cromus the son of Neptune; and they report, that the Cromonian boar was nourished here, which is mentioned among the contests of Theseus; and likewise that illustrious robber who from bending pitch-trees was called Pityocampites. And indeed, even at present, as you walk along the shore a pitch-tree presents itself to your view. There was also in this place an altar of Melicerta; for they report, that the boy was brought hither by a dolphin, and that Sisyphus meeting with it lying on the ground, buried it in the isthmus, and that the Isthmian games were instituted on his account. But in the beginning of the isthmus, there is a place where the robber Sinis, bending the branches of pitch-trees to the earth, used to bind those he had vanquished in battle to them, in such a manner that when the trees returned to their pristine shape, the captives were torn in pieces. But Sinis afterwards was lacerated in just the same manner by Theseus. For Theseus

K 4

freed
THE DESCRIPTION

freed all that way from robbers, which leads from Troezen to Athens, and not only flew those I have before mentioned, but in Epidaurus, Periphetes, who is considered as the son of Vulcan, and who used in battle a brazen club.

But the isthmus of the Corinthians extends on one side as far as to Cenchreæ, and on the other as far as to the sea near Lechaæum; and this causes the interior region to be a continent. For he who attempted to make Peloponnese an island, dying before he had finished his work, left nothing more than an isthmus. And it is evident indeed where they began to dig; but this was not in its rocky part, for that still remains as it was, and is now a continent. Indeed this was the only thing that Alexander the son of Philip was not able to accomplish, I mean the digging of Mimas. But he was deterred, by the Pythian oracle, from digging the Cnidian isthmus: so difficult is it for a man to compel things of a divine nature. But it appears to me that the Corinthians were not the first that devised reports about their country, but that this originated from the relations of the Athenians about Attica. And the Corinthians indeed report, that Neptune contended with the Sun about their land; that Briareus acted the part of a mediator between them; and that he adjudged the isthmus to Neptune, and the promontory which is above the city to the Sun: and from hence they say the isthmus came to be the property of Neptune.

But, the particulars in this place which deserve to be inspected, are a theatre and a stadium of white stone. But, on approaching the temple of the god, in one part you will see the statues of those Athletæ who were victors
OF GREECE.

victors in the Isthmian games; and in another part pitch-trees, many of which are planted in a right line. In the temple itself, which is of no great magnitude, there are brazen Tritons: and in its anterior part, which they call Pronaon, there are two statues of Neptune, and one of Amphitrite, and a sea of brads. But the inward contents were dedicated by a man of the present time, Herodes the Athenian; and there are four horses wholly of gold except the hoofs, which are of ivory; and near the horses, two Tritons of gold as far as the loins, for the other parts are of ivory. Amphitrite and Neptune stand in a chariot; and an upright boy, who is Palamon, stands on a dolphin: and these also are made of ivory and gold. But in the middle of the base which sustains the chariot, a sea is represented, and Venus rising out of it, and the Nymphs called Nereides on each side of her. To these Nymphs I know altars are dedicated in other parts of Greece. Groves likewise are dedicated to them under the name of the Poemenides: and a nation which bears this appellation pays divine honours to Achilles. But among the Gables, there is a sacred temple to the Nereid Doton; and a veil is yet left in it, which the Greeks assert Eriphyle received on account of her son Alcmene. But in the same base of the chariot of Neptune, the sons of Tyndarus are represented, because these also are considered as the favours of ships, and such as fail on the sea. There is also a statue here of Tranquility, and of the Sea, and a Horse, whose parts below the breast represent the form of a whale. Likewise Bellerophon, Ino, and the Horse Pegasus.

CHAP.
CHAP. II.

But within the enclosure of the temple, on the left hand, there is a temple of Palemon. And the statues which it contains, are Neptune, Leucothea, and Palemon. There is also a recess which they call Adytum, and the descent into which is subterranean. In this place they report Palemon is concealed: and if any Corinthian or stranger perjures himself in this recess, it is not by any means possible for him to escape the punishment of his perjury. There is also an ancient temple here, which they call the altar of the Cyclops, and in which they sacrifice to a Cyclops. But you will not be able to find where the tombs of Sisyphus and Neleus are situated, though you should read the verses of Eumelus for this purpose; for though they report that Neleus, when he came to Corinth, died of disease, and was buried about the isthmus, yet it is said that his sepulchre was not even shewn to Nestor by Sisyphus, and that it was proper it should be similarly unknown to every one. They farther add, that Sisyphus himself was buried in the isthmus, but that his sepulchre was known but to a very few of the Corinthians, who were his contemporaries.

But the Isthmian games suffered no intermission, even when Corinth was subverted by Mummius. For during the time that the city was desolate, the Sicyonians were permitted to celebrate these games. And when Corinth was again inhabited, the honour of celebrating them was transferred to the present inhabitants. But to the havens of the Corinthians they gave the names of Leche and Cenchrea.
chrea, who they believe were the offspring of Neptune, from Pirene the daughter of Achelous; though in the verses which are called the great Eoeæ, Pirene is said to have been the daughter of Oebalus. But in the Lechæum there is a temple of Neptune, and a brazen statue of the god. And in the way which leads from the Isthmus to Cenchrea, there is a temple of Diana, and an ancient image of wood. But in the Cenchreae themselves, there is a temple of Venus, and a statue of stone. And after this, in the dam which runs into the sea, there is a brazen statue of Neptune. But in the other boundary of the port, there are temples of Æsculapius and Isis. Opposite, too, to the Cenchreae, there is a bath of Helen; and water flows into the sea from a rock, both in great quantities and salt, and similar to water when it begins to be heated.

But on proceeding from hence to Corinth, you will perceive several tombs in the road, and among these, near the gate, the sepulchre of Diogenes of Sinope, who is called by the Greeks the dog. But before the city there is a grove of cypresses, which they denominate Cramo. In this there is a sace of Bellerophon, a temple of Venus Melanis, and a sepulchre of Lais, over which there is a lion holding a ram in his fore feet. There is also a sepulchre of Lais in Thessaly; for she is said to have come into Thessaly in consequence of loving Hippostratus. It is reported of this Lais, that she was first taken from Hyccara, a town of Sicily, by Nicias and the Athenians, while she was yet a girl; and that afterwards, being brought to Corinth by him to whom she was sold, she far excelled all her companions in the beauty of her person, and was so much admired by the Corinthians that even at present they
THE DESCRIPTION

they contend about the country of Lais. But in the city there are even yet many illustrious works, some of which are relics of antiquity, and many of them are of posterior origin, being made when the city was in its most flourishing condition.

In the forum therefore (for in this place there are many temples) there are two wooden statues, one of Diana who is called Ephesia, and another of Bacchus, both which are gilt in every part except the face; for this in each is adorned with vermillion. One of these statues they call Lyfius, and the other Bacheus. But I shall take upon me to write what is reported concerning these statues. It is said, then, that Penteus, when he treated Bacchus in an insolent manner, among his other injurious actions, dared at last to explore the concealed sacred rites of the women, and that for this purpose he ascended a tree, that he might behold their operations. But as soon as he was discovered by the female votaries of Bacchus, they immediately drew him from the tree and tore him in pieces. After this, as the Corinthians report, the Pythian oracle ordered them to find out this tree, and, when they had discovered it, to pay the same divine honours to it as to a god; and that in consequence of this, they took care that these images should be made. There is also in this place a temple of Fortune, and in it an upright statue of Parian stone. After this there is a temple dedicated to all the gods; and near it there is a fountain, upon which a brazen Neptune stands, having a dolphin pouring out water under his feet. There is also a brazen statue of Apollo who is called Clarius, and a statue of Venus, the work of Hermogenes the Cytherian. There are besides two statues of Mercury, both of brass, and
OF GREECE.

and in an upright posture; but one of these has a temple of its own. But there are three statues of Jupiter in the open air; one of these is without a name; the second they call Terrestrial, and the third Most High.

CHAP. III.

But in the middle of the forum there is a brazen Minerva, in the base of which there are statues of the Muses. And beyond the forum there is a temple of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, who succeeded Caesar, by whom Corinth was restored to its present condition. But when you leave the forum, and proceed towards Lechæum, you will perceive vestibules, and over them two gilt chariots, one of which bears Phaeton the offspring of the Sun, and the other the Sun himself. A little beyond the vestibules too you will perceive on the right hand a brazen Hercules; and after this there is an entrance to the water of Pirene, concerning which they report that the nymph Pirene, when she bewailed her son Cenchrias, who was slain by Diana through his imprudence, shed such an abundance of tears that she was changed into a fountain. But the fountain is adorned with white stone, and contains certain small cells, from which, as caverns, a water pleasant to the taste flows into an open basin, and into which they report the Corinthian brass, while it is red hot, is merged. But near the Pirene there is a statue of Apollo, and an enclosure which contains a picture of the bold enterprize of Ulysses against the Suitors.

Again, in the straight road which leads to Lechæum, you will perceive a brazen Mercury in a sitting posture,
142

THE DESCRIPTION

ture, and by the side of him a ram, because Hermes above all the gods appears to guard and increase herds of sheep, agreeable to these lines of Homer in the Iliad:

—— of Phorbas rich in sheep the son,
By Hermes most of all the sons of Troy
Belov'd, and tutor'd in the arts of gain:

But I shall not relate what I know from the mysteries of the mother of the gods, concerning Mercury and the ram. But after the statue of Mercury, there are statues of Neptune and Leucothea, and of Palæmon sitting on a dolphin. There are baths too among the Corinthians in many places, some of which were raised at the public expense, and others were built by the emperor Adrian. But the most celebrated of all is that which is near the statue of Neptune. This was made by Eurycles, a Spartan, who adorned it with various kinds of stone, and with that which in Croesus is dug out of a part of the Laconic region. But on the left hand of the entrance there is a statue of Neptune, and after it one of Diana in the habit of a huntress. There are many fountains too in the city, as the Corinthians have water in abundance; and among these, that which the emperor Adrian deduced from Stemphylus.

But the particulars most worthy of inspection are, the water near the statues of Diana and Bellérophon, which flows through the hoof of the horse Pegasus; and on going from the forum to Sicyon, in the road on the right hand, a temple and brazen statue of Apollo. At a small distance too from hence there is a fountain which is called the fountain of Glaucë; for she threw herself into this, as they report, in consequence of believing that this water would be an antidote to the poisons of Medea. But above
OF GREECE.

above this fountain there is a building which they call Odeum. And near it is the sepulchre of the sons of Medea, whose names were Mermerus and Pheres. But they are reported to have been buried under stones by the Corinthians, on account of the benefits which they received from the mother of Glauce. However, as their death was violent and unjust, the infant children of the Corinthians were cut off on the account, till, being warned by an oracle, the Corinthians sacrificed every year to them, and dedicated an image of Fear. And this statue even remains at present, and is fashioned in the resemblance of a woman of a most dreadful aspect. But when Corinth was subverted by the Romans, and the ancient Corinthians were extinct, the inhabitants no longer retained the ancient mode of sacrificing, and the boys no longer shaved their hair, nor clothed themselves in black. But Medea then coming to Athens was married to Ægeus; but afterwards, her stratagem against Theseus being detected, she fled from Athens into that part of Asia which was then called Aria, and caused the people to be called after her name, Medes.

But they report that the son which fled with her to the Arians was the offspring of Ægeus, and that his name was Medus. Hellanicus however calls him Polyxenus, and says that his father was Jason. But there are certain verses among the Greeks, which they call Naupactia; and in these it is asserted that Jason, after the death of Pelias, migrated into Corycya, and that his eldest son Mermerus hunting in the opposite continent was slain by a lioness; but these verses do not make any mention of Pheres. But Cinæthon the Lacedæmonian (for he also genealogized in verse) asserts that Jason had by Medea, a son Medus, and a daughter
THE DESCRIPTION

a daughter Eriopis, nor does he relate any farther pertaining to the boys. Eumelus however says, that the Sun gave the Asopian region to Aloeus, and Ephyræa to Æetes; that Æetes departing to the Colchi, entrusted his kingdom to Bunus, and that Bunus was the son of Mercury from Alcidamea. That besides this, when Bunus died, Epeopeus the son of Aloeus obtained the government of the Ephyræans; and that afterwards, when Corinthus the son of Marathon died without leaving any children behind him, the Corinthians called Medea from Jolcos, and delivered to her the kingdom. Lastly, that Jason reigned through her in Corinth, and that Medea indeed bore him children, but always concealed them when born, in the temple of Juno, thinking that by this means they would become immortal. But when she found in the end that she was deceived in her expectations, and the affair was discovered by Jason, he not only refused to pardon her for the action, but left her and returned to Jolcos: and that Medea in consequence of this departing, delivered up the kingdom to Sisyphus. And such is the information which I have obtained concerning these particulars.

CHAP. IV.

But not far from the sepulchre there is a temple of Minerva Chalinitis: for they report that Minerva, more than any of the other divinities, assisted Bellerophon both in other respects, and particularly that having tamed Pegasus, she delivered him to Bellerophon, and placed the bridle on him herself. But the statue of the goddess is wooden,
OF GREECE.

wooden, except her face, hands, and the extremities of her feet, which are formed from white stone. I am persuaded, however, that Bellerophon never reigned over the Corinthians, but that he lived with Proetus and the Argives, and whoever reads Homer carefully will be of the same opinion. It appears also, that when Bellerophon migrated into Lycia, the Corinthians did not the less obey those who reigned in Argos or Mycenae; and that they did not privately send any leader to Troy, but joined themselves with the Mycenæans, and such others as followed the military expedition of Agamemnon. Sisyphus indeed was not only the father of Glauce, who was the father of Bellerophon, but he had also another son called Oryntion, and besides him Therander and Almus. But Phocus was the son of Ornytion, though he is reported to have been the offspring of Neptune. This Phocus migrated into that part of Thyræa which is now called Phocis; but Thoas the younger son of Ornytion remained in Corinth. Of this Thoas, Demophon was the offspring; of Demophon, Propodas; and from Propodas, Doridas and Hyanthidas descended.

But the Dorienses during the reign of these warred on the Corinthians, having for their commander Aletes the son of Hippotas, the grandson of Phylas, and the great-grandson of Antiochus the son of Hercules. Doridas therefore and Hyanthidas, having delivered the kingdom to Aletes, remained at Corinth; but the common people of the Corinthians were expelled from their country, in consequence of being vanquished by the Dorienses. But Aletes himself and his posterity held the kingdom for five ages, till the æra of Bacchis the son of Prumnis. And from him those who are called the Bacchicæ reigned five
other generations, as far as to Telestes the son of Aristodemus. And Telestes indeed was cut off through hatred by Arius and Perantas, by whose death the government came to an end; for afterwards the Prytanes, who descended from the Bacchides, reigned every year, till Cypselus the son of Eetion taking upon him the supreme authority expelled the Bacchides. But Cypselus was the grandson of Melan the son of Antasus. And Melan from a town called Gonulla, which is above Sicyon, warred in conjunction with the Dorienes upon Corinth, in consequence of which Aletes was warned by an oracle to migrate into another part of Greece, but afterwards neglecting the admonition of the oracle, he received Melan as his associate. And such are the particulars which I have discovered respecting the Corinthian kings.

But the temple of Minerva the Bridler is not far from the theatre; and near it there is a wooden statue of Hercules, which they report was the work of Dædalus. And the works of Dædalus are, indeed, rude and inelegant to the view, but at the same time posses something of a divine influence. But above the theatre there is a temple of Jupiter, who is called in the Roman tongue Capitolineus, and whom you may denominate in Greek, Coryphæus. And at a considerable distance from this theatre, there is an ancient gymnæum, and a fountain which they call Lerna. This fountain is surrounded with pillars, and is accommodated with seats for the use of such as come hither in summer to be refrigerated. But near the gymnæum there are two temples of the gods, one of Jupiter, and the other of Esculapius. And with respect to the statues, those of Esculapius and Hygia are of white stone, but that of Jupiter is of bræs. But on ascending
OF GREECE.

ascending into the Acrocorinthus (which is the summit of a mountain above the city, and which, according to the relation of the Corinthians, was adjudged by Bria-
reus to the Sun and was afterwards given by the Sun to Venus) you will perceive two temples of Isis, one of which they call Pelagias and the other Ægyptia. There are likewise two temples of Serapis, one of which is without any particular epithet, but the other is called Serapis Canopitanus. After these there are altars of the Sun, and temples of Necessity and Violence, into which it is not lawful to enter. Above thefe there is a tem-
ple of the Mother of the Gods, and a pillar and a throne, both which are of stone. But the statues in the temples of the Fates, Ceres and Proserpine, are not ap-
parent. In the same part too there is a temple of Bu-
nezan Juno, which was dedicated by Bunus the son of Mercury, and from whence the goddess was called Bu-
næa. But on ascending to the Acrocorinthus, you will perceive a temple of Venus, in which there is a statue of the goddess armed, and statues of the Sun and Love holding each of them a bow.

C H A P. V.

BUT the fountain which is behind the temple, is said to have been given by Aegopus to Sisyphus: for Sisyphus knowing that Ægina the daughter of Aegopus was ravished by Jupiter, did not, as they report, divulge it, till he pos-
sessed the fountain of water in the Acrocorinthus. But after he had received this present from Aegopus he divulged the affair to him, for the discovery of which (if it may be be-
lieved)
THE DESCRIPTION

gleived) he is said to be punished in Hades. I have also heard it asserted, that this fountain is Pirene, and that the water flows from it into the city. But the river Afopus commences from Phliasia, flows through Sicyonia, and pours itself into the sea near Corinth. And the Phliasians report, that the daughters of Afopus were Corcyra, Ægina, and Thebe; and that from Corcyra and Ægina, those islands which were called Scheria and Oenone, received new appellations; but that the island under Cadmea was called from the third Thebe. The Thebans however dissent from this account; and assert that Thebe was the daughter of the Bœotian, and not of the Phliasian Afopus. But as to other particulars respecting the river, both the Phliasians and Sicyonians assert that the water is not native, but foreign; for they say that the river Maeander falling from the Celænae through Phrygia and Caria, pours itself into the sea near Miletus, proceeds afterwards to Peloponnesus, and last of all forms the Afopus. I remember too, to have heard the Delians assert that another river, which they call the Inopus, flows into their country from the Nile. And it is even asserted of the Nile, that it is no other than the Euphrates, which having concealed itself in a marsh, ascends above the Aethiopians, and becomes the Nile. And thus much I have heard concerning the Afopus.

But on turning from the Acrocorinthus towards the mountainous part of the country, you will perceive the Teneatic gate, and a temple of Lucina; and the town called Tenea is distant from hence about sixty stadia. The inhabitants of this town assert of themselves, that they are Trojans, who were led captive by the Greeks from Tenedos, and that this place was given to them by Agamemnon; and on this account they venerate Apollo above all the other
other gods. But as you proceed from Corinth, not to the
most illustrious parts, but towards Sicyon, you will per-
ceive a burnt temple on the left hand, not far from the
city. Several wars have indeed happened about Corinth;
and it seems probable that both the temples and other
edifices beyond the walls, have been consumed by fire.
But they report that this temple was the temple of
Apollo, and that it was burnt by Pyrrhus the son of
Achilles. Afterwards, however, I heard that the Corin-
thians raided this temple to Olympian Jupiter, and that
it was suddenly destroyed by a fire, the origin of which
could never be discovered.

But the Sicyonians (for they in this part border on the
Corinthians) assert concerning their origin, that Ἄγι-
aleus was the first native of this place, and that during
his reign, that part of Peloponnesus which is yet called
Ἄγιαλος, was thus denominated by him; that he first built
the city Ἄγιαλεα in a plain, and that a tower then stood
in the place which is now occupied by the temple of Mi-
nerva. They farther add, that Europa descended from
Ἄγιαλος, and Telchin from Europa, and that Apis was
the son of Telchin. But the power of this Apis, before
Pelops came to Olympia, so abundantly increased, that all
the region within the isthmus was called from him Apia.
But Thelxion was the son of Apis, Ἄγυρος of Thelxion,
Thurimachus of Ἄγυρος, and Leucippus of Thurimachus.
Leucippus however had no male offspring, but had a
daughter called Calchinia, with whom Neptune is said
to have been familiar, and to have had a son by her, who
was educated by Leucippus, and was his successor in the
kingdom. But the name of this youth was Peratus, of
whose son Plemnæus certain particulars are reported

L 3 which
THE DESCRIPTION

which appear to me eminently worthy of admiration. For all his children, as soon as they were born and began to cry, were immediately cut off; but Ceres commiserating the misfortune of Plemnæus, came in the habit of a stranger to Αἰγίαλεα, and educated his son Orthopolis, who was then just born. But Chryforthe was the daughter of Orthopolis; and they believe that she had a son by Apollo, whose name was Coronus. And Corax was the son of Coronus, and likewise a younger son whose name was Lamedon.

C H A P. VI.

But Corax dying without children, Epopeus on this account came from Thessaly, and obtained the government. And they report, that during his reign, an hostile army for the first time entered into this region, which prior to this had enjoyed continual peace. But the cause of this war was as follows: Antiope the daughter of Nycteus was celebrated by the Greeks for her beauty; though it is reported that she was not the daughter of Nycteus, but of the river Asopus, which is the boundary of the Theban and Platæan land. This Antiope Epopeus ravished, though I do not know whether this was occasioned by his seeking a wife, or whether he was impelled to this from the first by daring impudence. But when the Thebans came to revenge this injury with arms, a battle ensuing, both Nycteus and Epopeus were wounded in the engagement, though the latter was victorious. And Nycteus, indeed, was carried to Thebes ill, where he shortly after died, and left the government of Thebes for the present to his brother.
brother Lycus, to whose care he also committed Labdacus the son of Polydore, and the grandson of Cadmus, and who at that time was under his protection. This Lycus, therefore, Nycteus entreated to punish Epopeus, by leading a greater army into Ægialea, and that he would also punish Antiope, if he could by any means take her.

In the mean time Epopeus sacrificed to the gods on account of his victory, and raised a temple in honour of Minerva; and when the work was complete, suppliantly implored the goddess to afford him some manifest token, whether the temple was finished agreeable to her will. But they report, that after he had prayed, an olive immediately flourished before the temple. Shortly after this Epopeus died through neglecting his wound, so that Lycus had no longer any occasion to carry on the war. For Lamedon, who succeeded Epopeus in the kingdom, gave up Antiope to Lycus, who, when she was brought back to Thebes, was delivered in the way which leads to Eleutheræ. And upon this event Agis the son of Amphiphtolemus, composed the following lines: "Antiope the daughter of the profoundly whirling river Aepous, brought forth Zethus, and the divine Amphion, which she conceived from Jupiter, and Epopeus the pastor of the people." Homer, however, refers them to a more illustrious origin, and asserts, that they were the first inhabitants of Thebes, separating, as it appears to me, the city which is situated beneath from Cadmea. But Lamedon, when he obtained the government, married Pheno an Athenian, and the daughter of Clytius; and afterwards engaging in war against the Achæans Archandrus and Architeles, he entered into an alliance with the Attic Sicyon, by marrying his daughter Zeuxippe; and through his assistance obtained
THE DESCRIPTION

the empire of Sicynia, and of that city which was before called Ægiale, and is now denominated Sicyon.

But they report, that Sicyon himself was not the offspring of Marathon the son of Epopeus, but of Metion the son of Erechtheus: and Asius also affirms to this account. For according to Hesiod, Sicyon was the son of Erechtheus; but according to Ibycus, of Pelops. But Chthonophyle was the offspring of Sicyon: and they report, that Polybus was the son of Chthonophyle and Mercury; and that afterwards Chthonophyle was married to Phlias the son of Bacchus, by whom she had a son called Andromadas. But Polybus gave his daughter Lysianassa to Talasus the son of Bias who reigned over the Argives; and Adraustus flying from Argos, came to Polybus in Sicyon, and afterwards, on the death of Polybus, obtained the government of Sicyon. Adraustus, however, returning to Argos, Janiscus, the grandson of that Clytius whose daughter was married to Lamedon, came from Attica, and took possession of the kingdom. But on the death of Janiscus, Phæstus reigned, who is said to have been one of the sons of Hercules. And Phæstus in consequence of an oracle migrating into Crete, Zeuxippus, the son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis, is reported to have succeeded to the government. But on the death of Zeuxippus, Agamemnon led an army to Sicyon, and warred upon Hippolytus the son of Rhopalus, and the grandson of Phæstus. And Hippolytus distrusting his own forces, promised that he would be subservient to Agamemnon and the Mycenaëans. But Lacesades was the son of this Hippolytus, and Phalces of Temenus, who invading Sicyon by night together with the Dorians, did not commit any injury, as being a descendant of Hercules, but took upon himself
himself a part of the government; and from him the Sicyonians became Dorians, and formed a part of the Argives.

CHAP. VII.

But when Demetrius the son of Antigonus destroyed the city, which was situated in a plain, he joined the city which now remains to the ancient tower. And indeed it is not easy to find by inquiry, why the affairs of the Sicyonians came to be in such an imbecil condition. We may therefore very properly adopt on this occasion what Homer says concerning Jupiter:

So Jove decrees, restless lord of all!
At whose command whole empires rise or fall.
He shakes the feeble props of human trust,
And towns and armies humbles to the dust.

But while the Sicyonians were in this enervated condition, the city in a short time became desolate through an earthquake, in consequence of which, many productions worthy of inspection were destroyed. The cities too about Caria and Lycia were injured by the same calamity; and the island Rhodes in particular was so vehemently shaken, that the prophecy of the Sibyl with respect to this place was fully accomplished.

But on proceeding from Corinth to Sicyonia you may perceive the sepulchre of Lycus the Messenian, whoever he was; for I cannot find any Messenian Lycus, who exercised himself in the Quinquertium, or who obtained the victory in the Olympic games. And this tomb is nothing but a heap of earth; for the Sicyonians bury most of
of their dead in this manner, viz. by placing the body in
the earth, and afterwards raising pillars with a stony base
over the tomb; and on these pillars they place a summit
almost in the same manner as eagles are fixed in temples.
But they add no other inscription than that of the name
of the deceased; and omitting to mention his country,
they exhort the passenger to wish well to the body. But
after the sepulchre of Lycus, having passed over the
Aëopus, Olympium presents itself to the view; and turn-
ing a little to the left hand, you will perceive the sepulchre
of Eupolis the Athenian, who was a writer of comedies.
And on proceeding from hence, and turning as it were
into the city, you may see the monument of Xenodice,
who died in child-birth. This sepulchre is not construc
ted after the manner of the country, but contains a place for
a painting: and the picture indeed is particularly worthy
of inspection. On leaving this place you will find a se-
bulchre, raised for those Sicyoniens who died at Pellene,
at the Dyme of the Achaenians, at Megalopolis, and at
Selasia; and of whom I shall discourse more largely
hereafter.

But near the gate there is a fountain in a cavern, the
water of which does not ascend from the earth, but flows
from the top of the cavern; and on this account the
fountain is called Stazuza. But in the tower, which exists
at present, there is a temple of Fortune Acrea, and after
it of the Dioscuri; and the statues of these divinities are
formed from wood. But in the scene of the theatre,
which is built under the tower, there is an image of a
man holding a shield, which they report is Aratus the
son of Clinias. After the theatre too there is a temple of
Bacchus; and the statue of the god is fashioned from
ivory
OF GREECE.

ivory and gold, and near it there are Bacchæ of white stone. These Bacchæ are said to have been holy women, who were inspired by Bacchus. But the Sicyonians have other statues in their arcane recesses; and these on one night in every year they carry into the temple of Bacchus, from that place which they call Cosmometerium; and at the same time bring with them lighted torches, and sing during the procession the hymns of their country. But the leader of this procession is a statue which they call Baccheus, and which, according to report, was dedicated by Androdamas the son of Philas. After this follows another statue, which the Theban Phanes, warned by the Pythian deity, brought from Thebes. But this Phanes came to Sicyon at the same time as Aristomachus the son of Cleodamus: for not acting agreeable to the oracle, he neglected going to Peloponnesus at the proper time.

But on proceeding from the temple of Dionysius to the forum, you will perceive on the right hand a temple of Diana Limnæa, the roof of which has evidently fallen off, through length of time. But with respect to the statue of the goddess, they are neither able to give any information whether it was brought here from some foreign part, nor how it came to be destroyed. In the forum you will perceive a temple of the goddess Persephone, but which is likewise without a statue. This goddess came to be worshipped by them, on the following account: After Apollo and Diana had slain the serpent Python, they came to Ægialea, for the sake of purification, but in consequence of being terrified in this place (and from which circumstance they at present call the region Phobus, or dread) they came to Crete, to Carmanor; and the inhabitants of Ægialea being afflicted with a pestilent disease, the priests admonished
THE DESCRIPTION

admonished them to supplicate Apollo and Diana. Hence they sent seven boys and as many virgins in a suppliant manner to the river Sytha, in consequence of which, as they report, the divinities were persuaded to come into the tower; and in the place where they first came a temple was dedicated to the goddess Persuasion.

But rites are even at present performed similar to these. For on the festival of Apollo, certain boys come to the river Sytha, and carry the images of Apollo and Diana into the temple of the goddess Persuasion, and afterwards bring them into the temple of Apollo. And this temple stands in that place which is at present the forum; but it is said to have been first fabricated by Proetus, because his daughters were in that place liberated from the fury which possessed them. They add farther, that Meleager dedicated in this temple the spear with which he slew the Calydonian boar, and that the pipes of Marsyas are likewise contained here. For after the calamity which befell Silenus, the river Marsya brought these pipes to the river Meander, which being thrown from hence into the Sicyonian land, were found by a shepherd, and dedicated to Apollo. But not one of these consecrated gifts yet remains; for they were all burnt together with the temple. But the temple and statue, which exist at present, were dedicated by Pythocles.

C H A P. VIII.

But the same which is near the temple of the goddess Persuasion, and which was consecrated by the Roman emperors, was formerly the house of the tyrant Cleon.
OF GREECE.

For Clithenes, the son of Aristonymus, and the grandson of Pyrrho, tyrannized while the Sicyonians yet inhabited the lower city: but Cleon ruled in that part which is at present the city. Before this building there is an heroic monument of Aratus, who, in the renown of his actions, surpassed all the Grecians; and of whom the following particulars are related: After the death of Cleon, the desire of tyrannizing raged to such a degree, that two persons at the same time, Euthydemos and Timoclidias, began to govern. The people however having ejected these, placed in their stead Clinias the father of Aratus. But Clinias dying not many years after, Abantidas began to tyrannize: and Aratus during his government, either because he was ejected by Clinias, or because it was his own will, went into banishment. Abantidas therefore was slain by the natives; and Paseas the father of Abantidas immediately usurped the tyranny; but he in his turn was slain by Nicoles, who then tyrannized himself. But Aratus attacking this Nicoles with a band of Sicyonian exiles, and Argive mercenaries, when he came to the walls by night, deceived one part of the guard, and vanquished the other part, and thus became master of the walls. In consequence of this, as soon as it was day, he collected the people together, and ran with great celerity to the palace of the tyrant, which he took without much difficulty. Nicoles, however, had privately withdrawn himself. But then Aratus delivered to the Sicyonians a free administration of the city; and having restored to the exiles their houses, and such of their possessions as were destined to be sold, he by this means took away all occasion of disagreement and strife.

The same person too, when the Macedonians (Antigonus
gonus managing the affairs of Philip the son of Demetrius) were formidable to all the Greeks, joined the Sicyonians, though they were Doriæans, with the council of the Achaians; and being immediately declared general by the Achaians, led his army against the Amphissenian Locrians, and warring on the Ætolians, depopulated their country. But as Antigonus possefled Corinth, which he guarded with a band of Macedonians, Aratus by a sudden invasion astonished the Macedonians, and coming to an engagement with them, flew, among many others, Perseus the commander of the guard, who was the philosophic pupil of Zeno the son of Mnasæas. Aratus therefore having liberated Corinth, associated to himself the Epidauriæi and Troezeniæi, who inhabit the Argolic coast, and the Megarenses who dwell beyond the isthmus. And Ptolemy indeed joined to himself the Achaians, as his associates in war; but the Lacedæmonians following their king Agis, who was the son of Eudamidas, by a sudden incursion seized on Pellenæa. However, in consequence of Aratus coming against them, they were vanquished, and leaving Pellenæa, returned home on certain conditions. But Aratus, when the Peloponnesian affairs were in a prosperous condition, saw with indignation that the Pirææus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium were in the possession of the Macedonians; and as there was no hope of being able to expel them from these places by force, he persuaded Diogenes the commander of the guards to surrender these places to him for one hundred and fifty talents; and besides this, he gave a fifth part of this sum to the Athenians. He also persuaded Arístomachus, who reigned in Argos, to introduce a democracy among the Argives, and join it with the convention of the Achaians. And besides this he took Mantinea,
Mantinea, which was occupied by the Macedonians. The event of things, however, is far from always succeeding agreeable to the expectations of mankind; for Aratus was obliged to join himself to Antigonus king of the Macedonians, as his associate in war, and this on the following account.

C H A P. IX.

CLEOMENES, the son of Leonidas, and the grandson of Cleonymus, having obtained the government of Sparta, imitated in his conduct Pausanias, who both desired the tyranny, and was not satisfied with the established laws. However, as he was more ferocious than Pausanias, and not so desirous of preserving his life, he very soon, through pride and audacity, brought all his intentions to a prosperous conclusion. For in another family he destroyed through poison the king Eurydamidas, while he was yet a boy, and this by means of the Ephori; and transferred the government to his brother Epiclidas. And still farther, having subverted the authority of the senate, he instituted in their stead the Patronymi, or those who bestowed a paternal attention to the affairs of their country. After this, through a desire of greater concerns, and of the government of all Greece, he first of all warred on the Achaians, either hoping, that if they were conquered, they would be his associates in war, or that they would be unwilling to impede his undertakings. In consequence of this, having come to an engagement at Dyne above Patræ, he vanquished the Achaians, who were then commanded by Aratus. He therefore compelled this Aratus, who feared for the Achaians and Sicyon itself, to banish Antigonus.
THE DESCRIPTION

Antigonus. For Cleomenes, when the peace with Antigonus was violated, among many things which he openly transacted contrary to the conditions of the league, expelled the Megalopolitans from their kingdom. Hence, when Antigonus passed over into Peloponneseus, the Achaians, under the command of Cleomenes, betook themselves to Selasia, which they brought into subjection, and took Lacedaemon itself.

But Antigonus restored to the Lacedaemonians and Achaians their ancient mode of government: and of the children of Leonidas, Ephicidas fell in the engagement; but Cleomenes flying into Egypt, was at first most honourably received by Ptolemy, but was afterwards confined in chains for exciting the Egyptians against the king. However he escaped from his confinement, and was the occasion of much disturbance to the Alexandrians; but being in the end retaken, he destroyed himself. The Lacedaemonians, in consequence of this, finding with great pleasure that they were free, would not any longer be governed by a king, but established that form of government which remains at present. But Antigonus continually exhibited tokens of his benevolence to Aratus, as to a man by whom he had been benefited, and whose actions had rendered him renowned. Philip, however, as soon as he began to reign, took away Aratus by poison, who had no suspicion of his intention, and this because he had disapproved his wrathful behaviour on many occasions, and had often restrained him from acting agreeable to his impetuous desires. And the dead body indeed, of Aratus, was carried from Ægeum where he died, and buried with great magnificence at Sicyon; and even at present his heroic monument is called Arateum.
OF GREECE.

The name Philip too put to death, in a similar manner, the two Athenian orators, Euryclides and Micon, who had no small influence over the minds of the people. At last however a deadly medicament was administered to Philip himself. For Perseus, the youngest of his sons, having destroyed by poison Demetrius another of his sons, caused Philip to die, through weariness and anxiety of mind. But he who considers what is asserted by Hesiod under the inspiration of divinity, will manifestly perceive the justice in the death of Philip: for Hesiod says, "that he who designs to injure another, will first of all turn the injury upon himself." But after the monument of Aratus, there is an altar dedicated to Ithmian Neptune. There are also certain rude images of Jupiter Milichius, and Diana who is called Patroa. That of Milichius is in the shape of a pyramid, and that of Patroa has the figure of a column. In the same place too there is a building for judicial affairs, and a porch which is called, after the name of its builder, Clithenia. Clithenes built this from the spoils which he took, when he warred in conjunction with the AmphiCyons against Sciron. But in that part of the forum which stands in the open air, there is a brazen Jupiter, the work of Lysippus, and near it a Diana of gold. Not far too from hence there is a temple of Apollo Lycaeus, which, through the devastations of time, is at present the least worthy of inspection.

But the reason of its being so called was as follows: When the wolves once so infested the sheep that they scarcely yielded any profit to their owners, Apollo pointed out to them a place where they should strew some dry wood, the bark of which, when mingled with fleh and cast to the wolves, would destroy them as soon as they had tasted...
tafted it. This wood, indeed, is placed in the temple of Lycean Apollo; but from what tree it was taken, is not known even by the Sicyonian historians. But after the temple certain brazen images present themselves to the view, which, according to report, are the daughters of Proetus; but the inscription mentions women different from these. In the same place too, there is a brazen Hercules, which was made by Lysippus the Sicyonian: and near it, there is a Mercury Forensis.

C H A P. X.

IN the gymnasiunum, which is not far from the forum, there is a Hercules of stone, the work of Scopa. There is also in another place, a temple of Hercules; and they call the whole enclosure in this part, Paradize. But there is a temple in the middle of the enclosure, and an ancient wooden statue in it, which was made by Laphaes Phliasius. With respect to the sacrifice which they perform to Hercules, they are of opinion that the following particulars are to be observed. They report that Phaëstus, when he came to Sicyonia, perceived that they performed funeral rites to Hercules as to a hero; but Phaëstus considered this mode as unworthy the dignity of Hercules, and ordered them to sacrifice to him as a god. In consequence of this, even at present, the Sicyonians kill a lamb, and, burning his bones on an altar, eat one part in the usual manner, and offer up the other part to Hercules as a hero. But with respect to the festival days which they celebrate to Hercules, they call the former of these Onomata, and the other Herculean. From hence there is a way which leads to
OF GREECE.

to the temple of Æsculapius. But on proceeding to the
enclosure, you will perceive on the left hand a two-fold
building, in the front part of which there is a statue of
Sleep, of which nothing is left except the head; and the
more interior part of the building is dedicated to Apollo
Cæneus, into which it is not lawful for any but the priests
to enter.

In the porch there is a bone of a whale of a prodigious
magnitude, and near it there is a statue of the god of
Dreams, and another of Sleep, under the appellation of
Epidotes, lulling to rest a lion. But in the way which leads
to the temple of Æsculapius, in one part there is a statue
of Pan, and in another, of Diana, the former of which is
in a sitting, and the latter in a standing posture. On enter-
ing the temple too, you will perceive a beardless statue of
the god, made by Calamis from ivory and gold. In one
of his hands he holds a sceptre, and in the other the fruit
of a mild pine-tree. But they report, that the god was
brought to them in the shape of a dragon from Epidaurus,
drawn by two mules, and conducted by Nicagora the Si-
cyonian, the mother of Agasicles, and the wife of Echeti-
mus. Certain statues too, of no great magnitude, are sus-
pended from the roof of the temple: and of these, that
which fits on a dragon is, they say, Aristodama the mother
of Aratus; and they consider Aratus as the son of Æscu-
lapius. And such are the particulars which this enclosure
contains worthy of being remembered.

But through this you may pass to another temple of
Venus, in which the statue of Antiope first presents itself
to the view; for her sons are said to have been Sicyonianes,
and Antiope is reported to have associated with them on
their account, and to have by this means become allied

M 2
THE DESCRIPTION

to them. Into this temple of Venus, a woman who performs the office of a sexton, and who is forbidden to associate with a man, and a virgin who acts as an annual priestess, are alone permitted to enter; and the virgin is called Lutrophoros, from her employment of carrying water for washing. But all other persons are only allowed to behold and adore the goddess from the vestibule of the temple. Her image, which was made by Canachus the Sicyonian, is in a fitting posture; and this same Canachus made the statue of Didymæan Apollo for the Milesians, and of Isthmian Apollo for the Thebans. But the statue of Venus is made from ivory and gold; and on her head she bears the gale, in one of her hands a poppy, and in the other an apple. They sacrifice to this goddess the thighs of all victims except swine, and burn the other parts with the wood of the juniper-tree; but while the thighs are roasting, they burn together with them the leaves of the herb bear's-breech. This herb grows there within the enclosure in the open air; but does not grow any where else, not even in Sicyonia itself. Its leaves are less than those of the beech-tree, and greater than those of the scarlet oak; but their figure is nearly the same with that of an oak-leaf. It is partly too of a blackish colour, and partly white. Indeed you may assimilate the colour of this herb to the leaves of the white poplar tree. But, on proceeding from hence to the gymnasion, you will perceive on the right hand the temple of Diana Phereza; but the wooden statue of the goddess is said to have been brought hither from Phereza. The gymnasion itself was built by Clinias for the Sicyonians, and it serves at present as a place for the education of youth. There is a statue in it, of Diana, of white stone, which is polished no farther than the loins; and a
OF GREECE.

Of Hercules, in the lower parts similar to the square figures of Mercury.

CHAP. XI.

On proceeding from hence to the gate which is called Sacred, you will perceive a temple of Minerva, not far from the gate itself. This was formerly dedicated by Epopeus, and surpasses in magnitude and ornament all the works of that time. But the memory of this building has perished through length of time; for divinity destroyed it by lightning, and the altar alone remains untouched by the lightning, and in the condition in which it was made by Epopeus. Before the altar the sepulchre of Epopeus is raised; and near the tomb the gods called Averrunchi are to be seen, to whom they sacrifice such things as the Greeks think necessary for the repulsion of evil. But they report, that Epopeus built one of the neighbouring temples to Diana, and the other to Apollo, but that Adrafitus built that which is sacred to Juno. There are no statues, however, in either of these. But of the altars which are behind the temple of Juno, one of these Adrafitus raised to Pan; and another, which is of white stone, to the Sun. After this, on descending as it were into the fields, you will perceive a temple of Ceres, which Plemnæus is said to have established in gratitude to the goddess for the nourishment of his son.

But at a little distance from the temple which Adrafitus dedicated to Juno, the temple of Apollo Carneus formerly stood; for at present the pillars alone remain, but you cannot find either walls or a roof. This too is the cafe with
with the temple of Juno Prodomia, which was dedicated by Phalæs the son of Temenus, hoping that by this means the goddes would be his leader in his journey to Sicyon. On proceeding from Sicyon, in the direct road to Phliuntes, you will perceive in a turning on the left hand, which is distant from the road about ten stadia, a grove called Piræa, and in it a temple of Ceres Proflasia, and Proserpine. In this place the men celebrate a festival apart from the women; for the women keep their festive days in the temple of the Nymphs, which they call Nymphon. But the road which leads to Titana is about sixty stadia in length, and on account of its narrowness is impervious to carriages. However, on keeping along this road for about twenty stadia as it appears to me, and passing over the river Asopus on the left hand, you will arrive at a grove of scarlet oaks, which contains a temple of those goddesses which the Athenians call Semnai, and the Sicyoniens Eumenides. On one day in every year, they celebrate the festival of these divinities, flay pregnant sheep, and are of opinion that they should use mead for a libation, and flowers instead of crowns. They sacrifice too, in a similar manner, on the altars of the Parcae, which stand in the uncovered part of the grove.

But, on returning from hence into the road, when you have again passed over the Asopus, you will arrive at the summit of a mountain, which the natives report was first inhabited by Titan. They farther add, that this Titan was the brother of the Sun, and that the region was called, from him, Titana. But it appears to me, that this Titan was very skilful in observing the seasons of the year, and knew at what times the Sun increaseth seeds and plants, and brings fruits to maturity; and that on this account he was
was considered as the brother of the Sun. But after him Alexander the son of Machaon, who was the son of Æsculapius, departing to Sicyonia, built in Titana the temple of Æsculapius. Different people dwell about this temple, but the greatest part of the place is inhabited by the servants of the god. Within the enclosure too there are ancient cypress-trees; but it is impossible to know from what wood or metal the statue is composed, or who was its artificer, unless some one should ascribe the work to Alexander. But the face of this statue, together with the hands and feet, are alone apparent; for the other parts are covered with a white linen garment and a veil. In the same place too there is a statue of Hygeia, which cannot easily be seen, because it is so invested, partly with the hairs which the women cut off in honour of the goddess, and partly by the folds of her Babylonian garment. But whichever of these divinities any one is desirous to propitiate, the propriety of sacrificing to the goddess Health, whom they call Hygeia, is demonstrated to him.

With respect to Alexander and Euamerion (for these also have their statues), they perform funeral rites to the first of these as to a hero after the setting of the sun, but they sacrifice to Euamerion as to a god. But if I rightly conjecture, the Pergamenes call this Euamerion, Telephorus, from a certain oracle, but the Epidaurians denominate him Aesculapius. There is also a wooden statue of Coronis, but it is not placed in any part of the temple: however, when they sacrifice to the god a bull, a lamb, and a hog, they carry Coronis into the temple of Minerva, and there worship him. Nor do they think it sufficient to consecrate the thighs of the victims, but, of every animal except birds, they burn all the parts on the ground; for
THE DESCRIPTION

the parts of these they place on the altar. But in those parts of the top of the building which they call the Eagles there is a statue of Hercules, and near the extremities of these, statues of Victory. In the porch there are statues of Bacchus and Hecate, Venus, Ceres, and Fortune; and these are all fashioned from wood. But the statue of Æsculapius, who is called Gortynius, is made of stone. No one however is willing to enter the temple, through fear of the sacred dragons which it contains; but placing food for them in the entrance of the temple, they immediately depart. Within the enclosure there is a brazen statue of Graniarius a Sicyonian, who was twice victor in the quinquvertium in the Olympic games, once in the stadium, twice in the repeated stadium which they call Diaulos, and who ran naked with a shield. But in Titana there is also a temple of Minerva, into which they carry the statue of Coronis: and in this temple there is an ancient wooden statue of Minerva, which is said to have been struck with lightning.

C H A P. XII.

On descending from the eminence, on which this temple is built, you will perceive an altar of the Winds, on which in one night every year the priest sacrifices. He also performs certain other arcane ceremonies in four ditches, for the purpose of appeasing the rage of the winds; and sings as they report the incantations of Medea. But on proceeding from Titana to Sicyon, and descending to the sea, you will perceive on the left hand of the road, a temple of Juno, which has neither a statue nor a roof,
and which, they say, was dedicated by Proetus the son of Abas. After this, when you descend to that which is called the port of the Sicyonians, and turn towards the haven of the Pelleneans, which is called Arislonauta, you will see, a little above the road on the left hand, a temple of Neptune. But, proceeding along the public way, you may perceive a river which is called Eithion, and after it the rivers Sythae devolving into the sea. In this place too Phliaia is the boundary of the Sicyonians. But the city itself is distant from Titana about forty stadia, and there is a direct road from Sicyon to Phliaia. And that the Phliaians indeed have nothing in common with the Arcadians, is evident from Homer's catalogue of the Arcadians, in which the Phliaians are not comprehended. But that they were at first Argives, and afterwards became Dorians, when the children of Hercules returned to Peloponnesus, will be evident in the progress of our discourse. However, as I know many disagreeing particulars respecting the Phliaians, I shall only relate such of their affairs as are most generally acknowledged.

Of this land, then, they report one Aras was the first native, and that he built a city about that hill which is even now called Arantinus, and which is at no great distance from that other summit which contains the tower of the Phliaians and the temple of Hebe. This Aras then built the city; and both the city and the land were formerly called, from him, Arantia. But during his reign, Aetopus, who is said to have been the son of Ceglufa and Neptune, discovered the water of a river which at present they call Aetopus, from its inventor. But the sepulchre of Aras is in the town which they call Celæna, and where also Dyphaules the Eleusinian is said to be buried. This Aras had a son
a son called Aoris, and a daughter Aræthyrea: and the Phliasians report that these were skilled in hunting, and were valiant in war. But Aræthyrea dying first, Aoris, in memory of his sister, called the region Aræthyrea; and hence Homer mentions the inhabitants of this place among those who were under the dominion of Agamemnon:

"Fair Aræthyrea, Ornia's fruitful plain."

But I am of opinion, that the sepulchres of the children of Aras are in no other part of the country than the Aranian hill. There are noble columns raised to the memory of these near the temple of Ceres; and in this place, previous to the initiation, they celebrate Aras in songs, and looking towards these sepulchres, call in their libations upon the children of Aras.

I cannot however assent to the report of the Argives, that Phlias, who was the third person that gave a name to the country, was the son of Cafus, and the grandson of Temenus; for I know that he is called the son of Bacchus, and is said to have been one of those who failed in the ship Argo. And this is confirmed as follows by the Rhodian poet: "Aræthyrean Phlias came also, the illustrious offspring of Bacchus, who was most rich while he possessed those lands through which Asopus flows."—But the mother of this Phlias was Aræthyrea, and not Chthonophyle; for Chthonophyle was his wife, by whom he had Androdama.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XIII.

But the Heraclidæ returning, all Peloponnesus except Arcadia was disturbed; so that many cities were compelled to receive men of a Doric name, and the inhabitants experienced still greater mutations. The particulars however respecting Phlias are as follow: Rhegnidas Doriensis, who was the son of Phalx, and the grandson of Temenus, came with an army from Argos and Sicyonia; and such indeed of the Phliasians as were called by Rhegnidas were obedient to his commands, remained in their proper habitations, gave the kingdom up to him, and assigned land to their companions. But Hippafus, and all his faction, thought proper to oppose him, and would not suffer the Dorienses to enjoy so many and such excellent advantages without a battle. However, when the people declared themselves of a contrary opinion, Hippafus, with such as were willing to follow him, fled to Samos. Pythagoras the wife was the great-grandson of this Hippafus; for Pythagoras was the son of Mnephauchus, and Mnephauchus was the son of Euphron and the grandson of Hippafus. And such are the reports of the Phliasians concerning these persons, to which for the most part the Sicyonians assent. It is therefore now proper that we should relate whatever is most worthy of inspection among the Phliasians.

In the tower, then, there is a grove of cypresses, and a temple most holy for its ancient rites. But the goddess to whom the temple belongs was called by the most ancient Phliasians, Ganymeda, but by the modern, Hebe,
of whom Homer makes mention when he describes the single combat of Paris and Menelaus, and who, he says, *ministers wine to the gods*. In the Odyssey too, where Ulysses descends to Hades, he says that Hebe is the wife of Hercules. But the poet Olen, in his hymn to Juno, says that Juno was educated by the Hours, and that her offspring were Mars and Hebe. Among other honours which the Phliasians pay to this goddess, the greatest is that which pertains to suppliants; for they dismiss those with impunity who come hither in a suppliant posture, and liberating such as were in bonds, they hang their fetters on the trees in the grove. They also celebrate every year a festival, which they call *Cistotomos*, or pertaining to ivy. But for a certain sacred reason they neither preserve any statue in an arcane recess, nor exhibit any one openly.

But in the tower there is also another enclosure sacred to Ceres, and which contains a temple, together with the statues of Ceres and Proserpine. The statue however of Diana (for there is a brazen statue of her in this place) appears to me to be ancient. But on descending from the tower, you will perceive a temple of Æsculapius on the right hand, and a statue without a beard. Beneath this temple there is a theatre; and not far from hence there is a temple of Ceres, which contains ancient statues in a sitting posture. But in the forum there is a brazen goat, for the most part of gold, which came to be honoured by the Phliasians on the following account. The constellation called the Goat is found, when it rises, to be constantly injurious to vines. In order, therefore, to prevent its noxious influence, they venerated this brazen goat in the market-place, and adorned it with gold. In
OF GREECE.

this place too there is a sepulchre of Aristias the son of Pratinas; and indeed the satires of this Aristias and his father Pratinas are the most approved of any except those of Æschylus.

But behind the forum, there is a house which is called by the Phliasians, prophetic: and, as they report, Amphiarraus coming into this house, and sleeping there one night, began then for the first time to possess a divining power: for, prior to this, he was according to them perfectly unlearned: but, in consequence of this circumstance taking place, the house was ever after shut up. Not far from hence there is a place which is called Umbilicus, and which is the middle of all Peloponnesus, if their reports can be depended on. But on proceeding from the Umbilicus, you may perceive an ancient temple of Bacchus, another of Apollo, and another of Isis. In these the statues of Bacchus and Apollo are obvious to every one, but that of Isis can alone be beheld by the priests. The Phliasians report, that Hercules, when he returned from Libya, having taken the apples of the Hesperides, came to Phlius about some affairs of his own; that while he stayed here, Oeneus, who was his father-in-law, came from Ætolia; and that here, when either Oeneus entertained Hercules at a feast, or Hercules Oeneus, Hercules, in consequence of the boy Cyathus, who was the wine-bearer of Oeneus, not pleasing him in the discharge of his office, struck the boy with one of his fingers on the head, which caused him immediately to expire. But the Phliasians have erected a building in memory of this, near the temple of Apollo; and this building contains two statues of stone, viz. Cyathus extending a cup to Hercules.

CHAP.
THE DESCRIPTION

CHAP. XIV.

But Celaæ is distant from Phlius about five stadia, in which place the mysteries of Ceres are celebrated every fourth year, and not every year. And in this Initiation, the hierophant does not maintain his office for life, but a different one is chosen for every fresh celebration of the mysteries. He may likewise, if he pleases, associate with a woman; and in these two particulars the mysteries differ from those of Eleusis, though in other respects they are performed in imitation of them; for the Phliasians themselves confess, that they imitate the Eleusinian mysteries. But they say that Dysaules the brother of Celeus, when he came into their region, established the initiation, and that he was driven from Eleusis by Ion the son of Xuthus, at that time when the Athenians chose him for their general in the war against the Eleusinians. However, I cannot assent to this account of the Phliasians, that any one of the Eleusinians should secretly withdraw himself after having been vanquished in battle, since, prior to the event of the war, certain conditions were stipulated on both sides, and Eumolpus then remained at Eleusis.

Dysaules, however, might have come to Phlius for a reason different from that which is assigned by the Phliasians; for it does not appear to me, either that he was allied to Celeus, or that he ranked among the illustrious of the Eleusinians. Indeed, had this been the case, Homer would certainly not have omitted to mention him in his poems; for, in his hymn to Ceres, where he enumerates all those that were instructed in the mysteries by the goddess, he does not appear to have known any thing of the Eleusinian
OF GREECE.

Eleusinian Dyfaules. But his verses in this hymn are as follow:

Triptolemus, Eumolpus high in fame,
Bold Theseus, who knew the need to tame,
And mighty Celes, who the fleece holds:
To these the grateful goddesses, minstrels:
The ministration of her sacred rites;
And all her holy mysteries indites.

Dyfaules, therefore, as the Phliasians relate, both established the mysteries in this place, and first called the region Celes. But, as I have observed before, the sepulchre of Dyfaules is contained here, than which the tomb of Aras is more ancient: for, according to the relation of the Phliasians, Dyfaules came into this country long after the reign of Aras; since, if we may believe them, Aras was cotemporary with Prometheus the son of Japetus, and was three generations prior to Pelasgus the son of Arcas, and to those who are called Autochthones by the Athenians. But in that temple which is called Anacitorus, a chariot depends from the roof, which they report was the chariot of Pelops. And such are the particulars among the Phliasians most worthy of relation.

CHAP. XV.

ARGOLICS.

On proceeding from Corinth to Argos, you will arrive at a city of no great magnitude, called Cleone: and they report, that Cleone was the daughter of Pelops; though, according to others, she was one of the daughters of the river Aepus which flows through Sicyon. The name therefore was given to the city from one of these. In this place
place there is a temple of Minerva, and the statue which it contains was made by Scyllis and Dipoenus. But some are of opinion that Daedalus married a daughter of Gortynis, by whom he had Dipoenus and Scyllis. But besides this temple in Cleanax, there are sepulchres of Eurytus and Cleatus, who were slain by the arrows of Hercules, when they went from Elis in order to view the Isthmian games; and this because they opposed Hercules in the Augean war. But there are two roads which lead from Cleonæ to Argos, one of which is convenient for light-armed soldiers, and is a shorter way; for that which leads to a place called Tretum is narrow, and on all sides invested with mountains, but is better adapted than the other for carriages.

In these mountains the cave of the Nemean lion is yet to be seen, and the village Nemea is distant from hence about fifteen stadia. There is a temple of Nemean Jupiter in this place well worthy of inspection, though the roof of it has fallen off, and no statue is left. About the temple there is a grove of cypresses: and they report that Opheltes, being placed here on the grass by his nurse, was destroyed by a dragon. But the Argives sacrificed to Jupiter in Nemea, and choose a priest for Nemean Jupiter. They propose, besides this, a contest of the course to armed men, which is celebrated in the winter. The sepulchre of Opheltes too is in this place, about which there is an enclosure of stones, and there are certain altars within the enclosure. There is also a tomb raised from turf, of Lycurgus the father of Opheltes; but they call the fountain Adrafitia, either because Adrafitus discovered it, or for some other reason. They say, however, that the region was denominated from Nemea the daughter of Afopus.

But,
OF GREECE.

But above Nemea, the mountain Apefas presents itself to the view, in which they report Perseus first sacrificed to Jupiter Apefantius. But on returning to Tretus, and again proceeding to Argos, you will perceive on the left hand ruins of Mycenæ. And indeed the Greeks know, that Perseus was the founder of Mycenæ; but I shall now relate the cause of his building the city, and on what account the Argives afterwards destroyed it; for in that region which is now called Argolis, they have no remembrance of any circumstance more ancient than this. They report then, that when Inachus reigned, he called the river by his own name, and sacrificed to Juno. It is also said, that Phoroneus first inhabited this land, whose father Inachus was not a man, but a river; and that in conjunction with the rivers Cephisus, Acheron, and Inachus, he sat as a judge between Neptune and Juno, when they contended for the region. They add, that he decided in favour of Juno, that Neptune afterwards took away all their water, and that, on this account, neither Inachus nor any other of the rivers supplies them with water, unless divinity dwells them with rain; for in summer during the great dryness of the soil, they have no other water than that of Lerna. But Phoroneus the son of Inachus first collected men together into civil society; and hence the region into which they were first collected was called Phoronicus.

CHAP. XVI.

This region, however, was denominated from Argus the son of a daughter of Phoroneus, and who reigned after Phoroneus. But Pirasus and Phorbas were the off-
spring of Argus, Triopas was the son of Phorbas, and Jasus and Agenor were the offspring of Triopas. So therefore was the daughter of Jasus, whether or not, according to the relation of Herodotus, or the account of the Greeks, she went to Egypt; but Crotopus the son of Agenor succeeded Jasus in the government, and Sthenelas was the offspring of Crotopus. But Danaus failing from Egypt, and having expelled Gelanor the son of Sthenelas, took away the government from the grandsons of Agenor. And indeed the particulars respecting Danaus, and the daring wickedness of his daughters towards their cousins, are well known to every one, as likewise that, after the death of Danaus, Lynceus obtained the kingdom. But the sons of Abas, and the grandsons of Lynceus, so divided the kingdom among themselves, that Acrisius remained at Argos, Proetus possessed Hiræus, Midea, Tirynthæa, and the maritime part of the Argolic land, of whose government Tirynthe yet remains as a monument.

But some time after, Acrisius knowing that Perseus was yet alive, and illustrious for his achievements, gave up the river Larissa to Peneus. Perseus, however, being inflamed with a desire of seeing his grandfather by his mother's side, and of procuring his friendship both by his words and actions, came to Larissa, at which time being in the vigour of his age, and elated with the invention of the quoit, which he exhibited to every one, he undesignedly flew Acrisius, whose evil daemon brought him just then unperceived in his way, with a blow of it. And thus was the oracle formerly given to Acrisius confirmed, who could not escape the punishment of his intended cruelty to his daughter and grandson. But Perseus returning to Argos, ashamed of the infamy of the slaughter, persuaded Mega-
OF GREECE.

Megapenthes the son of Proetus to deliver up the government to him. And after Megapenthes had complied with his request, Perseus built Mycena, which he so called, because in that place the sheath of his sword fell off. I have also heard it reported, that a man who was thirstily took this sheath off the ground, and that drinking and being delighted with the running water which he found there, he called the region Mycena. But Homer, in the Odyssey, mentions a woman of the name Mycene in the following verse: "Tyro and Alcmene, and Mycene, whose brows are bound with a beautiful crown."

And that Mycene indeed was the daughter of Inachus, and the wife of Areitor, isasserted in those verses which the Greeks call the great Iolaus. From Mycene, therefore, the city derived its name. But for my own part, I do not credit the relation, which they say they have heard, that Myceneus was the son of Sparton, and Sparton of Phoroneus, since these persons were not Lacedæmonians. For among the Lacedæmonians there is an image of a woman called Sparta, in Amyclæ; but they would certainly wonder from the novelty of the name, if they should hear that Sparton was the son of Phoroneus. It is certain, however, that the Argives destroyed Mycenæ through envy. For when the Medes made an irruption into Greece, the Argives witheld their assistance, but the Mycenæ sent to the Thermopylae eighty men, who participated with the Lacedæmonians of that illustrious undertaking. Grief, therefore, on account of their ravished glory, induced the Argives to cut off the Mycenæ.

Among other parts however of the enclosure which still remain, a gate is perceived with lions standing on it: and they report, that these were the works of the Cyclops.
THE DESCRIPTION

who also made for Proetus the wall in Tirynthus. But among the ruins of Mycenæ there is a fountain called Persea, and subterraneous habitations of Atreus and his sons, in which they deposited their treasures. There is also a sepulchre of Atreus, and of all those who, returning from Troy with Agamemnon, were slain at a banquet by Ægisthus. For there is a dispute between the Lacedæmonians who inhabit Amyclæ and the Mycenæans, concerning the sepulchre of Cassandra. There is also a tomb here of Agamemnon, and of his charioteer Eurymedon, and one sepulchre in common of Teledamus and Pelops, who, as they report, were twins and the offspring of Cassandra, and who while they were infants were slain by Ægisthus at the tomb of their parents. There is likewise a sepulchre of Electra; for she was given by Orestes in marriage to Pylades, from whom, according to Hellanicus, she bore to Pylades two sons, Medon and Strophius. But Clytemnestra and Ægisthus are buried at a little distance from the walls; for they were not thought worthy of burial within the walls, where Agamemnon and those that fell with him are interred.

C H A P. XVII.

On the right hand of Mycenæ, and at the distance of fifteen stadia, there is a temple of Juno. Along the road a water flows which is called Eleutherion, and which the priests of the temple, and those who preside over arcane sacrifices; use for purifications. But the temple itself is situated in the more depressed part of Eubœa; for they call this mountain Eubœa, and assert, that Eubœa, Prosymna, and 

Acraea,
Of Greece.

Acræa, the daughters of the river Asterion, were the
nurses of Juno; that from one of these, Acræa, the
mountain which is opposite the temple of Juno received
its appellation; from Eubœa, the mountain in which the
temple stands; and that from the name of the third sister,
the place which lies under the temple of Juno was called
Prosymna. But Asterion flows under the temple of Ju-
piter, and falling into a chasm, disappears. Grasfs grows
upon its banks which they call Asterion, which they pre-
sent to Juno, and from the leaves of which platted to-
gether they form crowns. The architect of this temple
was, they report, the Argive Eupolemus.

But the sculpture above the columns partly relates to the
birth of Jupiter, partly to the battle of the gods and giants,
and partly to the Trojan war, and the destruction of Ilium.
There are statues too before the entrance of the temple,
both of the women who have been the priestesses of Juno,
of heroes, and other persons, and among these of Orestes;
for the statue which is inscribed with the name of Au-
gustus, is said to be the statue of Orestes. But in the
vestibule of the temple, you will perceive on the left
hand ancient statues of the Graces, and on the right hand
the bed of Juno. In this vestibule too that shield is dedi-
cated, which Menelaus once took from Euphorbus in the
Trojan war. But the statue of Juno is seated on a throne
of great magnitude, which consists of ivory and gold, and
which was the work of Polycletus. The goddess has a
crown on her head, in which the Graces and Hours are
represented, and in one of her hands she holds a pome-
granate, and in the other a sceptre. But the particulars
respecting the pomegranate, as they belong to an arcane dis-
course, I shall pass by in silence.
THE DESCRIPTION

With respect to the cuckoo which is on the sceptre of the goddess, they say it was placed there because Jupiter, being enamoured with Juno when a virgin, changed himself into that bird, and that Juno pursued it as her sport. This relation, and all others of a similar kind concerning the gods, I do not by any means commit to writing as true, and yet I think, nevertheless, that they ought not to be neglected. It is said too, that the statue of Hebe stood by that of Juno; that it was made by the art of Naucydes, and that it consisted of ivory and gold. There is also an ancient statue of Juno here upon a column. But the most ancient statue was made from the sylvan pear-tree, and was brought by Piræus the son of Argus to Tirynta; but in consequence of the Argives taking Tirynta, was carried to the temple of Juno. This statue I myself saw, which was in a sitting posture, and of no great magnitude. But the offerings which are worthy of inspection in this temple are, first, an altar, in which the marriage of Hercules and Hebe is represented; and this is of silver: but there is a peacock of gold and splendid stones, which the emperor Adrian dedicated, because this bird is considered as sacred to Juno. There is also a golden crown and a purple robe here, the gifts of Nero. But above this temple there are foundations of a more ancient temple, and other things which have not been destroyed by the flames. This more ancient temple was burnt, through Chrysis the priest of Juno falling asleep, and the crowns being set on fire by a lamp which was near them. And Chrysis indeed, the priest, fled to Tegea, in order to supplicate Minerva Alea. The Argives, however, though they were oppressed with such a calamity, did not throw down the statue of Chrysis; and it even remains at present in the front part of this burnt temple.

CHAP.
OF GREECE.

C H A P. XVIII.

IN the way which leads from Mycenæ to Argos, and on the left hand of the temple of Perseus, there is an heroic monument near the road; for Perseus is honoured in this place by the neighbouring inhabitants, but the greatest honours are paid to him in Seriphus. The Athenians also have a grove sacred to Perseus, which contains the altars of Dictyes and Clymenes, who are called the favours of Perseus. But on proceeding to a little distance from this monument of Perseus, in the borders of the Argives, you will perceive on the right hand the sepulchre of Thyestes, upon which there is a stone ram, because Thyestes possessed a golden ram, when he committed adultery with his brother's wife. Reason, indeed, was not wanting to persuade Atreus to recom pense ill with ill; and hence he put to death the children of Thyestes, and gave the so much celebrated feasts. I cannot however certainly affirm, whether Ægisthus first did the injury unprovoked, or whether he revenged, in the person of Agamemnon, the death of Tantalus the son of Thyestes, to whom Clytemnestra, when a virgin, was espoused by her father Tyndarus. For my own part, I am unwilling to condemn them as naturally bad. But, if so a great punishment was due to the filthy conduct of Pelops towards Myrtilus, we must then acquiesce in the reply of the Pythian oracle to Glaucus, the son of Epicydes king of the Spartans, when he perjured himself, and assert, that the punishment of this crime descended to the posterity of the guilty.

N 4

But
THE DESCRIPTION

But on proceeding from the rams (for so they call the sepulchre of Thyestes) you will perceive at a little distance, on the left hand, a place called Myria, in which there is a temple of Myrian Ceres; which name originated from a man called Mylius, who, as the Argives report, was the guest of Ceres. This temple is without a roof, but it contains another temple raised from baked tiles, in which there are wooden images of Proserpine, Pluto, and Ceres. On departing from hence, you will arrive at the river Inachus, which when you have passed over you may perceive, in the first place, an altar of the sun, and afterwards a gate which is denominated from the neighbouring temple of the goddess Lucina. But the Argives are the only Grecians I am acquainted with, that are divided into three kingdoms. For during the reign of Anaxagoras the son of Argeus, and the grandson of Megapenthes, such a madness invaded the women, that wandering from their own habitations, they rambled about the country till Melampus the son of Amythaon put a stop to their malady; in reward of which, Anaxagoras gave him and his brother Bias an equal share of the kingdom in conjunction with himself.

But from Bias, five men reigned for four generations, as far as to Cyanippus the son of Aegialeus, all of whom derived their origin from Neleus on the mother's side. But from Melampus there were six generations, and as many men, as far as to Amphilocus the son of Amphiaraus. The descendants however of Anaxagoras, who were natives of this place, reigned for a longer time. For Iphis the son of Alector, and the grandson of Anaxagoras, left the government to Sthenelus the son of his brother Capaneus; and afterwards when Amphilocus, in con-
sequence of the destruction of Troy, migrated into that place which is now called from him Amphilocus, and Cyanippus died without children, Cylarabes the son of Sthenelus alone obtained the kingdom. But neither did he leave any children behind him. Orestes therefore, the son of Agamemnon, obtained Argos, reigned over the neighbouring places, and besides his paternal government, entered into an alliance with many of the Arcadians, possessed the Spartan kingdom, and always had the mercenary troops of the Phocenses to assist him. But Orestes reigned over the Lacedaemonians, who willingly subjected themselves to his command; for they thought that a descendant of Tyndarus was more worthy to reign over them, than Nicostratus and Megapenthes, who were the progeny of Menelaus by a slave.

Orestes however dying, Tisamenus succeeded to the government, who was the son of Orestes by Hermione the daughter of Menelaus; for that Erigone the daughter of Ægillus brought forth Penthilus, the bastard son of Orestes, is testified by Cinæthon in his verses. But during the reign of this Tisamenus, the Heraclidæ, or posterity of Hercules came into Peloponnæus, viz. Temenus and Cresphontes the sons of Aristomachus; for a third son, Aristodemus, being dead, the brothers of the deceased engaged in this expedition. And indeed, as it appears to me, they are very properly dubious concerning the Argi and the kingdom in Argos; for Tisamenus was the grandson of Pelops, but the Heraclidæ derived their origin from Perseus. With respect to Tyndarus, they evince that he was ejected by Hippocoon; but they say that Hippocoon and his sons being cut off by Hercules, the kingdom was assigned to the children of Tyndarus.
The Description

They likewise report things of this kind concerning Messenia: for they say, that Hercules having taken Pylus, left this region as a deposit with Neftor. Hence they expelled Tifamenus from Lacedaemon and Argi; from Messenia, the posterity of Neftor, Alcmæon, the son of Sillus, and the grandson of Thrasymede, and Pištiratus the son of Pištiratus; and besides these the children of Pæon, the son of Antilochoth, Melanthus the son of Andropompus, the grandson of Borus, and the great-grandson of Penthilus, who was the son of Periclymenes. Tifamenus, therefore, came with an army and his sons into that part of Greece which is now called Achaia, and likewise the posterity of Neleus, except Pištiratus; (for I do not know to what people he betook himself) but all the rest came to Athens; and from these the progeny of the Pæonidæ and Alcmæonidæ were denominated. But Melanthus also obtained the government, having expelled Thymoetes the son of Oxyntas; for Thymoetes was the last of the descendents of Theseus, that reigned over the Athenians. But the present discourse does not require that I should say any thing concerning Cresphontas, and the children of Aristodemus.

Chapter IX

But Temenus having obtained the kingdom of the Argives, instead of his own children employed Deiphontes the son of Antimachus, the grandson of Thrasyanor, and the great-grandson of Ctesippus who was the son of Hercules, both as his associate in war and his counsellor in every undertaking; for, prior to this, he had made him his son-in-
OF GREECE.

in-law, and was delighted with his daughter Hymnethon, more than with any of his other children, so that it was supposed he would transfer the kingdom to her and Deiphontes. In consequence of all this, he was slain by the stratagems of his sons, the eldest of whom Cifus took possession of the kingdom. But the Argives, who from the earliest period were advocates for liberty of speech, and laws of their own making, so diminished the power of kings, that they left nothing to Cifus and his posterity, but the mere name of a king. And the people having capitally condemned Meltas the son of Lacidaus, and the grandson of Medon, deprived him of the royal authority.

But in the city of the Argives, the most splendid of all their temples is that of Apollo Lycius; and the statue which it at present contains was the work of Attalus the Athenian. The statue, however, which existed at first was of wood, and was dedicated together with the temple by Danaus; for at that time I am persuaded all statues were formed from wood, and especially the Egyptian statues. But Danaus established the temple of the Lycian Apollo, on the following account. When Danaus came to Argos, he contended for the kingdom with Gelanor the son of Sthenela, and as each of them addressed many arguments to the people, both of a probable and just nature, and those of Gelanor appeared to be not less valid than those of Danaus, hence, the decision of the dispute was deferred till the next day. But on the next day, a wolf rushed on a herd of oxen that were feeding before the walls, and attacked the bull that was the leader of the herd. This circumstance occasioned the Argives to assimilate Gelanor to the bull, and Danaus to the wolf; because
THE DESCRIPTION

cause as the wolf is an animal that has no association with men, so Danaus till that time had no correspondence with the Argives; but as the wolf had vanquished the bull, on this account Danaus obtained the kingdom. And Danaus being of opinion, that Apollo sent the wolf to this herd of oxen, built the temple of Lycian Apollo.

In this temple, the throne of Danaus is dedicated, and an image of Biton, which is a man carrying a bull on his shoulders. But Lyceas asserts in his verses, that Biton possessed such strength of body, that when the Argives brought to Nemea their sacrifice to Jupiter, he lifted and carried the bull which was to be sacrificed. Near this image they enkindle a fire, which they call the fire of Phoroneus; for they do not admit that fire was given by Prometheus to men, but ascribe the invention of it to Phoroneus. With respect to the wooden statues of Venus and Mercury, they report that the one was the work of Epheus, but the other the gift of Hypermnestra; for of all his daughters Danaus alone led Hypermnestra to the place of judgment, because she was disobedient to the commands of her father. For she considered that the safety of Lyceus would not be accomplished without danger to herself, and that by not participating with her sisters of the daring attempt and stratagems in which they engaged, she would render the infamy of her father and sisters more apparent. However, she was acquitted by the decision of the Argives, and in memorial of this affair she dedicated a statue of Venus, which they call Nixe-phores, or the Victorious.

But within the temple there is a statue of Ladas, who in swiftness of foot surpassed all the men of his time, and of Mercury, who is represented thinking how he shall make
OF GREECE.

make a lyre, from a tortoise which he had taken away. Before the temple there is a footstool, in which the battle of the bull and wolf is represented, and together with these a virgin, throwing a stone at the bull. They believe that this virgin is Diana: and these were dedicated by Danaus, as likewise the pillars which are near them, and the wooden statues of Jupiter and Diana. In the same place too there are sepulchres, one of Linus the son of Apollo, and the other of Pfamathe the daughter of Crotopus. They report that this Linus is the same with the poet of that name, the particulars respecting whom I shall defer to a more convenient part of this description; for what concerns Pfamathe, I have related in my account of the Megarensian affairs. But besides all these, there is a statue of Apollo Agyieus, or the guardian of ways, and an altar of Jupiter Pluvius, upon which those who, by uniting their forces, procured the return of Polynices to the Theban kingdom, swore that they would die if they could not take Thebes. But the Argives appear to me to assert things less probable concerning the tomb of Prometheus than the Opuntii. They likewise farther report as follows.

C H A P. XX.

If you pass by the image of Creugas the pugilist, you will perceive a trophy erected on account of the Corinthians, and a statue of Jupiter Milichius or the Mild, of white stone, and the work of Polycletus. But I have heard that it was dedicated on the following account. The Lacedaemonians having undertaken a war against the
the Argives, did not cease their hostilities, till Philip the son of Amyntas, compelled them to rest satisfied with the ancient boundaries of their kingdom. In former times, indeed, the Lacedæmonians did not meditate any conquests beyond Peloponnesus, but they were always taking away something from the dominion of the Argives; or else the Argives, when the Lacedæmonians were engaged in wars beyond their own boundaries, pressed on the Lacedæmonians. Both therefore having arrived at the extremity of hatred, the Argives thought proper to maintain a thousand chosen men, appointing the Argive Bryas for their general. This man, among many injuries which he committed towards the people, seized on a virgin as she was going to be married, and then laid the blame of her capture on her attendants. The virgin however, in the same night, blinded Bryas while he was asleep, and being seized as soon as it was day, she fled in a suppliant posture to the people, who would not suffer her to be punished by the thousand men. In consequence of this a battle ensuing, the people were victors, who giving way to their wrath, did not leave one of their adversaries alive.

But afterwards other expiations of civil blood took place, and a statue of mild Jupiter was dedicated. Near this too there are images fashioned from stone of Cleobis and Biton, who placing their mother in the car, drew her themselves to the temple of Juno. Opposite to this, there is a temple of Jupiter Nemeus, in which there is an upright brazen statue of the god, the work of Lysippus. But after this, on proceeding to the right hand, you will perceive the sepulchre of Phoroneus. Indeed, even at present they perform funeral obsequies to Phoroneus. But above the temple of Jupiter Nemeus, there is a most ancient
OF GREECE.

ancient temple of Fortune, in which Palamedes dedicated the dice which he invented. Near this, there is a sepulchre of Ariadne; for they report that she and other women followed Bacchus, when he led his army to Argos: but Perseus, as he was victor in this engagement, slew many of those women. The other females therefore are buried in common, but Ariadne, as she surpassed the rest in dignity, has a sepulchre of her own.

Not far from hence there is a temple of the Hours: and on leaving this, you will perceive the statues of Polynices the son of Oedipus, and of all those leaders who fell with him fighting under the Theban walls. Of these men, seven only are mentioned by Aeschylus, though many of the Argive generals and many from Messene and Arcadia associated in this war. Near these seven (for the Argives also have followed the number of Aeschylus) the statues of those are placed who took Thebes; viz. Egleus the son of Adrastus, Promachus the son of Parthenopaeus, and the grandson of Talus, Polydorus the son of Ippomedon and Thersander; likewise the children of Amphiarus, i.e. Alcmene and Amphilochus, and Diomed and Sthenelus; and besides these, Euryalus the son of Mecistes, and Adrastus and Timeas the sons of Polynices. Not far too from these statues, the monument of Danaus is exhibited, and an empty sepulchre of those Argives, that either fell at Troy, or died after returning home.

In this place, there is likewise a temple of Jupiter the Saviour, after which you will arrive at a building, where the Argive women bewail Adonis. On the right hand of the entrance of this temple, there is a temple dedicated to the river Cephissus. They report that the water of this river
river has not once disappeared through Neptune, but they have found, that in the place where the temple stands the river flows under the earth. But hear the temple of Cephius there is a head of Medusa of stone, and which they report was the work of the Cyclops. The place behind this they call, even at present, the Criterion or tribunal of judgment, because it is said that Hypermnestra was tried in this by Danaus. Not far from hence there is a theatre, which contains, among other things worthy of inspection, a man slaying another man, viz. Perilaus the Argive slaying the Spartan Othryades. And this fame Perilaus was, prior to this, declared victor in wrestling at the Nemean games.

But above the theatre there is a temple of Venus, and before the basis upon which the statue of the goddess stands, Telephilla, who composed songs, stands on a column. Volumes of her verses are scattered at her feet, and she herself is represented beholding a helmet, which she holds in her hands, and is about to place on her head. This Telephilla was in other respects a renowned woman, and particularly was celebrated for her poetical compositions. But at the time when the Argives suffered more through Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandridas and king of the Lacedaemonians, than can be expressed, one part of such as survived the engagement, and fled as suppliants to the grove of Argos, violated the conditions of peace to which they were called, and another part finding themselves deceived, burned themselves together with the grove. Cleomenes therefore led the Lacedaemonians to Argos, now destitute of men; but then Telephilla, collecting together the servants, and all such as through youth or age were incapable of bearing arms, led them to the walls, and gathering
OF GREECE.

ing herself all the arms which were left either in houses or temples, she armed all the women that were in the vigour of their age, and placed them at that part of the town which she knew the Lacedaemonians would attack. But when the Lacedaemonians drew near, the women were not frightened at their warlike clamour, but receiv- ing them boldly, fought with great vigour and strength. And the Lacedaemonians considering, that if they destroyed the women, they should obtain an invidious victory, and at the same time that it would be shameful for them to be vanquished, in consequence of these reasons, surrendered themselves to the women. And this illustrious achievement, was indeed predicted by the Pythian oracle; and Herodotus exhibits the oracle, whether he understood it in a different sense, or whether he apprehended its true meaning. But the oracle is as follows: “When a female having conquered the male species, shall expel them, and shall obtain the chief renown among the Argives, then many of the Argives will be lacerated on all sides.” And such is the oracle respecting the achievement of the women.

C H A P. XXI.

ON descending from hence, and again proceeding to the forum, you will perceive the sepulchre of Cerdes the wife of Phoroneus. There are also in the same place the temples of Æsculapius and Diana, who is called Persuasion. This last was dedicated by Hypermnestra, when she obtained the victory over her father in the court of judicature, who pleaded in his defence that he had spared Lyn-
ceus. There is also a brazen statue of Aeneas, and a
place which they call Delta. But the reason assigned for
this appellation, as it does not appear to me satisfa\textcyr
I shall willingly pass over. Before this place there is an
altar of Jupiter Phyxius, and near it is the sepulchre of
Hypermnestra the mother of Amphiaraus, and likewise of
another Hypermnestra the daughter of Danaus. Lynceus
is also buried in the same tomb; and opposite to this you
may perceive the sepulchre of Talaus the son of Bias,
concerning whom, as likewise his posterity, we have dis-
coursed before.

But they report that Hegelaus established the temple
of Minerva the trumpet; and they say, that Hegelaus was
the son of Tyrhenus; that Tyrhenus, who was the son
of Hercules and a woman called Lyda, first invented the
trumpet; that Hegelaus, the Dorian, taught those that
followed Temenus the use of the instrument; and that
on this account he called Minerva the trumpet. But be-
fore the temple of Minerva you will perceive a sepulchre,
which, they say, is the tomb of Epimenides: for when
the Lacedaemonians warred on the Gno\textcyr, they took
Epimenides alive, and afterwards putting him to death,
because he predicted things unpleasant to them, they
buried his dead body in this place. But the building of
white stone, which nearly stands in the middle of the
forum, is a trophy of Pyrrhus, king of the Epiro\textcyr, ac-
cording to the report of the Argives. His dead body was
burnt in this place, and his sepulchre may be found here,
in which there is a representation of several things which
he used in battle, and among the rest of his elephants:
And this building is about his funeral pile, but the body
of Pyrrhus lies in the temple of Ceres, before which build-
ing
OF GREECE.

ing he fell, as I have related in my description of the Attic affairs.

In the entrance of this temple of Ceres, you may yet see a brazen shield of Pyrrhus suspended over the gates. But not far from the building in the forum of the Argives there is a tomb of earth, in which they report the head of the Gorgon Medusa is buried, concerning whom, without attending to fable, the following particulars are related. In the first place, it is said, that she was the daughter of Phorcys, and that her father dying, she reigned over the inhabitants of the Tritonian marsh; that she was accustomed to hunt, and lead the Africans to battle, and that opposing the army of Perseus, which consisted of Peloponnesian soldiers, she was slain in the night by stratagem. It is said too, that Perseus wondering at the beauty of her dead body, cut off her head, for the purpose of shewing it to the Greeks. But Proclus the Carthaginian, the son of Eucrates, delivers an account of Medusa more probable than the preceding. According to him, then, there are many wild beasts in the deserts of Africa of an incredible species, and, among these, savage men and women. Proclus adds, that he saw at Rome a man that was brought from thence, and that it appears probable to him, that Medusa was one of these women, who, wandering as far as the Tritonian marsh, destroyed the inhabitants, till she was herself slain by Perseus: but that Minerva is reported to have assisted Perseus, because the men that dwell about the Tritonian marsh are sacred to Minerva.

But in Argos, besides this sepulchre of Medusa, there is a tomb of Perseus Gorgophone, or the slayer of Gorgon; the reason of which appellation must be obvious to every one. It is said, that she was the first woman, who, on
THE DESCRIPTION

the death of her husband Perieres the son of Æolus, married another man, Oebalus; for, prior to this, it was usual for women on the death of their husbands to abstain from marrying again. Before this sepulchre there is a stone trophy of one Laphaes an Argive, who (for I write what the Argives themselves assert) was violently ejected by the people after he had obtained the government. After this he fled to Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to restore him to his tyranny: but the Argives being victors in the engagement, they slew Laphaes, and many of the Lacedæmonians. But the temple of Latona is not far from this trophy, and the statue is the work of Praxiteles. The image of the virgin which stands near the goddess they call Chloris; and report, that she was the daughter of Niobe, and that her name at first was Meliboea; but that when the children of Amphion were destroyed by Diana and Apollo, she alone together with Amycla were preserved, because they supplicated Latona. They add, that Meliboea through fright became immediately pale, and that this colour continuing the rest of her life, she came to be called Chloris instead of Meliboea. And the Argives indeed assert, that the temple of Latona was at first built by these surviving children of Niobe. But I, who pay more attention to the poetry of Homer than others, believe that none of the children of Niobe were spared; and the following lines confirm my opinion:

But two the goddess, twelve the queen enjoy'd:
Those boasted twelve th' avenging two destroy'd.

For Homer knew that the house of Amphion was overthrown from its foundation.

CHAP.
OF GREECE.

C H A P. XXII.

On the right hand of the temple of Latona, you will perceive the temple of Juno Antheia, or the Florid; and before this there is a sepulchre of those women who, following the army of Bacchus from the islands of the Ægean sea, fell in an engagement against the Argives and their leader Perseus; and on this account they call them Marines. But opposite to the sepulchre of the women there is a temple of Ceres, whom they call Pelasgis, from Pelasgus, the son of Triopas, by whom it was dedicated. Not far from hence you may perceive the sepulchre of Pelasgus, which when you have passed by, you will behold a brazen tomb of no great magnitude, and which sustains ancient statues of Diana, Jupiter, and Minerva. Lycias reports in his verses, that the second of these statues is that of Jupiter the Machinator, and that the Argives who warred against Troy swore in this place, that they would not desist from fighting, till either they had taken Troy, or died in the attempt. But it is reported by others, that the bones of Tantalus are buried in this tomb, viz. of that Tantalus who was married to Clytemnestra before she was the wife of Agamemnon; whether this Tantalus was the son of Thyestes or of Bronteus, for both these reports are circulated concerning him. I have no doubt, however, but that he was buried in this place.

But I have seen in Sipylus the sepulchre of that Tantalus who is called the son of Jupiter and Plutus, and it is well worthy of inspection. No necessity, however, compelled him to fly from Sipylus, as was the case with Pe-
AFTER this, on returning from the way which is called hollow, a temple of Bacchus presents itself to the view on the right hand, whose statue, as they report, was brought from Euboea. For the Greeks, on their return from Troy, happening to be shipwrecked near Caphareus, such of the Argives as were able to reach the land were nearly consumed with hunger and cold. In this situation, they are said to have implored the gods to preserve them in so great a calamity; and that as they pursued their way they perceived a cave sacred to Bacchus, a statue of the god within the cave, and many wild goats, which had collected themselves together in this place in order to avoid the storm. These the Argives slew, feasted on their flesh, and used their skins instead of garments. But after the storm abated they repaired their ships, and returned to their country, taking with them the image out of the cave, which even at present they religiously venerate.

But you may perceive the house of Adrastus very near the temple of Bacchus, and at some distance from this the temple of Amphiaraus; and beyond this again the sepulchre of Eriphyle. After these there is a grove of Aesculapius, and after this the temple of Batom. This Batom was of the race of Amphiaraus, who descended from the Melampodæ, and drove the chariot of Amphiaraus in battle: but when the Argives were repulsed from the Theban walls, this Batom disappeared in the same chasm in which Amphiaraus and his chariot vanished. But on returning
turning from this hollow, you may perceive that which they call the sepulchre of Syrnethes. If this tomb therefore be empty, and was raised in memory of the woman, their relation is probable; but if they assert that the dead body of Syrnethes is there buried, I cannot assent to their assertion, though any one ignorant of the Epidaurian affairs may be induced to be of this opinion.

But among the images of Æsculapius, that which is the most illustrious of any at present among the Argives, represents the god sitting, is made of white stone, has Health standing by it, and the artists Xenophilus and Stratton, by whom the statues were made. The temple was established at first by Sephyrus the son of Machaon, and the brother of that Alexenor who is honoured by the Sicyonians in Titana. But there is a statue of Pheræa Diana (for the Argives also venerate Pheræa Diana) both among the Athenians and Sicyonians: and this statue, as they report, was brought hither from Pheræ in Sicily. I can by no means however assent to the following report: For the Argives say, that there is a sepulchre in Argos, of Deianira the daughter of Oeneus, and another of Helenus the son of Priam; and that they have a statue of Minerva, which was brought from Troy, and was the cause of Ilion being taken. For it is evident that the Palladium (as it is called) was brought by Æneas into Italy: and we know that Deianira died at Trachina, and not at Argos; and that her tomb is near Heraclea, under the mountain Oeta.

The particulars however respecting Helenus the son of Priam, I have already related; viz. that he came into Epirus with Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, that he took care of the children of Pyrrhus after his death, that he married
THE DESCRIPTION

married Andromache, and that Cestrine received her name from Ceprinus the son of Helenus. Nor are the Argive historians ignorant that all their relations are not by any means true; but they commit them to writing, because it is no easy matter to persuade the multitude to change their opinions. But there are other things worthy of inspection in the country of the Argives, and among these a subterranean edifice in which there is a brazen bed-chamber, which Acrisius once made for the security of his daughter. This, however, was destroyed by Perilaus during his tyranny; and at present it contains the sepulchre of Crotopus, and a temple of Bacchus Cretius. For they report, that when Bacchus, after the war with Perseus, laid aside his anger, mighty honours were paid to him by the Argives, and that this illustrious temple was dedicated to him. They add, that it was afterwards called Cretium, because Ariadne was buried there by Bacchus. But Lyceas reports, that when the temple was restored, an earthen urn was found, which contained the ashes of Ariadne, and that it was seen by him and many of the Argives. Near this temple of Bacchus there is a temple of Celestial Venus: but they call the tower Larissa, from the name of the daughter of Pelasgus: from whom, also, two cities in Thessaly are called by the same name; one of which is near the sea, and the other is situated by the river Peneus.

CHAP. XXIV.

On ascending to the tower, you will perceive the temple of Juno Acræa, and likewise the temple of Apollo, which
which Pythacus, when he came to Delphos, is said to have first built. But the statue which it contains at present is of brass, and in an upright posture, and is called Diradiotes Apollo, because the place in which the temple stands is denominated Dira. The oracle in this temple (for answers are given by it even now) is celebrated in the following manner. The woman who predicts future events is forbidden an association with men, and sacrifices a lamb on one night in every month, and immediately on tasting the blood becomes possessed by the god. After the temple of Diradiotes Apollo, there is a temple of Perspicacious Minerva, which was dedicated by Diomed, because this goddess, when he was fighting before Troy, dispersed the darkness from his eyes. Adjoining to this also there is a stadium, in which games are celebrated to Nemean Jupiter, and to Juno. But in going to the tower on the left hand, you may perceive the monument of the sons of Ægyptus; for here their heads are buried separate from the other parts of the body, but in Lerna, the other parts of the body without the head: for the youths were slaughtered in Lerna, and the women, as soon as they were dead, cut off their heads, for the purpose of convincing their father of their daring attempt.

In the high tower which is called Larissa, there is a temple of Jupiter, who is surnamed Larixfeus, which is without a roof; and the statue of the god, which is of wood, does not any longer stand on a base. There is also in this place a temple of Minerva, which is well worthy of inspection. This temple, among other statues, contains a wooden statue of Jupiter, which has two eyes, each in its natural place, and a third in the forehead. They report that this is the Jupiter Patrius, which was placed
placed in the open air, in the palace of Priam the son of Laomedon, and to whose altar Priam, when Troy was taken by the Greeks, fled for refuge. They add, that when the spoil was divided, this statue fell to the lot of Sthenelus the son Capaneus, and that on this account it was dedicated by him in this place. But we may collect the propriety of the statue having three eyes, if we consider, that, in the opinion of all men, Jupiter reigns in the heavens: and that he governs the places under the earth, is evident from this verse of Homer, in which the subterranean ruler is called Jupiter:

"Jove subterranean, and of high renown
Proserpine." ———

And Æschylus the son of Euphorion, calls Jupiter the ruler of the sea. Hence, whoever made the statue, gave it three eyes, because this god rules over the aforesaid three divisions of the world.

But there are certain roads in Argos which lead into other places of Peloponnesus; and one of these leads to Tegea, a city of Arcadia. On the right hand too of this road there is a mountain called Lycone, which mostly abounds with cypresses-trees. But on the summit of the mountain there is a temple of Orthia Diana, and the statues of Apollo, Latona, and Diana, of white stone: and these are said to be the works of Polycletus. On descending from the mountain, you may perceive, on the left hand of the public road, another temple of Diana: and at a little distance from hence, on the right hand, there is a mountain called Chaon, whose bottom is invested with planted trees. Here, too, the water of Erasinus rises apparently, deriving its origin from the Stymphalus
OF GREECE.

Stymphalus of Arcadia, in the same manner as these streams which are called Rheti flow from Euripus to Eleusis, and from thence into the sea which Eleusis contains. Near this eruption of Erasinus from the mountain Lycone, they sacrifice to Bacchus and Pan; and they celebrate a festival to Bacchus, which they call Turbe. But on returning to that road which leads to Tegea, you will see on the right hand of the street called Trochos, Cenchreæ. They cannot assign any reason why this place is so called. Perhaps the name is derived from Cenchreus the son of Pirene. There are bufts in this place, which they call Polyantria, of those Argives that vanquished the Lacedæmonians at Hysea. I find that this battle took place when Pisistratus ruled over the Athenians, and in the fourth year of that Olympiad, in which Eurybotus the Athenian was declared victor in the stadium. But on descending to the more depressed parts, you will see the ruins of Hysea, a town once situated in Argolis; and in which place, as they report, the Lacedæmonians once suffered a loss.

C H A P. XXV.

But the way which leads from Argi to Mantinea is not the same with the road to Tegea, but commences from the gates which are near Dira. In this road there is a temple with a twofold entrance, one of which looks to the east, and the other to the west. And in the former of these there is a wooden statue of Venus, and in the latter, of Mars. These statues are said to have been dedicated.
cated by Polynices and the Argives, who in conjunction with him revenged the injuries of his brother. Proceeding from hence, when you have passed over the torrent which is called Charadrus, you will arrive at a place which is denominated Ænoe, from Æneus, according to the report of the Argives. For they say, that Æneus who reigned in Ætolia, being driven from his kingdom by the sons of Agrius, fled to Diomed at Argos; and that Diomed led an army into Calydonia, and revenged the injuries of Æneus, but told him, that he could not remain in his dominions. He exhorted him therefore to follow him to Argos, with which Æneus complied, and in consequence of this obtained many honours, which it was proper a grandfather should receive, and caused the place where he died to be called Ænoe.

But above Ænoe you will perceive the mountain Artemisium, and on its summit a temple of Diana. The same mountain too contains the fountains of the river Inachus: for the fountains are certainly here, though the water does not rise out of the earth in any great quantity. Except this there is nothing worthy of inspection. But there is another way from the gates near Diré which leads to Lyrceæ. Lyceus is said to have fled into this place, when he alone of his fifty brothers was spared, and to have dedicated on this account a statue holding a torch. For it was agreed upon between him and Hypermnestra, that if he escaped the stratagems of Danaus, he should hold up a torch; and they say, that Hypermnestra from Larissa held up another torch, to signify that she had escaped the danger of the attempt. And in commemoration of this affair, the Argives every year celebrate the festival of Torches.
OF GREECE.

Torches. This town was then called Lynceae; but when Lyrcus afterwards came to reside in it, who was the bastard son of Abas, it was called by his name.

Among the ruins there are other things not worthy of a description, and a statue of Lyrcus on a column. But Lynceae is distant from Argi about sixty stadia, and as many from Orneae. But Homer, in his catalogue of the Greeks that went against Troy, does not mention the city Lynceae; from whence it appears, that the city at that time was not inhabited; but with respect to Orneae (for it was then inhabited), as it is situated in the country of the Argives, it is mentioned by the poet, before either Phlius or Sicyon. This city derives its name from Orneus, the son of Erechtheus. But Petoës was the son of Orneus, and Mnesitheus of Petoës, who, in conjunction with the Athenians, assisted Agamemnon in subverting the kingdom of Priam. But afterwards the Argives destroyed the authority of the Orneatae; and when this took place, they cohabited with the Argives. In Orneae there is at present a temple of Diana, and a wooden statue in an upright position. There is also another temple dedicated to all the gods in common. But Phliaia and Sicyonia are situated beyond Orneae.

Again, as you go from Argi to Epidauria, you will perceive a building on the right hand, which for the most part resembles a pyramid. This building contains shields which are fashioned after the manner of the Argolic shields: and they report, that there was a battle in this place between Proetus and Acrisius concerning the supreme authority, and that afterwards a reconciliation took place between them, because the one was not able to govern with any stability without the other. They farther add, that each
each army then for the first time fought with shields, and that those who fell on either side (because they were citizens and allies) were buried in one common tomb. But, on departing from hence, and turning to the right hand, you will see the ruins of Tiryns. The Argives, indeed, subverted the kingdom of the Tirynthians, because when they had received them into the city they wished to increase Argos. They report too, that the hero Tirynthus, from whom the city is denominated, was the son of Argus, and the grandson of Jupiter. But the wall, which is all that is left of the ruins, is, according to report, the work of the Cyclopes. It is raised from rude stones, each of which is so large that the least cannot be moved out of its place by two oxen yoked together. But formerly small stones were inserted, that each of them might harmonize as much as possible with the greater ones. On descending to the sea too, you may perceive the bed-chambers of the daughters of Proetus. But on returning into the public road, you will arrive at Midea, which is on the left hand. They report, that Elecrtyon the father of Alcmene reigned here; but at present nothing of Midea is left but the bare ground. But in the direct road to Epidaurus there is a village called Leffa, in which there is a temple of Minerva, and a wooden statue of the goddes, which differs in no respect from that which is in the tower of Lariffa. Above Leffa, the mountain Arachnæus presents itself to the view, which was formerly called Sapyselaton during the reign of Inachus. In this mountain there are altars of Jupiter and Juno, upon which the inhabitants sacrifice when they are in want of rain.
OF GREECE

C H A P. XXVI.

ABOUT Leffa, the borders of the Epidaurians join with the land of the Argives: but before you enter this city, you will arrive at the temple of Æsculapius. I am however ignorant who were the inhabitants of this place, before it was possessed by the Epidauri; nor could I learn from the natives, who were the posterity of Epidaurus. They report indeed, that Pityreus, the grandson of Ion, and the great-grandson of Xuthus, reigned before the Doriants came to Peloponnesus. They add too, that the land was delivered to Deiphontes and the Argives without any contention, and that Pityreus came with his citizens to Athens, and there fixed his habitation, but that Deiphontes and the Argives took possession of the Epidaurian land. These Argives, however, revolted from the others, on the death of Temenus: for Deiphontes and Hynmethus hated the children of Temenus; and the army which followed them paid more attention to Deiphontes and Hynmethus than to Cifus and his brothers. But Epidaurus, from whom the country was denominated according to the Eleans, was the offspring of Pelops. According to the opinion however of the Argives, and the assertions of those verses which they call the great Ææ, Argus the son of Jupiter was the father of Epidaurus. But the Epidaurians assert, that Epidaurus was the son of Apollo.

But they assign the following reason for this land being particularly sacred to Æsculapius. They say, then, that Phlegyas came to Peloponnesus under a pretext of seeing the
the country, but in reality that he might inspect the multitude of the inhabitants, and learn whether there was a great quantity of fighting men. For Phlegyas was the most warlike of all at that time, seizing from every quarter, both fruits and other necessaries of life. But when he came to Peloponnesus, his daughter followed him, at the same time concealing from her father that she was pregnant from Apollo. As soon, therefore, as she was delivered from the country of the Epidaurians, she exposed the infant on that mountain which at present they call Tithion, but which was before denominated Myrton; the name of the mountain being changed, because the infant was suckled by one of those goats which fed about the mountain, the dog in the mean time, that was the guardian of the flock, defending him. Here Arethanas (for that was the name of the goat-herd), as soon as he found, on numbering his flock, that one goat was missing, as likewise the dog, wandered about every where in order to discover them, and at length finding them, was desirous of taking the boy away: but approaching nearer for this purpose, he beheld a splendour beaming from the infant, and thinking that it was something divine, as indeed it was, departed from the place. But a report was immediately spread through every land and sea, that such as were afflicted with any kind of disease were healed by the boy, and that even the dead were raised to life.

There is also another report concerning him, which is as follows: Coronis, when she was pregnant with Æsculapius, lay with Ischyros the son of Elatus, for which she was destroyed by Diana, who revenged the cause of Apollo; but while the funeral pile was burning, the boy is said to have been snatched by Mercury from the flames. But
OF GREECE.

the third report appears to me to be the least true, which asserts, that Æsculapius was the offspring of Arsinoe, the daughter of Leucippus. For when Apollophanes the Arcadian came to Delphos, for the purpose of enquiring of the god, whether or not Æsculapius was the offspring of Arsinoe, and a citizen of the Messenians, the Pythian deity answered him as follows:

O Æsculapius! source of mighty joy
To mortal natures; whom Coronis fair
Daughter of Phlegyas, once with me conjoin'd,
In Epidauria's barren region bore.

And this oracle most eminently evinces, that Æsculapius was not the offspring of Arsinoe; but this report was either devised by Hesiod, or by those who imposed their own verses upon him, for the sake of the Messenians.

But that this deity was born in Epidauria is confirmed from hence: for I find that the most illustrious rites of Æsculapius were derived from Epidaurus; and the Athenians call that day of initiation which they assign to Æsculapius, Epidauria, and report, that on that day they began to pay divine honours to Æsculapius. Archias too, the son of Aristæchmus, being cured in Epidauria of a spasm which seized him while he was hunting, brought the worship of this god to Pergamus. Afterwards the Smyrnaeans, receiving the religious ceremonies of the god from the Pergamenians, built a temple to Æsculapius near the sea, which remains at present. The Æsculapius too, which is worshipped by the Balanagæ, among the Cyrenaæans, under the name of the Physician, was taken from Epidauria. But the Æsculapius which is at Lebena, a Cretan city, was made after the similitude of that which is pos-

P 2

P 2

P 2

P 2
feated by the Cyrenæans. There is this difference, how-
ever, between the Cyrenæans and Epidaurians, that the
Cyrenæans sacrifice goats, though this rite was not de-
levered by the Epidaurians. But that Æsculapius was from
the first considered as a god, and that his fame was not
owing to length of time, I find confirmed by various
arguments, and even by the authority of Homer, in the
following verses, in which Agamemnon thus speaks of
Machaon:

"Talithybius, hither swift, Machaon bring,
Who from the blameless Æsculapius sprung."

And this is just as if he had said, "Call a man who is
the son of a god."

C H A P. XXVII.

But the sacred grove of Æsculapius is on all sides sur-
rounded with mountains; and within this enclosure it is
unlawful for any one either to die, or to be born, agree-
able to the law which is established in the island of Delos,
But whatever a citizen or a stranger sacrifices, is con-
sumed within this enclosure: and I know that the same
custom takes place in Titana. With respect to the statue
of Æsculapius, it is about half the size of that of Jupiter
Olympius at Athens, and is made of ivory and gold. The
inscription too signifies, that it was the work of Thrasymed
the Parian, who was the son of Arignotus. But the
statue sits on a throne, and holds in one hand a staff,
and with the other presses the head of a dragon; and a
dog is represented at the feet of the statue. In the throne
the
OF GREECE.

the works of the Argive heroes are represented, viz. Bellerophon is seen slaying Chimæra, and Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa. But beyond the temple there is a place in which those that supplicate the god sleep. And in a building not far from hence there is a round figure of white stone, which they call Tholus, and which is well worthy of inspection. In this building there is a painting of Pausias, in which Love, having cast aside his bow and arrows, is seen holding instead of these a lyre. There is a painting too of Intoxication by the same person, who is represented drinking out of a glass cup: and you not only perceive the glass cup in the picture, but through it the countenance of a woman.

This enclosure formerly contained many pillars, but at present only six remain; and in these the names of the men and women are inscribed that have been cured by the god. The disease too of each person is mentioned, and the manner in which he was cured. But all these particulars are written in the Doric tongue. There is besides an ancient pillar, separate from all the rest, in which Hippolytus is said to have dedicated twenty horses to the god. The reports of the Aricini correspond with the inscription of this pillar, viz. that Hippolytus died through the imprecations of Theseus, and that he was restored to life by Æsculapius; but that afterwards he was disobedient to the commands of his father, and that, despising his entreaties, he came into Italy, and there reigned, at the same time dedicating the temple of Aricina Diana. In this place, even at present, those who are victors in a single contest, have the office of priests to the goddess proposed to them as a reward. This contest, however,
THE DESCRIPTION

is not offered to any free person, but only to servants that have fled from their masters.

But among the Epidaurians there is a theatre in a temple, which, in my opinion, deserves more than any thing to be inspected. For the theatres of the Romans, as they surpass others, which are to be found in any part of the world, in their ornaments, so likewise they surpass in magnitude that which is to be seen at Megalopolis in Arcadia. But, for harmony or beauty, what artist will take upon him to contend with Polycletus? For Polycletus was the artificer of this theatre, and of the round edifice. Within the grove there is a temple of Diana, and an image of Epione, together with the temples of Venus and Themis; and a stadium, such as is usual with the Greeks, which consists for the most part of earth piled in an heap. There is also a fountain here, which, both for its roof and other ornaments, is well worthy of inspection. But the works of Antoninus, a senator of my time, are as follow: A bath of Æsculapius; a temple of those gods which they call Epidotæ; and a temple to Health, to Æsculapius, and to Apollo, with Egyptian appellations. A porch too once stood here, which was called Cotyos; but the roof falling off, the whole was destroyed, as being raised from crude tiles. And as the Epidaurians were very much troubled with respect to those that dwelt about the temple, because the women were not delivered in a covered place, and the diseased died in the open air, Antoninus, to remedy this evil, built a dwelling place, in which the sick might lie covered, and women without impiety might be delivered. But there are two mountains above the grove, one of which is called Titthion, and the other
OF GREECE.

other Cynortium, which contains a temple of Apollo Maleatas. And this temple is one of the ancient works; for the fountain and channel which are about the temple, and the latter of which is filled with water from the god, were made for the Epidaurians by Antoninus.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ALL dragons, indeed, but particularly those of a more yellow colour, are considered as sacred to Æsculapius, and are gentle and harmless towards men. They are alone nourished in the land of the Epidaurians: and I find that the same circumstance takes place in other regions. For Libya alone produces terrestrial crocodiles, which are not less than two cubits in length; and among the Indians alone certain animals, and particularly parrots, are to be found. But the serpents which are called Megalaunæ, which grow to the size of more than thirty cubits, and which are nourished in India and Lybia, are, according to the Epidaurians, not dragons, but belong to another species. On ascending the summit of the mountain, you will perceive in the way an olive-tree, which is called intorted; and which, as they report, obtained this figure through being bent into an orb by the hand of Hercules. But I am not able to determine whether this is established by the Asinæans as a boundary to the inhabitants of Argolis; for, in consequence of the country being destroyed, nothing clear concerning its boundaries is to be obtained in any other part.

But on the summit of the mountain there is a temple of Coryphaæan Diana, which is mentioned by Telephila, in certain
certain of her verses. And on descending into the city of the Epidaurians, you will perceive a place which is on all sides surrounded with rustic olive trees. This place they call Hrynethium. But such particulars respecting Hrynetho, as are reported by the Epidaurians, and are probable, I shall take upon me to relate. Cifus, then, and the other children of Temenus, understood that Deiphontes would be greatly afflicted, if by any means Hrynetho could be taken from him. In consequence of this, Cerynes and Phalces came to Epidaurus (for the undertaking was not agreeable to the youngest of them, Agræus), and standing in a chariot under the walls, sent a herald to their sister, who was to inform her that they witheld to converse with her. As soon, therefore, as she came, the young men in the first place accused Deiphontes in many respects, and earnestly entreated her to return to Argos, promising, among other things, that they would procure her a husband far better than Deiphontes, and more happy both in the greater quantity of men and in the land which he governed.

Hrynetho, however, was filled with indignation on hearing their discourse, and answered them, in return, that Deiphontes was a man she very much approved of; that Temenus had no reason to be ashamed of him as his son-in-law, but that they ought rather to be called the murderers than the sons of Temenus. To this reproach they made no reply, but placed her by force in the car, and drove away. As soon, however, as some one of the Epidaurians told Deiphontes that Hrynetho was taken away by Cerynes and Phalces against her will, he pursued them with great celerity, and the Epidaurians, on hearing the affair, gave him their assistance. But Deiphontes, as soon as he...
OF GREECE.

Overtook Cerynes, flew him with a dart; but he was afraid to pierce Phalces, who closely embraced Hynetho, lest if he should wander from the mark, he should be the death of Hynetho. In consequence of this, Deiphontes, by attacking him closely, endeavoured to take him away from Hynetho. Phalces however, by resisting and drawing his sister with greater violence than he was drawn by Deiphontes, occasioned her death, as she was then in a pregnant state; and perceiving what an impious action he had committed against his sister, drove off the chariot with great vehemence, that he might be out of danger before he was surrounded by all the Epidaurians. But Deiphontes, together with his children (for he had three sons by Hynetho, Antimenes, Xanthippus, and Argeus, and a daughter Orsobia, who according to report was afterwards married to Pamphylus the son of Agimius) taking away the dead body of Hynetho, brought it into this place, which from that time was called Hynethium. Afterwards he raised an heroic monument to her memory, paid her many other honours, and forbade any one to tear off any part of the olive-trees, or of any other tree belonging to that place, and applying it to a profane use, but ordered that every thing which grew there should be sacred to Hynetho. Not far too from the city there is a sepulchre of Melissa, who was married to Periander the son of Cypselus; and another tomb of Patrocles the father of Melissa, who reigned over the Epidaurians, as his son-in-law Periander did over the Corinthians.

CHAP.
CHAP. XXIX.

But the city of the Epidaurians contains the following particulars most worthy of being remembered. In the first place there is a temple of Æsculapius, and in it two statues, one of the god himself, and the other of Epione; and they say, that Epione was the wife of Æsculapius. These are placed in the open air, and are of Parian stone. But within the walls there is a temple of Bacchus, and a grove of Diana; and the statue of Diana is that of a huntress. There is also a temple of Venus; but the temple, which is situated near the port on an eminence rising towards the sea, is said to be the temple of Juno. The wooden statue too of Minerva in the tower is well worthy of inspection, and is called Cistæa. But the Æginetæ inhabit that island which is opposite to Epidauria. They report, that this island was not at first immediately inhabited, but that while it was yet a solitary place, Ægina the daughter of Afopus was brought into it by Jupiter, and that it was denominated from her, as prior to this it was called Ænone. As soon, however, as Æacus arrived at years of maturity, he requested Jupiter to furnish the island with inhabitants; and Jupiter, in compliance with his request, caused men to rise out of the earth, in order to people the island. They know nothing, however, of any one that reigned in this island except Æacus: and, indeed, we are well assured that no one of the sons of Æacus remained in Ægina; for Peleus and Telamon fled the country on account of the slaughter of Phocus.

But the sons of Phocus dwelt in that part about Parnassus,
OF GREECE.

nassus, which is now called Phocis; and this name was given to the region in the age preceding the present, by Phocus the son of Ornytion, who at that time made it the place of his abode. And during the reign of this Phocus, the country about Tithorea and Parnassus was called Phocis; but afterwards all the neighbouring places were denominated from the son of Æacus; just as those are called Minys who border on the Orchomenians, and those who extend as far as to Scarpea, a city of the Locrians. But the kings that reigned in Epirus were the progeny of Peleus. With respect to the sons of Telamon, the race of Ajax is the most obscure of all, because he always lived a private life. Miltiades, however, must be excepted, who led the Athenians to Marathon, and his son Cimon; for both these obtained great renown. But the posterity of Teucer reigned over the Cyprians till the time of Evagoras: and the poet Aisus relates, that Panopeus and Cresus were the sons of Phocus.

Again, from Panopeus Epeus descended, who made the wooden horse, according to Homer. But Pylades was the grandson of Cresus, and his father was Strophius the son of Cresus, and his mother Anaxiba the sister of Agamemnon. And such is the race of those that are called the Æacidæ, who, proceeding from the same stock, migrated into different regions. In succeeding times, however, that part of the Argives which occupied Epidaurus with Deiphontes, passed into Ægina, and being mingled with the natives, established the Dorian manners and language in the island. After this the power of the Æginetæ was so increased, that they surpassed the Athenians in naval strength; and in the Persian war, next to the Athenians, they brought the greatest number of ships of
of all the forces. Their kingdom, however, was at length subverted by the Athenians, and they migrated into Thyreæ in Argolis, which was given to them by the Lacedæmonians. But though, when they were settled in the island, they took the three-oared galleys of the Athenians, yet they could never arrive at that degree of power and wealth which they formerly possessed.

But Ægina is of all the Grecian islands the most difficult of access by sea; for it is on all sides surrounded with latent rocks and dangerous prominences. Æacus is reported to have raised these masses in order to prevent the depredations of robbers, and frustrate hostile invasions. But near that port, in which ships for the most part harbour, there is a temple of Venus. And in the most conspicuous part of the city there is an enclosure which they call Æaceum, which is of a square figure, and consists of white stone. In the entrance of this enclosure there are statues of those men who were once sent by the Greeks to Æacus; in relating the cause of which embalmy the Æginetæ agree with the other Greeks. But their narration is as follows: When Greece was afflicted for a time with a dryness from vehement heat, and divinity neither rained on the region beyond the isthmus, nor on the Peloponnesians, certain persons were sent to Delphos, in order to learn from the oracle the cause and remedy of the evil. But the Pythian deity answered them, that they should propitiate Jupiter, and employ Æacus, if he was willing to comply, as their deprecator. In consequence of this answer they sent to every city to Æacus, entreating him to undertake the supplication. Æacus, therefore, having sacrificed and prayed to Panellenian Jupiter, caused Greece to enjoy the benefit of rain. And the Æginetæ,
Eginetæ, in memory of the event, placed these statues of
the ambassadors.

Within this enclosure, there are olives of an ancient
plantation, and an altar which is not much raised from the
earth: but that this altar is the same with that which is
called the tomb of Æacus, belongs to the arcane tradi-
tions to evince. But near the Æaceum there is a tomb of
Phocus, consisting of earth piled up in an heap, and sur-
rounded with a fountain; and a rough stone is placed
over it. This stone was used by Peleus and Telamon in-
stead of a quoit, when they invited Phocus to the quin-
quartium; and Peleus, instead of sending this stone to its
proper place, is said to have designedly hurled it at Pho-
cus. But the brothers, by this action, very much gratified
their mother; for they descended from the daughter of
Sciron, but Phocus from the sister of Thetis, if the report
of the Greeks may be credited. On this account, it ap-
ppears to me, that Pylades planned the death of Neopto-
lemus, not only on account of his friendship for Orestes,
but that he might revenge his great-grandfather's cause.
And then indeed, when Phocus died through the blow of
the quoit, the brothers, who were the offspring of Endei-
des, fled in a ship from the island. But Telamon after-
wards sent a messenger to his father, pretending that the
death of Phocus was an involuntary action. Æacus, how-
ever, would not suffer him to enter the island; but told
him, that he might apologize for his conduct, either from
his ship, or, if he were so inclined, from a mass of earth
piled up in the sea. Telamon, therefore, entering by
night into the port which is called secret, raised a mass
of earth, which remains even at present; but being con-
demned, as contributing to the death of Phocus, he set
fail.
THE DESCRIPTION

fail a second time for Salamis. But not far from the
secret port there is a theatre which deserves to be inspected,
and which, both for its magnitude and construction, is
next to that among the Epidaurians. Behind this there
is a stadium, which with one of its sides supports the thea-
atre, and is in its turn supported by it.

C H A P. XXX.

In this place there are temples not much distant from
each other; viz. one of Apollo, another of Diana, and
a third of Bacchus. But, in the temple of Apollo, there
is a naked wooden statue of the god, produced by the
art of the country. But the statues of Diana and Bac-
chus are clothed; and that of Bacchus has a beard.
The temple of Æsculapius, however, is in a different place,
and contains a statue of stone in a sitting posture. But
the Æginetæ reverence Hecate above all the divinities,
and celebrate her mysteries every year. They assert to
that the Thracian Orpheus established this initiation. But
the temple of the goddess stands in an enclosure, and
contains a wooden statue, the work of Myron; both the
face and the other parts of which are fashioned from the
same wood. It appears to me too, that Alcamenes first
made for the Athenians the statue of Hecate, with three
bodies joined in one, which the Athenians call Epipyr-
gidia, and which stands near the temple of winged Victory.

But in Ægina, in the road leading to the mountain of
Peneleonian Jupiter, there is a temple of Aphaea, in which
Pindar composed verses for the Æginetæ. But the Cre-
tans
OF GREECE.

... report (for they also possess relations peculiar to the country concerning the goddesses), that Eubulus was the son of that Carmanor who purified Apollo, from the slaughter of Python; and that Britomartis was the offspring of Jupiter and Carme the daughter of Eubulus. They add, that she delighted in the course and in hunting, and that she was particularly dear to Diana: that in consequence of being beloved by Minos, she fled from his pursuit, and, casting herself into the sea, fell into a net, which had been thrown there for the purpose of catching fish, and was afterwards made a goddess by Diana. But not only the Cretans, but likewise the Æginetæ worship Britomartis; affecting at the same time, that she appeared in their island. And Aphæa with the Æginetæ, is the same as Diclynnna with the Cretans. But the mountain Panellæum contains nothing, except the temple of Jupiter, which is worthy of description. And this temple was, they report, dedicated by Æacus to Jupiter.

With respect toAuxesia and Lamia, how, when divinity withheld rain from the Epidaurians, these wooden statues were made, in consequence of an oracle, from an olive-tree which they received from the Athenians; and how, when the Epidaurians refused to pay the tribute ordered by the Athenians, because these statues were possessed by the Æginetæ, all the Athenians that passed over to Ægina on this account perished;—these particulars, as they are accurately related by Herodotus, it would be superfluous for me to repeat. This one thing only I shall mention, that I have seen these statues, and sacrificed to them; and that the mode of sacrifice is the same as at Eleusis. And thus much concerning Ægina and Æacus, and the works which the island contains.

But
THE DESCRIPTION

But the Træzenii border on the Epidaurians. These people boast of the affairs of their country in a most remarkable degree; and assert that Orus was first born in their country. But it appears to me, that Orus is an Egyptian, and by no means a Grecian name. They report, however, that he reigned there, and that the land was called, from him, Oræa; but that afterwards Althepus, the son of Neptune from Leis the daughter of Orus, receiving the kingdom from Orus, called the country Althepia. In the mean time, while he possessed the government, Neptune and Minerva contended for the region: and the contest ended in agreeing to share the honours of the country in common; for so Jupiter had settled the affair. On this account they venerated Minerva, calling her Polias and Sthenias; and likewise Neptune, under the appellation of the king. The ancient coin too, of this people, bears the signature of a trident, and the head of Minerva. But after Althepus, Saron reigned; and they report that he built a temple of Diara Saronis near the sea, in a muddy place, which on this account came to be called the Phœbæan marsh. They farther report, that Saron, as he particularly delighted in hunting, pursued a stag once as far as to the sea; that not being able to overtake the stag, he fell into this marsh; and that the animal, swimming to some distance from the shore, Saron pursued her through the sea; but being at length spent with fatigue, and merged under the waves, he there lost his life. But his dead body was driven by the waves near the Phœbæan marsh, and was afterwards brought to the grove of Diana, and buried within the enclosure of the temple: and from this circumstance the sea came to be called Saronis, instead of Phœbæa.

They
OF GREECE. 225

They know nothing however of the latter kings who
reigned as far as to Hyperetes and Anthas; and they re-
port, that these were the sons of Neptune and Alcyone
the daughter of Atlas, and that the cities Hyperea and
Anthea in that region were built by them. They add,
that Ætius the son of Anthas, receiving the kingdom
from his father and a divine power, called one of these
cities Posidonias. For Trœzen and Pittheus coming to
Ætius, made three kings instead of one. But that the
children of Pelops were more firmly established than the
others, may be inferred from hence, that after the death
of Trœzen, Pittheus having reduced Hyperea and Anthea
into the form of one city, by collecting the multitude of
each into one, called it Trœzen, after the name of his
brother. But many years afterwards, the descendants of
Ætius the son of Anthas being sent into a colony, brought
Myndus and Halicarnassus into Caria: and the sons of
Trœzen, viz. Anaphyleus and Sphettus migrated into
Attica, and the people from these derived their names.
But here I shall not relate any one of those particulars
concerning Theseus the grandson of Pittheus from his
daughter, which are known to every one, but shall only
observe thus much respecting him at present. When
the children of Hercules returned to Peloponnesus, the
Trœzenians received the Dorians from Argos into their
city, as being a people who, prior to this, were obedient
to the Argives; for Homer, in his catalogue of the Greeks,
says that they were governed by Diomed; since, indeed,
Diomed and Euryalus the son of Mecisteus, having taking
upon them the guardianship of Cyanippus the son of
Ægialeus, brought the Argives to Troy. But Sthenelus
(as I have observed before) was of a much more illustrious
Vol. I.
origin, as being descended from the Anaxagoridæ; and to him the government of the Argives most eminently belonged. And such is the history of the Træzenian affairs, exclusive of those cities which, it is said, they caused to be inhabited. I shall now relate the ornaments of their temples, and the rest of their illustrious works.

C H A P. XXXI.

In the forum of the Træzenians there is a temple and statue of Diana, who is called the Saviour. This temple is said to have been dedicated by Theseus, who gave the goddess this appellation when he returned from Crete, after having slain Asterion the son of Minos. But it appears that this action of Theseus is the most worthy of all others of being related; not only, in my opinion, because Asterion surpassed in boldness all those that Theseus slew, but because after his death, Theseus having secretly escaped from the labyrinth, and vanquished all the difficulties of the place, with great propriety asserted, that both he and his companions were preserved by the providence of the gods. In this temple too there are altars of the subterranean gods: and they report, that Semele was led hither from Hades by Bacchus, and the three-headed dog by Hercules. But for my own part, I am persuaded, that Semele never died, but that she was the wife of Jupiter. And with respect to Pluto's dog, I shall in another place relate what appears to me to be the truth concerning him.

The tomb of Pittheus is behind this temple; and there are three thrones upon it of white stone. Upon these thrones, they report, that Pittheus and his associates fat
OF GREECE.

in judgment. But not far from hence is the temple of the Muses, which is said to have been built by Ardalus the son of Vulcan. They add, that this Ardalus invented the pipe, and that the Muses were called from him Ardalidae. In this temple too, they report, that Pittheus taught the art of speaking: and I myself indeed have read a book which was written by Pittheus, and published by an Epidaurian. At a considerable distance from this Museum there is an ancient altar, which Ardalus is reported to have dedicated. Upon this altar they sacrifice to the Muses, and to Sleep, asserting that Sleep above all the deities is friendly to the Muses.

But near the theatre, Hippolytus fabricated a temple of Lycean Diana. Why the goddess is so called, I could never learn from any of the historians; but it appears to me, that this appellation originated either from Hippolytus slaying the wolves, with which the land was infested; or that being related to the Amazons on his mother's side, in memory of this he called Diana Lyceia; or perhaps the name arose from a circumstance of which I am ignorant. But that stone behind the temple which is called Sacred, is said to be the very stone upon which nine Troizenians purified Orestes, from the murder of his mother. Not far too from the temple of Lycean Diana, there are certain altars, not much distant from each other. The first of these is sacred to Bacchus, who is called from a certain oracle Sostas, or the Saviour. The second is called Themidus, and is said to have been dedicated by Pittheus: and they appear to me to have dedicated with very great propriety an altar to the Sun the Liberator, through whom they were freed from subjection to Xerxes and the Persians. They report
THE DESCRIPTION.

report too, that Pittheus built and adorned the temple of Thearian Apollo, which is the most ancient of all that I am acquainted with. There is indeed an ancient temple of Minerva among the Phocænæs in Ionia, which was destroyed by Harpagus the Mede, and an ancient temple of Pythian Apollo among the Samians; but these were built much posterior to that of the Troæzenians. But the statue which exists at present was dedicated by Auliscus, and is the work of the Troæzenian Hermon. The wooden statues too of the Dioscuri, are the work of this Hermon.

But in the porch of the forum there are statues of women and boys, from stone. And these women are those to whom, together with their sons, the Athenians committed the preservation of the Troæzenians, at that time when they considered themselves as unable with land forces to resist the attacks of the Persians. They report, however, that statues (for there are not many) were not placed to all the women, but only to those that surpassed in dignity the rest. But before the temple of Apollo there is a building, which they call the tabernacle of Orestes: for before he was purified from the blood of his mother, no one of the Troæzenians was willing to receive him under his roof. But Orestes residing in this tabernacle was purified and fed till his expiation was accomplished. And even at present, the posterity of those that were here purified, feast on stated days in this place. But certain expiations being buried not far from the tabernacle, they say, that a laurel grew near them, which at present is to be seen before the tabernacle.

They report too, that among other purifications which were employed by Orestes, he used the water of Hippo-
OF GREECE.

the, for the Trœzenians also have a fountain called Hypocrene, the account of which is different from that of the Boeotians. For the Boeotians assert nothing more than that the ground being struck by the hoof of the horse Pegasus, a fountain immediately sprung up; but the Trœzenians add, that Bellerophon came to Trœzen, for the purpose of requesting Pittheus to give him Æthra for a wife; and that before the marriage took place, it so happened that he was obliged to fly from Corinth. 'There is in this place too a statue of Mercury, who is called Polygius. They report, that Hercules dedicated a club to this statue, made from the wild olive-tree, and (if it may be believed) that the club took root in the earth, and reblossomed; and, indeed, a wild olive-tree is to be seen in this place even at present. They farther add, that Hercules found this tree from which he made the club near Saronis. There is also a temple here of Jupiter, who is called the Saviour, and which they say was raised by Ætius the son of Anthas, when he succeeded his father in the kingdom. They have a river too which they call Chryforrhoas, or flowing with gold: and they report, that when, during a great dryness from heat, they were once nine years without rain, other streams of water were dried up, but that this Chryforrhoas continued to flow at that time just the same as before.

CH AP. XXXII.

A MOST beautiful grove too is dedicated here to Hippolytus the son of Theseus, which contains a temple and an ancient statue. This grove is said to have been planted by Diomed, who, according to report, first sacrificed to Hippolytus.
THE DESCRIPTION

Hippolytus. But the priest of Hippolytus, among the Troæzenians, officiates in that capacity as long as he lives; and sacrifices are establiushed every year. Besides the other sacred rites too, every virgin, prior to her marriage, cuts off her hair, and consecrates it in this temple of Hippolytus. The Troæzenians, however, are not willing to admit that Hippolytus was torn in pieces by marine horses, nor do they know where he was buried; but they are of opinion, that, in consequence of the honour which he received from the gods, he forms that celestial constellation which is called the Charioteer. But within this enclosure there is a temple of Apollo Epibaterius, or the Climber, and which was dedicated by Diomed, after having escaped the tempest which happened to the Greeks on their returning from Troy. Diomed too first instituted Pythian games in honour of Apollo. But with respect to Lamia and Auxesia (for these also are honoured by the Troæzenians) their relation is not the same with that of the Epidaurians and Æginetæ: for they report, that virgins came from Crete, and, in consequence, of a sedition raging in every part of the city, were stoned to death by the opposing multitude. And in remembrance of this affair they celebrate a festival, which they call Lithobolia, or a stoning to death.

But near another part of the enclosure there is a stadium which bears the name of Hippolytus, and above this there is a temple of Venus the Speculatrix, from whence Phædra beheld Hippolytus, when he exercized himself in the stadium. Here too there is to be seen (which I have mentioned before) a myrtle with perforated leaves, which were pierced by Phædra, when she found no alleviation of her malady, and no rest through her love. There is also a
tomb of Phædra, which is not far from the sepulchre of Hippolytus, who lies buried near the myrtle tree. But the statue of Æsculapius was made by Timotheus, though the Troæzenians assert, that this is not the statue of Æsculapius, but of Hippolytus. Indeed I myself saw the house of Hippolytus; but before this statue there is a fountain which is called Herculeus, because, as the Troæzenians report, the water of it was discovered by Hercules. In the tower too there is a temple of Minerva, who is called Sthenias; and the wooden image of the goddess was made by Callon Æginetis. This Callon was the disciple of Teuctæus and Angelion, who made for the Delians the statue of Apollo: and Angelion and Teuctæus learned their art from Dipœnus and Scyllis.

On descending from this tower, you will perceive the temple of Pan the Liberator: for this deity is said to have shewn the Troæzenians, in a dream, the means of being freed from a famine, with which the Athenians were afflicted beyond the rest of the Greeks. But on descending into Troænia, you will see a temple of Isis, and above it a temple of Venus Acræa. And the temple indeed was raised by the Halicarnassenses in the metropolis Troæzen, but the statue of Isis was dedicated by the common people of the Troæzenians. But as you pass through the mountains towards Hermione, you will see a fountain of the river Hyllycus, which was at first called Taurius; and together with this the stone, as it is called, of Theseus, which changed its name, because Theseus took from under it the slippers and sword which had been concealed by Ægeus; for, prior to this circumstance, it was denominated the altar of Sthenius Jupiter. Near this
THE DESCRIPTION

There is a temple of Venus Sponsa, or the bride, which was raised by Theseus when he married Helen.

But beyond the walls there is a temple of Phytalmius Neptune: for in consequence of Neptune being angry with them, they report that he caused the region to bear no fruits, through sending the salt-water on the seeds and roots of plants, till, moved by sacrifices and prayers, he no longer injured the vegetable productions of the land. But above the temple of Neptune, there is a temple of Ceres Theismophorus, which was dedicated as they report by Althippus. On descending too to the port, which is near a town called Celenderis, there is a place which is denominated Natalitia, and in which they say Theseus was born. Before this place there is a temple of Mars; and it was here that Theseus vanquished the Amazons in battle. But these Amazons formed a part of that army which fought in Attica with Theseus and the Athenians.

As you proceed to the sea Phlpæum too, a native wild olive-tree, which they call an intorted Rhachus, presents itself to the view; for the Træzenians call all those olive-trees Rachi, which bear no fruit, and besides this denominate every tree of this kind Cotinos, Phylias, and Elæus. But they denominate this olive-tree intorted, because the chariot of Hippolytus was overturned, through the reins of the horses being entangled in the trunk of the tree. Not far from hence there is a temple of Diana Saronia, the particulars of which I have already explained, and shall only add further, that they celebrate a festival every year to Diana, which is called Saronia.

C H A P.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XXXIII.

With respect to the islands of the Troezenians, one of these is near the continent, and may be passed into on foot. This island was formerly called Sphaeria, and came to be denominatated Sacred on the following account. There is a sepulchre in it of one Sphærus, and Sphærus is said to have been the charioteer of Pelops. But Æthra, in consequence of a dream from Minerva, coming into this island with funeral sacrifices to Sphærus, was on her arrival met and ravished by Neptune. Hence Æthra established a temple of Minerva Apaturia, or the Deceiver, and called the island Sacred, which was before denominatated Sphaeria. She likewise instituted, that the Troezean virgins should, prior to their marriage, dedicate a zone to Minerva Apaturia. But, as they report, Calaurea was formerly sacred to Apollo, i.e. at that time when the Delphi were sacred to Neptune; but these divinities changed the places among themselves. And concerning this affair they produce the following oracle: "It is just, that Delos and Calaurea should be inhabited, together with divine Pytho and windy Tænarus."

But in Calaurea there is a holy temple of Neptune, and a virgin performs in it the office of the priesthood, till she is fit for marriage. Within the enclosure of the temple too there is a sepulchre of Demosthenes, in which, as it appears to me, the injustice of fortune towards worthy men is most eminently evinced, as was likewise the case with Homer long before. For she was not content with depriving Homer of sight, but that she might add
add evil to evil, she so oppressed him with poverty, that he was obliged to beg his bread, wandering through every part of the earth: but she compelled Demosthenes to experience banishment in his old age, and to destroy himself. But respecting Demosthenes much has been said, both by others and myself, and from which it appears that he did not take the money which Harpalus brought from Asia. I will however relate how that which was afterwards reported of him took place: Harpalus then flying from Athens, when he had passed over into Crete with a fleet, was shortly after slain by the servants who assisted him in his undertakings. It is however reported by some, that he was slain by the stratagems of Paupanias the Macedonian, at that time when Philoxenus of Macedon seized the steward of Demosthenes, as he was flying from Rhodes, this Philoxenus being the same that demanded Harpalus of the Athenians. But Philoxenus having obtained information respecting all those that had taken money from Harpalus, gave their names in the letters which he sent to the Athenians about this affair, and mentioned the sum each person had received. Yet in these letters he made no mention of Demosthenes, though he was particularly odious to Alexander, and had offended Philoxenus himself. Demosthenes, however, is even yet honoured in other parts of Greece, and by the inhabitants of Calaurea.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

But there is an isthmus in the country of Troezens, which for a long space extends itself into the sea. In this isthmus there is a town of no great magnitude, near the sea,
sea, which is inhabited, and is called Methana. This town contains a temple of Isis; and in the forum there is a statue of Mercury, and another of Hercules. About the distance of thirty stadia from this town, there are hot baths. They report, that when Antigonus the son of Demetrius reigned over the Macedonians, this water was seen for the first time; and that it did not immediately exhibit the appearance of water, but that a great quantity of fire boiled up from the earth, and that after this was extinguished, water flowed in its stead. These baths remain even now, and are both hot, and extremely salt. But there is not any cold water near at hand for him that washes here, nor is it safe to swim in the sea, on account of the great quantity of savage beasts and dogs with which it is infested.

But I shall now relate that which appeared to me particularly wonderful in Methana. The south-west wind blowing from the Saronic port on the vines, dries up their blossoms by its heat. But whenever this is the case, while the wind yet blows, two men take a cock which has white feathers through the whole of its body, and tear it to pieces standing in opposite directions. After this they run round the vines, each bearing in his hand one half of the cock, and meeting at the place from whence they began to run, they there bury it in the ground. And this method was invented by them as a remedy against the noxious influence of the south-west wind. But they call the small islands which are situated before this region, and are nine in number, the islands of Pelops. They report too, that one of these islands was once deprived of the benefit of rain; but whether or not this was really the case, I have not been able to learn.
THE DESCRIPTION

This is however asserted by the inhabitants of Methana. Indeed, myself saw men who averted tempests by sacrifices and incantations.

But Methana is an isthmus of Peloponnesus, and Hermione borders on the isthmus of Troezen. The Hermioneans too report, that the builder of the ancient city was Hermion the son of Europs: and Herophanes the Troezenian writes, that Europs was the bastard son of Phoroneus, because the government of the Argives would never have been the portion of Argus the son of Niobe who was the daughter of Phoroneus, if Phoroneus had possessed any legitimate son. But for my own part, though I know that Phoroneus died after his legitimate son Europs, yet I am persuaded that Europs was never equal in power to the son of Niobe, and who was considered as the son of Jupiter. In latter times too, the Dorians from Argos dwelt in Hermione: but it does not appear that the Hermioneans ever fought with the Argives, though this is asserted by the Argives. But there is a road from Troezen to Hermione by a stone which was formerly called the altar of Sthenius Jupiter, ut which, after Theseus had taken away the particulars by which it might be known, was called, and is at present, by the name of Theseus.

As you pass therefore by this stone, along the mountainous road, you will perceive a temple of Apollo, who is called Platainius. In this place too there is a town called Ileia, and in it temples of Ceres and Proserpine. But near the sea, in the boundaries of Hermione, there is a temple of Ceres who is surnamed Thermeia: and at the distance of eighty stadia from hence, is the promontory of Scyllaum, which was denominated from the daughter of Nisus. For after Minos had taken Nisa and Megara,
gara, in consequence of her betraying these cities, he not only refused to marry her, but ordered the Cretans to throw her into the sea; and the waves afterwards wafted her dead body to this promontory. But her tomb is nowhere to be seen; for her corpse, as they report, remained in the open air, till it was torn in pieces by marine birds. But as you sail from Scyllæum towards the city you will perceive another promontory, which is called Bucephalus: and after this promontory there are certain islands. The first of these is called Haluifa, and contains a port, which serves as a convenient harbour for ships. The next is Pityusa; and the third they denominate Aristera. After you have sailed by these, you will meet with another promontory raising itself from the continent, and which is called Acra.

But after this follows the island Trinacria; and a mountain Buporthmus, which raises itself in the sea from Peloponnesus. In this mountain there are temples of Ceres and Proserpine, and a temple of Minerva, who is called Promachorma. But an isle called Aperopia, is situated before Buporthmus; and at no great distance from this there is another isle, which is denominated Hydra. After this, a lunar-form shore extends itself through the continent; and this is followed by a coast, which reaches as far as to the temple of Neptune, and which commences from the eastern and ends in the western part of the sea. This coast contains certain ports; and its length is about seven stadia, and its greatest breadth not more than three stadia. The ancient city of the Hermionenses formerly stood here, and even at present contains certain temples; that of Neptune, in the beginning of the coast; but in the parts more elevated from the sea, a temple of Minerva,
THE DESCRIPTION

nerva, and together with it the foundations of the stadium, in which the sons of Tyndarus used to exercise themselves, according to report.

There is also another temple of Minerva, of no great magnitude, the roof of which has fallen off. There is a temple too of the Sun, and a grove sacred to the Graces. Besides these, there are temples to Serapis and Isis, which are surrounded with an enclosure of chosen stones; and in these temples arcane sacred rites are performed to Ceres. And such are the particulars which the Hermionenses praised in that coast. But that which is present the city of the Hermionenses, is distant from the promontory, which contains the temple of Neptune, about four stadia, and having its first parts situated in a level, gently raises itself to a steep. But the eminence to which it raises itself is called Pron, or steep. All Hermione too is surrounded with a wall, and affords many particulars which deserve to be related, and among which the following are, in my opinion, the most remarkable. In the first place, there is a temple of Venus, who is called both Pontia and Limenia, i. e. Marine and Opportune. The statue of the goddess is of white stone, is very large, and deserves to be inspected for the artifice of its construction. There is another temple too of Venus, who, among other honours which are paid to her by the Hermionenses, receives a sacrifice from virgins and widows, prior to their nuptials. There are likewise two temples here dedicated to Ceres Thermis; one of which is situated in the borders of the Troezenians, in those towns which yet remain, and the other in this very city itself.

CHAP.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XXXV.

Near this temple there is a temple of Bacchus Melanægis, in honour of whom musical games are every year celebrated, and contests of swimming and sailing are established. There is a temple too of Diana, who is called Iphigenia, and a brazen statue of Neptune standing with one of his feet on a dolphin. But, on entering into the temple of Vesta, you will not see any statue, but only an altar, on which they sacrifice to the gods. There are three temples too of Apollo, and three statues of the god; one of which is without a name, the second they call Pythæus, and the third Orios. And the name Pythæus, indeed, they derived from the Argives; for Telephila says, that Pythæus the son of Apollo came to the Argives the first of all the Greeks. But I cannot clearly assign the reason why they call Apollo, Orios. I conjecture, indeed, that in consequence of having obtained the borders of their country either by arms or natural right, they established honours to Apollo Orios. But the Hermionenses assert, that the temple of Fortune is the most recent of all their buildings. This temple contains a colossal statue of the gods, of Parian stone. And with respect to the two fountains which they possess, they assert, that one of these is very ancient, that the water flows into it unapparently, and that it would never fail though the whole city should derive its water from thence: but the other fountain was constructed in my time; and the place from whence the water flows into it is called Pratum.

But
THE DESCRIPTION

But that which is most worthy of inspection in Pratum is a temple of Ceres, which, according to the Hermionenses, was raised by Clymenus the son of Phoroneus, and his sister Chthonia. But the Argives report, that when Ceres came to Argolis, she was hospitably received by Athera and Myfius; but that Colontas neither invited the goddess to his house, nor paid her any other honours, and that this conduct was not agreeable to his daughter Chthonia. They report therefore, that Colontas was burnt together with his house, but that Chthonia was brought to Hermione by Ceres, and that she there dedicated a temple to the goddess. Ceres indeed is called Chthonia, and a festival called Chthonia is celebrated in honour of her during the summer. This ceremony is performed as follows: The priests of the goddess lead the pomp, together with the annual magistrates; and these are followed by women and men. It is usual too for the boys to lead the goddess in a solemn manner; and these are clothed in white, and have garlands on their heads. But these garlands are plaited together from a flower, which the inhabitants call Comosandalus. It appears to me, that this flower is a hyacinth; for it is similar to it, both in magnitude and colour, and contains letters significant of sorrow. And lastly, the procession is closed by those who each of them lead a heifer chosen from the herd, distended with bonds, and as yet mischievous through fierceness. After this, some of the train bring one of these heifers freed from his bonds into the temple, and others who stand before the open doors, as soon as they see that the heifer is within the temple, shut the doors: and four old women, that are left within, afterwards dispatch him; one of them, just as it may happen, cutting the heifer's throat with a scythe. Then
Then again the doors being opened, such as are employed for this purpose bring into the temple a second, third, and fourth heifer, and so on, till all of them are slain by the old women.

Another wonderful circumstance too takes place in this sacrifice; for, on whatever side the first heifer falls, all the rest necessarily fall on the same side. And such is the mode of sacrifice among the Hermionensae. But before the temple there are statues of those women that have acted as priestesses to the goddess. There are however not many of these: and when you have entered into the temple you will perceive thrones upon which the old women slew the heifers, and statues not very ancient of Minerva and Ceres. But that which they more religiously venerate than anything else, I neither saw myself, nor is any man permitted to see it, whether he be a stranger or a citizen; for this is known only to the old women.

There is also another temple surrounded on all sides with statues; and this is opposite to Cthonia, and is called Clymenus. In this they sacrifice to Clymenus, though I do not think that any Argive of this name ever came to Hermione; but it appears to me, that this is an epithet of the god who is said to reign under the earth. Besides this there is another temple; and a statue of Mars. But on the right hand of Cthonia there is a porch which is called by the inhabitants Echus; and in which if a man speaks the least possible, his voice is immediately tripled. Behind this temple there are three places, one of which the Hermionensae call the region of Clymenus, the second the region of Pluto, and the third the Acheronian marsh. All these are enclosed with stone bulwarks: and in that of Clymenus there is a chasm of the earth, through which,
as the Hermionenses report, Hercules drew up the dog of Pluto. But near the gate, which leads in a direct line to Maises, there is within a wall a temple of Lucina. They every day, indeed, venerate this goddess in the highest degree, with sacrifices, fumigations, and gifts; but, except the priestesses, it is not lawful for any one to behold the statue of the goddess.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

But in the direct road to Maises, when you have proceeded to the distance of about seven stadia, and have turned on the left hand, you will perceive a road which leads to Halice. Indeed, at present, Halice is a solitary place, though it was once inhabited: and there is a history of a certain Halicenian citizen on the pillars of the Epidaurianians, in which the cures performed on him by Æsculapius are described. I do not, however, know of any other writing worthy of belief, in which any mention is made either of the city Halice, or its inhabitants. But there is a way which leads to Halice, between the hill Pron, and that place which was formerly called Thornax; for afterwards, in consequence of Jupiter's mutation into a cuckoo, it came, as they report, to be called Coecygius. There are indeed temples even at present on the high mountains; on Coecygius that of Jupiter, and on Pron that of Juno. And besides these, in the bottom parts of Coecygius there is a temple without doors, without a roof, and without a statue. This is said to have been the temple of Apollo.

On departing from hence, in a direct line, you will pass
OF GREECE.

pas into the road which leads to Mades. This place
was formerly a city, and is mentioned by Homer, in his
catalogue of the Argives, but at present it is used by the
Hermionenfees as a haven. But there is a road on the
right hand of Mades, which leads to the promontory Stru-
thentes; and from the summit of this promontory, along
the tops of the mountains, there is a road of two hundred
and fifty stadia in length, to Philanorium and the Bolei;
but the Bolei are heaps of chosen stones. There is a
place too which they call Gemini, which is distant from
the Bolei twenty stadia, and which contains temples of
Apollo, Neptune, and Ceres; but the statues are in an
upright posture, and are of white stone. Near this place
there is a town of the Argives, which was formerly called
Aisne, and the ruins of which remain near the sea. For
when the Lacedaemonians, with their king Nicander, who
was the son of Charillus, the grandson of Polydeuces, and
the great-grandson of Eunomus the son of Prytanis, in-
vaded Argolis with an army, the Aisnæi joined their forces
with the Lacedaemonians, and together with them laid
waste the land of the Argives. But when the forces of
the Lacedaemonians returned home, the Argives, with
their king Eratus, besieged Aisne. And for some time,
indeed, the Aisnæi sustained the incursions of the enemy,
and among others flew Lysistratus, who ranked among
the most valiant of the Argives. The wall, however, being
at length taken, the Aisnæi placed their wives and chil-
dren in ships, and left the city: after this, the Argives
entirely destroyed the town, and added the land to their
own dominions. They spared however the temple of Py-
thean Apollo, as is evident even at present, and buried
Lysistratus near it.

But the sea, near Lerna, is distant from the city of the
Argives,
THE DESCRIPTION

Argives, not more than forty stadia. And as you descend to Lerna, Erasinus first presents itself to the view in the road. This river flows into Phrixus, and Phrixus pours itself into that sea which lies between Temenius and Lerna. But as you turn from Erasinus, at about the distance of eight stadia on the left hand, there is a temple of the kings the Dioscuri; and their statues, which are of wood, are of the same shape with those in the city. If after this you turn into the direct road, by passing over the river Erasinus, you will arrive at the river Chimarrus. Near this, there is an enclosure of stones: and in this place it is said that Pluto, having ravished Proserpine, descended with her to the subterranean kingdom. But Lerna, as I have before observed, is near the sea; and in this place the mysteries of Ceres are celebrated, which they call Lernæa. In Lerna too, there is a sacred-grove, which commences from the mountain called Pontinus. But the mountain Pontinus does not pour forth the water, which it receives from divinity, but absorbs it. A river however flows from this mountain, which is called Pontinus: and on the summit of the mountain, there is a temple of Minerva Saitis, the ruins of which only remain at present. The foundations, too, of the house of Hippodemon, who came to Thebes to the assistance of Polynices the son of OEdipus, yet remain.

CHAP. XXXVII.

FROM this mountain the grove Pontinus, which is full of plane-trees, extends for the most part as far as to the sea. But its boundaries are, on one side, the river Pontinus, and on the other, the river Amymon, which receives its name from the daughter of Danaus. But in the grove,
OF GREECE.

grove, there are statues of Ceres, Prosymne, and Bacchus; and a statue, of no great magnitude, of Ceres in a sitting posture: and these are made of stone. But in another temple, there is a wooden statue of Bacchus the Saviour; and this too is in a sitting position. Besides this, there is a stone statue of Venus near the sea, which is said to have been dedicated by the daughters of Danaus: and Danaus himself is reported to have raised the temple of Minerva in Pontinus. But they report that Philammon instituted the Lernæan mysteries. That the ceremonies, indeed, of these mysteries are not ancient, is obvious to every one. But the particulars which I have heard, from an account inscribed on a heart of orichalcum, were not invented by Philammon, but by Arriphon of Triconium, a city in Ætolia. This Arriphon, who was a man of wonderful sagacity, discovered several things which were never before either seen or heard of; and among these, that the writings on the heart of orichalcum, which are partly in prose and partly in verse, were composed in the Doric dialect. But before the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, the Argives had the same dialect as the Athenians; and in the times of Philammon, it does not appear to me, that the name of the Doriæans was known to all the Greeks. And thus far Arriphon evinced the truth of these particulars.

But a plane-tree rises near the fountain of Amymon; and under this plane-tree the hydra was nourished, according to report. I can easily indeed believe that this savage animal surpassed in magnitude other hydas, and that his venom was of such an incurable nature that Hercules poisoned the tops of his arrows with his noxious bile. But it appears to me that he had but one, and not many.
many heads. Pisander however, the Camirenian, that this beast might appear more terrible, and his verses become more dignified, describes the hydra as endowed with many heads instead of one. I have seen a fountain too, which bears the name of Amphiaraus; and the Aleyonian lake, through which, according to the Argives, Bacchus descended to Hades, in order to lead back Semele: and they add, that this way was shewn him by Polymnus. The depth of this lake is immense; nor do I know any man who has been able by any artifice whatever to reach its bottom: for even Nero, who joined ropes together of many stadia in length, and fastened lead at the end, with whatever else might be useful for this purpose, could never find the bottom of this depth. I have heard too, that the water of this lake appears to the eye to be tranquil and quiet, but that it draws to the bottom those that have the boldness to swim in it. But the circumference of this lake is not more than one third of a stadium, and grass and bulrushes grow on its margin. It is however by no means lawful for me to divulge to all men the nocturnal ceremonies, which are performed every year by the side of this lake, to Bacchus.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

But, on proceeding from Lerna to Temenium, you will perceive the river Phrixus pouring itself into the sea. Temenium, however, belongs to the Argives, and is named from Temenus the son of Aristedomachus: for after he was settled in this place, and had fortified it, he engaged in war along with the Dorienses, against Tifamenus, and the Achaians.
OF GREECE.

Achæans. In Temenium, too, there is a temple of Neptune, and another of Venus; and besides these, the sepulchre of Temenus, which is venerated by the Dorians that live in Argos. But Nauplia is distant from Temenium, as it appears to me, about fifty stadia. This town is at present desolate; but its builder was Nauplius, who is said to have been the son of Neptune and Amytonte. The ruins of the walls yet remain, together with a temple of Neptune, certain ports, and a fountain called Can athus. The Argives report that Juno, by washing every year in this fountain, became a virgin: and this narration belongs to the arcane discourses, which are delivered in the mysteries of Juno. But the story which is circulated in Nauplia about an as, who, by eating the branches of a vine-tree, rendered the vine much more prolific, and who on this account, as teaching them the propriety of amputating vines, is carved in stone—this story I shall pass by, as not worthy of discussion.

There is also another road which leads from Lerna to the sea, in that place which they call Genesium. And near the sea there is a temple, of no great magnitude, of Genesian Neptune. After this, another place follows, which is called Apobathmi, or a landing-place. They report, that this was the first part of Argolis in which Danaus landed with his children. From hence, after you have passed by Anigrea, which is a narrow road, and almost impervious, you will perceive a piece of ground which extends itself on the left hand towards the sea, and which is very well adapted for the culture of trees in general, and particularly olive-trees. But on ascending towards the continent, you will arrive at a place called Thyrea, in which three hundred chosen Argives fought with the like num-
ber of selected Lacedæmonians for its possession: and all of them dying, except one Spartan, and two Argives, they were buried here, in the place where they fell. But the Lacedæmonians in a battle, in which all the people were drawn up, having vanquished the Argives, obtained the possession of Thyrea, and afterwards gave it to the Æginetæ, when they were driven from their island by the Athenians. At present, however, the Argives inhabit this place, which, as they report, they obtained by a just victory. But on departing from the places destined to sepulchres, you will arrive at Athens, which was formerly inhabited by the Æginetæ. Near this, there is another town called Neris, and a third Euæ, which is the greatest of all the towns, and which contains a temple of Polemocrates. This Polemocrates was the son of Machaon, and the brother of Alexander; and who, in consequence of having cured the inhabitants of their diseases, came to be honored by them in this manner. The mountain Parnon rises above these towns, in which the boundaries of the Lacedæmonians, from the Argives and Tegeæ, are contained. They have raised for their boundaries thirty Thermae, from which the place is denominated: and after these there is a river called Tanus, which, being but one, descends from Parnon, flows through the Argive land, and pours itself into the bay of Thyrea.
OF GREECE.

BOOK III.

LACONICS.

CHAP. I.

After the Hermæ, the Laconic region presents itself to the view, situated towards the west. In this country, according to the Lacedæmonians, Lelex, who was a native of the place, first reigned, and the people whom he governed were called Leleges. But Myles was the son of Lelex, and a younger son Polycaon, with respect to whom, on what account and into what place he migrated, I shall explain in another place. But, on the death of Myles, his son Eurotas succeeded him in the kingdom. This Eurotas having brought the stagnant water in the fields to the sea, by a channel, the water which was left, and which flowed like a river, was called after him, Eurotas. However, as he had no male children, he left the kingdom to Lacedæmon, whose mother was Taygeta, from whom a mountain was denominated, and whose father according to report was Jupiter. But Lacedæmon married Sparta, the daughter of Eurotas; and as soon as he obtained the kingdom, in the first place he gave names to the region and the inhabitants; and in the next place,
he built a city, and called it after the name of his wife, Sparta, which is its name even at present.

But his son Amyclas, being desirous of leaving behind him a monument of his name, built a little city in the Laconic land: and as he had several sons, the Fates took away his youngest son Hyacinthus, who was a most beautiful youth, before his father. The tomb of this Hyacinthus is under the statue of Apollo. But, on the death of Amyclas, his eldest son Argalus reigned, and after him Cynortas. Æbalus was the son of this Cynortas, who married the Argive Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, and had by her Tyndareus, with whom Hippocoon contended for the kingdom, considering himself entitled to it on account of his seniority. Hippocoon therefore, having for this purpose entered into an association with Icarius and his faction, far surpassed Tyndareus in power, and compelled him through fear to fly, as the Lacedæmonians report, to Pellana. The Messenians, however, assert, that Tyndareus fled to Aphaeus in Messenia; and that Aphaeus was the son of Perieres, and the brother of Tyndareus on the mother's side. They add, that he dwelt in Thalamis, which is a town of Messenia; that he had children while he resided here; and that, some time afterwards, he was restored to his kingdom by Hercules.

The sons too of Tyndareus reigned, and Menelaus the son of Atreus, and the son-in-law of Tyndareus; and besides these, Orestes, who married Hermione the daughter of Menelaus. But the Heraclidæ returning during the reign of Tifamenus the son of Orestes, one part of the Messenians and Argives were for giving the kingdom to Temenus, and another part to Cresphontes. And as in Lacedæmonia
monia Aristodemus had left behind him twins, two royal families were by this means produced, and this by the approbation of the Pythian deity. But they say, that Aristodemus died at Delphos, before the Dorians returned to Peloponnesus; and speaking magnificently of their own affairs, they add, that Aristodemus was pierced with arrows by Apollo, because he did not enquire of the oracle, but consulted Hercules, whom he first happened to meet, by what means the Dorians might return to Peloponnesus.

The more true relation, however, is this:—That Aristodemus was slain by the sons of Pylades and Elektra, which sons were the cousins of Tisamenus the son of Orestes. But the names of the sons of Aristodemus were Procles and Eurythemenes, who, though twins, were very different in their dispositions. However, though their enmity to each other was very great, yet this did not hinder them from jointly following Theras, the brother of their mother Argia, the son of Ion, and their tutor, in establishing a colony. But Theras settled a colony in an island which was then called Caliste, hoping that the descendants of Membliarius would abandon the government of their own accord. The event indeed happened as he wished, owing to their considering that the race of Theras might be referred to Cadmus as its origin, and that they were the offspring of Membliarius, who was one of the common people, and who was left in the island by Cadmus as a leader of the colonies. Theras, therefore, changing the name of the colony, called it after his own name; and the Therai, even at present, perform yearly funeral sacrifices to Theras, as the founder of a colony. Procles indeed, and Eurythemenes, were cheerfully obedient to the commands of Theras,
THE DESCRIPTION

Theras, but the rest dissented from him in all his designs. But if they had even agreed among themselves, I should not be able, in the same history, to relate at once the actions of their posterity; for they neither all lived at the same time, so that cousin might correspond to cousin, and the children of the cousins, or so that the latter progeny might be circumscribed by the same number. I shall therefore treat separately of each family, and not mix the transactions of both in one account.

C H A P. II.

They say, then, that Agis was the offspring of Eurythemenes, who was the eldest son of Aristodemus: and from Agis, the posterity of Eurythemenes were called Agidae. But, during the reign of Agis, the Lacedaemonians assisted Patreus in building a city in Achaia, and in establishing a colony, which at present, from this Patreus, they call Patrae. They sent, too, companions and associates with Grais the son of Echelatus, and the grandson of Penthilus the son of Orestes, who was passing with a fleet into the colony. And he indeed possessed that region which is situated between Ionia and Mysi, and which is at present called Aeolis; his grandfather Penthilus, prior to this, having taken Lesbos, an island above this continent of Aeolis. But, during the reign of Echeclus the son of Agis in Sparta, the Lacedaemonians expelled all the Cynurenenses that were in the vigour of their age from their dominions; assigning this as a reason for their conduct, that the Cynurenian robbers injured Argolis, at the same time that the Argives were their allies, and that the Cynurenenses
OF GREECE.

The Cynurenenses, indeed, are said to have originated from the Argives, and to have been colonized by Cynurus the son of Perseus. But not many years after, Labotas the son of Echestratus reigned in Sparta: and Herodotus, in his History of Creesus, informs us, that this Labotas was under the guardianship of Lycurgus, who gave laws to the Lacedæmonians; but he calls him Leobotas, and not Labotas. During his reign the Lacedæmonians, for the first time, appear to have warred on the Argives: and this war was occasioned by the Argives invading the Cynurenian land, which the Lacedæmonians had taken by force of arms, and soliciting their neighbours to revolt. They say, however, that nothing worthy of being remembered took place in this war: and such of the family of Labotas as succeeded to the government, viz. Doryclus, and Agesilus the son of Doryclus, both died in a short time after their reign. But Lycurgus gave laws to the Lacedæmonians in the reign of Agesilus: and these laws, according to some, he received from the Pythian oracle; and, according to others, derived them from Crete. The Cretans too report, that these laws were established by Minos, and that he was assisted in composing them by Jupiter himself. And indeed it appears to me, that Homer obscurely signifies this in the following verses respecting the legislation of Minos:

"Cnossus, her capital of high command;
Where scepter'd Minos, with impartial hand,
Divided right; each ninth revolving year,
By Jove receiv'd in council to confer."

But we shall make further mention of Lycurgus in the following part of this description.

Again,
THE DESCRIPTION

Again, Archelaus was the son of Agesilaus: and while he reigned, the Lacedaemonians having conquered one of their neighbouring cities, called Aegys, led away the inhabitants into captivity, in consequence of suspecting that the Aegystæ would revolt to the Arcadians. In this siege Charilaus, a king out of the other family, assisted Archelaus: but we shall mention the particular transactions of Charilaus when we relate the affairs of those that are called the Eurypontideæ. But Teleclus was the son of Archelaus: and in his time the Lacedaemonians, having conquered the neighbouring towns, subverted Amyclas, Pharsis, and Geran thrilled, which were then possessed by the Achaians. The Pharidae however, and Geranthred, being terrified at the approach of the Dorienæ, departed from Peloponnesus, on certain conditions; but the Amyclæneæ were not vanquished by the first attack, but, in consequence of their vigorous resistance, were only at length conquered after many engagements, and after they had given many proofs of courage by no means inconsiderable or mean. This, indeed, the Dorienæae themselves testified by the trophy which they raised on the occasion, and by which they signified that their greatest glory consisted in this conquest.

But, not long after this engagement, Teleclus was slain by the Messenians, in the temple of Diana, which was situated in the town called Limnae, and which lies between the borders of the Laconic and Messenian lands. After the death of Teleclus, his son Alcamenes obtained the kingdom: and during his reign, the Lacedaemonians sent into Crete, Charmidas the son of Euthys, a man who was one of the most approved in Sparta; who appeased the seditions which rose among the Cretans,
OF GREECE.

and persuaded them to leave the towns which were farther distant from the sea, and in other respects in a weak condition, and to inhabit such as might afford a convenient harbour for ships. At the same time too, the Lacedæmonians took and depopulated a maritime town belonging to the Achaians, and which was called Helos; and conquered the Argives, who brought assistance to the Helotes.

CHAP. III.

On the death of Alcamenes, his son Polydorus succeeded to the government; and at that time the Lacedæmonians brought one colony into Crotona in Italy, and another into Locris, near the promontory Zephyrium. The war too, which is called Messeniac, arrived during this period at its greatest height. The Lacedæmonians, however, do not agree with the Messenians in assigning the causes of this war: but, in the following part of this history, we shall relate what is asserted by either party, and how the war was concluded. In the mean time, thus much must not be omitted, that Theopompus the son of Nicander, and a king of the other family, led the Lacedæmonians in many engagements in the former war against the Messenians. But the war being finished, and the Messenians becoming subject to the Lacedæmonians, Polydorus, a man of great renown in Sparta, and particularly dear to the Lacedæmonian vulgar, because he had never acted with violence in any transaction, and had always been just and humane in his decisions, was slain by Polemarchus, a man not without reputation in Lacedæmon, and of great audacity, as this action evinces.
THE DESCRIPTION

But the Lacedæmonians paid such honours to Polydorus; after his death, as well deserve to be mentioned; though, notwithstanding this, there is a sepulchre of Polemarchus in Sparta, whether prior to this he was considered by them as a worthy man, or that he was secretly buried by his relations. But during the reign of Eurycrates the son of Polydorus, the Messenians paid a willing obedience to the government of the Lacedæmonians, and the Argive vulgar did not apply themselves to the study of novel affairs. But when Anaxander the son of Eurycrates obtained the government, as it was now defined by the Fates, that the Messenians should be expelled beyond Peloponnesus, they revolted from the Lacedæmonians, and for some time were their equals in war; but being at length vanquished, they made a league, and abandoned Peloponnesus; and those that still remained were made slaves by the Lacedæmonians; except such as inhabited the maritime towns.

But with respect to the transactions of this war, that which happened after the revolt of the Messenians, is not sufficiently connected with the present history to be related. But Eurycrates was the son of Anaxander, and Leon of Euryocrates: and during the reign of these two, the Lacedæmonians suffered many losses in battle from the Tegetææ; but under the government of Anaxandrides, the son of Leon, they conquered the Tegetææ, and that in the following manner: A Lacedæmonian of the name of Lichas came to Tegea; for at that time a league subsisted between the cities. But Lichas, on his arrival, discovered the bones of Orestes, which the Spartans had been ordered to seek by a certain oracle; and this, by understanding the oracle as signifying that they were concealed
OF GREECE.

In the work-shop of a coppersmith and by referring whatever he saw in the shop to the words of the oracle. Thus, for instance, he interpreted the winds as signifying the bellow, because they emit a violent spirit; the blow be referred to the hammer; that which resists the blow to the anvil; and that which is the destruction of man be very properly referred to iron, which at that time began to be used in battle. For if the god had spoken with a view to the heroic age, as it is called, he would have signified that which is destructive to man by brass.

But an oracle which was afterwards given to the Athenians was similar to this, which the Lacedaemonians received, respecting the bones of Orestes: for the oracle ordered them to carry the bones of Theseus from Scyros to Athens; adding, that unless this was accomplished, they would not be able to take Scyros. But Cimon the son of Miltiades found the bones of Theseus, through the same acuteness of conjecture, and not long after took the island. But that in the times of the heroes all the arms were similarly brass, is evident from Homer, when he describes the ax of Pisander, and the dart of Merion. My opinion, too, is strengthened from this circumstance, that the spear of Achilles, which is placed in the temple of Minerva in Phætheus, has its bottom and top part of brass; and the sword of Memnon, among the Nicomedenses, in the temple of Æsculapius, is wholly of brass; and this I know to be true. But Anaxandrides the son of Leon, alone of all the Lacedaemonians, had two wives at the same time, and in consequence of this a twofold progeny. For when the Ephori ordered him to put away his first wife, who was in other respects the best of women, but barren, he would not by any means literally comply with their or-

Vol. I. S ders,
ders, but was so far obedient that he married another woman besides her, by whom he had a son, Cleomenes. But then his first wife conceived, and bore him, first Dorieus, afterwards Leonidas, and then Cleombrotus. And on the death of Anaxandrides, the Lacedaemonians considering Dorieus as superior to Cleomenes both in the arts of council and war, reluctantly gave the kingdom to Cleomenes as the elder, agreeable to the laws of their country. But Dorieus, who could not be persuaded to stay in Lacedaemon, and be subservient to Cleomenes, was sent into a colony.

CHAP. IV.

But Cleomenes, as soon as he began his reign, collecting an army of Lacedaemonians and his allies, made an incursion into Argolis: and as soon as the Argives met him in arms, he vanquished them in fight. But the Argives fled to the sacred grove of Niobe, which was near the field of battle, to the number of five thousand; and Cleomenes, who was often seized with fits of insanity, by means of the Helotes, or Spartan servants, fired the grove; in consequence of which both the grove itself, and the suppliants that fled thither for refuge, were destroyed by the fire. After this, he led his army to Athens, and there, in the first place having freed the Athenians from the tyranny of the children of Pisistratus, he both procured for himself and the Lacedaemonians an illustrious reputation among all the Greeks. But afterwards, through his partiality to an Athenian whose name was Isagoras, he endeavoured to place this man over the Athenians and the Athenians fighting.
fighting with great valour for their liberty, Cleomenes was frustrated in his intentions, and in consequence of this depopulated other parts of the country, and a place called Orgas, sacred to the gods which are worshipped at Eleusis.

After this, he passed into Ægina, and imprisoned the principal persons of the Æginetæ, who, from their attachment to the Medes, had persuaded their fellow-citizens to surrender their land and water to Darius the son of Hydaspes. But while Cleomenes stayed at Ægina, Demaratus, a king from the other family, accused him to the Lacedæmonian vulgar; and Cleomenes, as soon as he returned from Ægina, in consequence of this did every thing in his power to dethrone Demaratus. For he so corrupted the Delphic priest by his gifts, that he persuaded him to answer the Lacedæmonians, when they consulted the oracle, just what he prescribed; and besides this, he instigated Leotychides, a man of the royal family, and allied to Demaratus, to contend with Demaratus for the kingdom. In consequence of this, Leotychides laid hold on those words which Ariston once rashly uttered respecting Demaratus as soon as he was born, and persuaded the judges that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. This dispute being related by the Lacedæmonians to the Delphic oracle, a custom which they adopted in every affair, the Pythian priest answered them agreeable to the wishes of Cleomenes: and by this means Demaratus was deprived of his kingdom, through the hatred of Cleomenes, and not by the decisions of justice.

But Cleomenes, after these transactions, died insane; for, seizing on a sword, he mangled his body all over with the most painful wounds, and thus slew himself. And the Argives indeed
THE DESCRIPTION

Indeed say, that, by the bitterness of his death, he suffered the punishment of his inhumanity towards the suppliants at Argos; the Athenians, that his death was the consequence of his violating Orgas; and the Delphi, that it arose from his corrupting the priest of Apollo, to speak falsely respecting Demaratus. But other examples besides this of Cleomenes, may be found, of the anger of gods and heroes towards men: for Proteus, who is honoured by the Eleans, and than whom there is no hero in Argos more illustrious, revenged on himself Perseus Artabates; and the Megarenses were never able to appease the anger of the divinities in Elenus, after they had dared to inhabit the sacred land. I do not, however, know of any one except Cleomenes, who has dared to corrupt the oracle of the god. But as Cleomenes had no male children, the government devolved on Leonidas the son of Anaxandrides, and the brother on both sides of Dorieus. And Xerxes at that time leading his numerous army into Greece, Leonidas met him with a band of three hundred Lacedæmonians at the pass of Thermopylæ. Many battles, indeed, have taken place among the Greeks, and many among the Barbarians; but those are but few in number, in which the virtue of one man shone forth in an eminent degree, as of Achilles in the Trojan war, and of Miltiades at Marathon.

In my opinion, however, the illustrious action of Leonidas surpasses those of any other period. For Xerxes, who of all the kings that afterwards reigned over the Medes and Persians was the most prudent and renowned, was so vigorously encountered, on his entry into Greece, by Leonidas, with a few troops which he commanded at the Thermopylæ, that Xerxes would neither have conquered Greece, nor
OF GREECE.

not even Athens, if a certain Trachinian had not led the forces of Hydarnes, by a circular march, through the passages of the mountain Æta. And thus, by the destruction of Leonidas and his forces, the Barbarians came into Greece. But Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus was never king of the Lacedæmonians, but being the tutor of Plistarchus the son of Leonidas, he led the Lacedæmonians to Platææ, and afterwards passed over with a fleet to the Hellespont. The conduct, however, of this Pausanias, towards a woman whose name was Coa, appears to me to deserve the greatest praise. This woman, who was the daughter of a man not without reputation among the Coans, viz. of Hegetorides the son of Antagoras, was unwillingly led away as a concubine by Pharandates the Persian, the son of Teapis. But as Mardonius fell in battle at Platææ, and the Barbarians were destroyed, Pausanias sent back this woman to Coa, with all her female ornaments, and the gifts which she had received from Pharandates. And besides this, he would not suffer the dead body of Mardonius to be injured, contrary to the advice of Lampon Æginetas.

CHAP. V.

Plistarchus, therefore, the son of Leonidas, died in the beginning of his reign. But he was succeeded by Plistoanax, the son of that Pausanias who led the forces to Platææ. Another Pausanias, who was the son of this Plistoanax, led an army into Attica under the pretext of waging war with Thrasybulus and the Athenians, but in reality that he might establish the dominion of the thirty tyrants who had been set over the Athenians by S ã Lyfander.
262 THE DESCRIPTION

Lyfander. And in an engagement, indeed, Pausanias vanquished those Athenians that guarded the Piræus; but after the battle he determined to lead back his army, as he was of opinion that to have established the tyranny of unholy men, would not be the most disgraceful part of the conduct of the Spartan republic. However, on his return from Athens, as he had engaged in an unfinished war, he was called to account by his enemies. But the king among the Lacedæmonians is judged as follows: Those that are called seniores sit in judgment to the number of twenty-eight, and together with thefe the head of the Ephori, and the king of the other family. On this occasion, therefore, fourteen of the elders, and Agis, who was at that time the king of the other family, condemned Pausanias, but the other part of the council acquitted him.

But, not long after this, the Lacedæmonians collected an army against the Thebans, the cause of which war we shall relate in our account of the transactions of Agesilaus. And then, indeed, Lyfander coming into Phocis, and collecting all the Phocensians together, without any delay invaded Boeotia, and first of all attacked the walls of Haliartus, as the inhabitants of this place were unwilling to abandon the Thebans. Certain Thebans, however, and Athenians, being privately received into the city, made an irruption; and Lyfander engaging with them before the walls, fell among other of the Lacedæmonians. In the mean time, Pausanias having collected forces together from the Tégeatae, and other parts of Arcadia, arrived after the battle was finished: and as soon as he came to Boeotia, was made acquainted with the slaughter of those that followed Lyfander, and of the death of Lyfander himself; yet for all this he led his army to Thebes, and
OF GREECE.

and prepared to besiege the city. But when the Thebans prepared themselves to sustain the attack, and the arrival of Thrasyl tus with the Athenian auxiliaries was announced, who only waited till the Lacedaemonians engaged, that he might attack them behind;—then Pausanias, fearing lest he should be surrounded by the two armies of the enemy, made a league with the Thebans, and took care to bury the dead bodies of those that fell under the walls of Haliartus.

This transaction, indeed, was not agreeable to the judgment of the Lacedaemonians; but for my own part, I think that the advice of Pausanias was right. For he well knew, that the Lacedaemonians had always been cut off when surrounded by the enemy, as at the Thermopylae, and the island Sphaeteria; and, on this account, he was afraid lest he should be the occasion of a third misfortune to them of this kind. However, as his countrymen were of a different opinion, accusing him of slowness in his approach to Boeotia, he did not wait to be called to an account, but betook himself to the Tegeatae, who received him as a suppliant in the temple of Alea Minerva. This temple was sacred to all the Peloponnesians from ancient institutions, and afforded the greatest safety to those that fled to it in a suppliant habit. And the Lacedaemonians evince that this conduct was adopted by Pausanias, and, prior to this, by Leotychides; and the Argives testify the same respecting Chrysidas; for all these suppliantly betook themselves to this temple, and were by this means preserved from the danger which threatened them.

But after the flight of Pausanias, his children, Agesipolis and Cleombrotus, who were then very young, were placed
placed under the guardianship of Aristodemus, who was his nearest relation; and the Lacedæmonians, under the command of this Aristodemus, fought with success at Corinth. But Agesipolis, as soon as he was of age sufficient to assume the reins of government, warred on the Argives before all the other Peloponnesians: and as he led his army from Tegeatæ to Argolis, the Argives sent a messenger to him, that he might ratify those leagues of their country, which had been established from the first among the Dorians. Agesipolis, however, would neither ratify the compact with the messenger, but, marching on with his army, depopulated the land; nor, when divinity caused an earthquake to take place, would he lead his army back, though the Lacedæmonians, and in like manner the Athenians, were terrified at these prodigies of Jupiter. Agesipolis, therefore, fixed his camp under the walls of the Argives, though the god did not cease to shake the earth, and though some of the soldiers were destroyed by lightning, and some were rendered foolish by the thunder. At length, therefore, he unwillingly moved his camp from Argolis, and turned his arms against the Olynthians; and being victorious in this engagement, he both took many Chalcidensian cities, and hoped he should be able to take Olynthus itself, but was deceived in his expectations by a sudden disease and death.

CHAP. VI.

But as Agesipolis died without children, the kingdom fell to the lot of Cleombrotus: and the Lacedæmonians, under him as their leader, fought with the Boeotians at Leuctra. And in this battle, at the very beginning of the engage-
engagement, Cleombrotoς himself fell, fighting valiantly. Indeed, wherever a great slaughter takes place in a battle, the daemon usually cuts off the leader of the army before the rest. Thus, among the Athenians, he cut off Hippocrates the son of Ariphron at Delium, and afterwards Leothenes in Thessaly. But Agesipolis, the eldest of the children of Cleombrotus, accomplished nothing worthy of relation: but Cleomenes the younger son, after the death of his brother, took possession of the kingdom, and as he had two sons, Acrotatus and Cleonymus, it so happened that Acrotatus survived his father; and on the death of Cleomenes, a contest took place between Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes, and Areus the son of Acrotatus, respecting the possession of the kingdom. The elders therefore adjudged the government to Areus, and not to Cleonymus, in consequence of which Cleonymus began to plan some great achievement; and though the Ephori endeavoured to appease him, as well by other honorary rewards, as by giving him the command of the forces, yet they could not prevent his becoming an enemy to his country. His hatred indeed to his country was abundantly evinced in many particulars, and, among the rest, by his bringing Pyrrhus the son of Æacides into Lacedæmonia.

But, during the reign of Areus the son of Acrotatus in Sparta, Antigonus the son of Demetrius warred on the Athenians both with land and marine forces. Patroclus, however, came to the assistance of the Athenians with an Egyptian fleet; and the Lacedæmonians likewise were ready to give their aid with a band of voluntaries under the command of their king Areus. But, as Antigonus had so invested the city with his forces that the assistance of their allies was rendered superfluous, Patroclus, by
THE DESCRIPTION

by his messengers, desired Areus and the Lacedæmonians to come to an engagement with Antigonus, and told them that he in the mean time would attack the Macedonians behind, assigning this as a reason for his conduct, that their foot forces were by no means equal to those of the Macedonians, because they were Egyptians and sailors. In consequence of this message, the Lacedæmonians, both from their good will to the Athenians, and that they might perform an action which would render them illustrious to posterity, acted in every respect agreeable to the wish of Paulanius. But Areus, as their provisions were nearly consumed, led his army back, as he considered that it was highly proper to reserve the remaining part of his aid to the use of his country, and not rashly lose his forces in giving assistance to others. When the Athenians, however, had made a vigorous resistance for a long time, Antigonus made a peace with them, and placed a guard over them in the Museum, which not long after he voluntarily withdrew.

But Acrotatus was the son of this Areus, and another son Areus, who died through disease in the eighth year of his age. And as almost all the male posterity of Euryphænes were abolished, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus succeeded to the kingdom, when he was very much advanced in years. Lyfander too, the son of Lyfander, and the grandson of Aristocrates, was at great enmity with Leonidas. This Lyfander associated to himself Cleombrotus, who married the daughter of Leonidas; and having drawn him over to his interest, persuaded him to accuse Leonidas of various crimes, and, among the rest, of this, that while he was yet a boy, he had sworn to his father Cleonymus respecting the destruction of Sparta. Leonidas, therefore,
OF GREECE.

therefore, being compelled to abdicate the kingdom, Cleombrotus obtained it after him. If, indeed, Leonidas had been impotent of mind through anger, and, as Demaratus the son of Ariston did formerly, had fled either to the king of the Macedonians or the king of the Egyptians, he would not have been benefited by the after repentance of the Spartans; but, in consequence of the conduct which he adopted, he was recalled not many years after by the Lacedaemonians, and again assumed the reins of government. But with respect to the daring attempts and courage of Cleomenes the son of Leonidas, and how through him the royal government of Sparta came to an end, these particulars we shall relate in our account of the transactions of the Sicyonian Aratus—at the same time mentioning after what manner Cleomenes died in Egypt. Cleomenes, therefore, the son of Leonidas, was the last of those kings belonging to the family of Eurythemenae who were called Agiade.

CHAP. VII.

But the particulars which I have heard respecting the other family, are as follow:—Procles the son of Aristodemus had a son whose name was Soos; and Eurypon was the son of Soos, who arrived at so great a degree of renown that all that family, which was before called Proclidae, was from him denominated Eurypontidae. But Prytanis was the son of Eurypon: and during his reign, an enmity took place between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives; and prior to this altercation, a war subsisted with...
THE DESCRIPTION

with the Cynturenés. In the ages too following this, viz. during the reign of Eunomus the son of Prytanis, and Polydeétes the son of Eunomus, the Spartans enjoyed an uninterrupted peace. But Charillus the son of Polydeétes destroyed the land of the Argives by fire and sword: and not many years after, the Spartans, led by this Charillus, and deceived by a fraudulent oracle, marched against the Tegetaë, whom they were in hopes of conquering, and at the same time expecting to take from the Arcadiens the Tegean plains. But after the death of Charillus, his son Nicander succeeded to the government; and while he reigned, Teleclus, a king from the other family, was slain by the Messenians in the temple of Diana Limnas.

This Nicander, too, led an army against Argolis, and did much injury to the country. The Afinzei joined with the Lacedaemonians in this war, for which not long after they grievously suffered from the Argives, experiencing the destruction of their country, and becoming exiles themselves. But I shall again make mention of Theopompus the son of Nicander, who reigned after his father, when I describe the Messenian affairs. While, however, Theopompus reigned in Sparta, a war took place between the Argives and the Lacedaemonians, about the region called Thyreatis. But Theopompus was not present at this battle, on account of his age, and the affliction of his mind. For his son Archidamus died before him; yet he left a son behind him, whose name was Zeuxidamus; and Anaxidamus was the son of Zeuxidamus, and succeeded to the government of Sparta. During the reign of this Anaxidamus, the Messenians fled from Peloponnesus, being a second time vanquished by the Spartans.
And Archidamus was the son of Anaxidamus, and Aga-
sicles of Archidamus, during whose reigns the Spartans
lived in perfect quiet, and without having any concern
in war.

But Aristophanes, the son of Aga
cles, married a woman who
is said to have been the most base of all the Spartan vir-
gins as to her manners, but the most beautiful, as to her
form, of all the women posterior to Helen. This woman,
when she had been married to Aristophanes for seven months,
was delivered of a son, whose name was Demaratus; and
this event was announced to Aristophanes, as he was sitting
among the Ephori. Aristophanes, however, either forgetting thofe
verses of Homer in the Iliad, or not sufficiently under-
standing them, said, that the boy could not be his, because
he was born at the end of seven months; for which speech
afterwards he bitterly repented. For Demaratus, who was
a man of great reputation in Sparta, and who, in conjunc-
tion with Cleomenes, freed the Athenians from the ty-
rauny of the children of Pisistratus, was deprived of his
kingdom, through this inconsiderate speech of Aristophanes, and
his hatred of Cleomenes. But when, in consequence of
being exiled, he came to Darius among the Persians, they
report that his posterity remained in Asia for a long time.

Leotychides, however, was chosen king in the place of
Demaratus, and aslifted Xanthippus the general of the
Athenians, and the son of Ariphron, at Mycale: and after
this, marching into Thessaly against the Aleuadae, he easily
conquered all Thessaly, because victory perpetually at-
tended him in all his engagements. However, as he re-
ceived gifts from the Aleuadae, he was called to account
in Lacedaemonia, and fled for protection to the altar of
Minerva Alea. But Zeuxidamus the son of Leotychides
died.
THE DESCRIPTION

died through disease, while his father was yet alive and safe. And Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, obtained the government after Leotychides fled to Tegea. This Archidamus very much injured the country of the Athenians, by marching an army into Attica every year, and depopulating and destroying every place he came to. The same person, too, took the city of the Plataeans, who were the friends and allies of the Athenians. He would not, however, by any means excite the Peloponnesians and Athenians to war on each other, but endeavoured, to the utmost of his ability, to establish between them a lasting peace. But Sthenelaidas, a man not destitute of power in Lacedaemonia, and one of the Ephori, was particularly the cause of a war taking place, which shook Greece, at that time sufficiently well established, from its very foundation; and not long after, Philip the son of Amyntas, attacking it while in a ruinous and diseased condition, was the cause of its entire overthrow.

CHAP. VIII.

HOWEVER, as soon as Archidamus died, as he left two sons behind him, Agis and Agesilaus, the former, in consequence of his seniority, assumed the reins of government. Archidamus too had a daughter, whose name was Cynisca; who was a great lover of the Olympic contests, and was the first woman that employed herself in breeding horses, and that bore away the Olympic palm. But after her, other women, and especially some of Macedonia, obtained the Olympic prize; though indeed Cynisca surpassed them all. The Spartans, however, appear to
me, to admire, the least of all men, poetry, and the praise which it bestows: for, except an epigram on Cynisca, composed by I know not whom, and an epigram of Simonides upon the tripod of Pausanias, dedicated at Delphos, nothing else is mentioned by any poet concerning the Laconic kings. But during the reign of Agis the son of Archidamus, the Lacedaemonians accused the Eleans of various crimes, and of this especially, that they had forbid them to celebrate the Olympic games, and to sacrifice in the temple of Jupiter.

In consequence of this, they sent a messenger to the Eleans, commanding them to suffer the Lepreame, and other neighbouring cities, to use their own laws. To this message the Eleans answered, that as soon as they saw the cities bordering on Sparta free, they also would give liberty to their allies. But the Lacedaemonians, routed by this reply, immediately, with their king Agis, invadedElea; and when divinity shaking the earth, they were obliged to lead their army back, when they had marched as far as to Olympia, and the river Alpheus. In the year following, however, Agis depopulated the country of the Eleans, and took from thence a great prey. But then Xenias the Elean, who was privately the friend of Agis, and publicly of the Lacedaemonians, and who was likewise hated by the people, endeavoured, by the assistance of the rich, to deliver up the city to the enemy. However, before Agis arrived with his army, Thraisydrus, who then presided over the common people of the Eleans, having vanquished in battle Xenias and his forces, drove them out of the city. But Agis after this led back his army, and left Lysistratus the Spartan, with a part of his forces, and the Elean exiles.
THE DESCRIPTION

exiles, that, together with the Lepreatc, they might injure
by frequent excursions the land of the Eleans.

At length, in the third year of this war, when the La-
cedæmonians and Agis again prepared to invade Elea,
Thrasylrus and the Eleans, who were injured by the war
in the most eminent degree, made a peace, on the following
conditions: That they, the Eleans, should no longer rule
over the neighbouring cities: that the walls of their city
should be demolished; and that the Lacedæmonians should
both sacrifice to Jupiter in Olympia, and contend, if they
pleased, in the Olympic games. After this, Agis made con-
tinual incursions into Attica, and fortified a tower in Dece-
lea against the Athenians. But the Athenian fleet being de-
stroyed at Ægospotamos, Lyfander the son of Aristocratus
and Agis violated the sacred league, which had been esta-
blished between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, though
the Spartans had not given them orders for this purpose;
for they only had made a decree with their allies, respect-
ing the entire destruction of the Athenians. And these
were the most illustrious warlike achievements of Agis.
But the rashness of Agis, respecting his son Leotychides,
was correspondent to that of Ariston respecting Demara-
tus; for, in the hearing of the Ephori, he was tempted by
some evil daemon to say, that he did not think Leot-
chydes was his son. Of this rashness, however, he after-
wards repented: for when, in consequence of a disease
with which he was afflicted, he was carried from Arcadia
to his own habitation, he testified to all those that were
present with him in Hera, that he had no doubt but
Leotychides was his son, and entreated the spectators with
tears to testify this to the Lacedæmonians.

But,
OF GREECE.

But after the death of Agis, Agesilaus expelled Leotychides from the kingdom, in consequence of reminding the Lacedaemonians of what Agis had said respecting Leotychides. The Arcadians however from Heraea came to Lacedaemon on this occasion, and testified in behalf of Leotychides what Agis, when dying, had declared concerning him. The Delphic oracle, too, served to increase the dispute between Agesilaus and Leotychides. But the oracle was to this effect: "Sparta beware, though at present thou dost greatly glory in thy condition, lest a lame king with sound legs injure thee: for unless thou art cautious, unexpected and long-continued labours await thee, and the destructive waves of the mingled flood of war." Leotychides therefore asserted, that the oracle referred to Agesilaus, because he was lame in one of his feet. But Agesilaus retorted upon Leotychides, that he was not the legitimate offspring of Agis. The Lacedaemonians, however, did not refer this dispute to the oracle, though it was in their power to have done so; and this, as it appears to me, because they followed the advice of Lyfander the son of Aritocritus, who endeavoured by all possible means to procure the kingdom for Agesilaus.

CHAP. IX.

As soon, therefore, as Agesilaus had obtained the kingdom, the Lacedaemonians sent a fleet into Asia, for the purpose of warring on Artaxerxes the son of Darius: for they knew, from the other chiefs of the city, and particularly from Lyfander, that in the war against the Athenians they had not obtained money for their fleet from

Vol. I. T Artaxerxes,
Artaxerxes, but from Cyrus. Agestilas therefore (for he was ordered to pass with an army into Asia, and was declared general of the foot) sent ambassadors into Peloponnecus, for the purpose of exciting all the people, except the Argives, and all the Greeks beyond the Isthmus to unite with them in the war. The Corinthians therefore, though they very much desired to partake of this expedition, yet as the temple of Jupiter, who was called by them Olympius, was washed away by a sudden inundation of the sea, they considered it as an ill omen, and unwillingly remained at home. But the pretext of the Athenians for withholding their assistance was the other calamities of the Peloponnesian war, and particularly the pestilence from disease, through which they were cut off from the hopes of their pristine felicity. The true reason, however, of their remaining quiet, was, because they had understood by a messenger, that Conon the son of Timotheus had paid a visit to the king.

Aristomenides too was sent to the Thebans, because he was the grandfather on the mother's side of Agestilas, and favourable to the Thebans: for he had been one of those judges, who, when the city of the Platæensæs was taken, were of opinion that all those that were taken within it should be slain. The Thebans however, no less than the Athenians, said, that they were unable to give any assistance. But Agestilas collected together at home a chosen band of his allies, and at the same time having built and properly fitted out a fleet, came to Aulis in order to sacrifice to Diana; because Agamemnon, after he had propitiated the gods in this place, led his forces against Troy. Agestilas therefore thought that he was the king of a much happier city than Agamemnon, and
OF GREECE.

that, in a manner similar to him, he reigned over all Greece. He likewise was of opinion, that if he could conquer Artaxerxes, and obtain the riches of the Persians, such an achievement would be much more illustrious than the subversion of the kingdom of Priam.

But as he was sacrificing, the Thebans arrived in arms, threw down the entrails, while they were yet burning on the altar, and drove him out of the temple. Agesilaus however, though he lamented that he had not finished his sacrifice, passed over into Asia, and first of all drove to Sardis: for at that time Lydia was the greatest part of Lower Asia, and Sardis its most illustrious city, which not only excelled the other cities in wealth and power, but was the residence of the satrap of the sea, in the same manner as Susa was of the king. But Agesilaus engaging here with Tisaphernes, the satrap of the places about Ionia, conquered, in the plains of Hermus, both the Persian horse and foot, which were so numerous that they were only surpassed by that army which Xerxes led against the Athenians, and Darius against the Scythians. The Lacedaeonians therefore, admiring the alacrity of Agesilaus in warlike concerns, gave him also the command of the fleet. Agesilaus however gave the command of the three-oared galleys to Pifander the brother of his wife, as he applied himself soley to the accomplishment of great enterprizes with land forces. Some god, however, envied him the accomplishment of his wish; for as soon as Artaxerxes heard that Agesilaus had gained some battles, and that he neglected advantages which, as it were, lay before his feet, and continually marched farther on with his army;—as soon as he heard this, he put Tisaphernes to death, whom before he had much esteemed, and sent Tithraustes
THE DESCRIPTION

Tithraustes, in his stead as satrap of the sest, who was a man of great sagacity, and one that hated the Lacedaemonians.

Tithraustes therefore, as soon as he arrived at Sardis, thought of a method by which he might cause the Lacedaemonians to lead the army from Asia. For he sent Timocrates the Rhodian into Greece with money, that, by bribing the principal persons, he might excite the Grecians to war on the Lacedaemonians. But those that were corrupted by his money, are said to have been, among the Argives, Cylon and Sodamas; and of the Thebans, Androclides, Iphimenias, and Ampithemis. At Athens too, Cephalus and Epichares partook of his money: and among the Corinthians, such as agreed with the Argives; and particularly Polyanthes and Timolaus. But the Locrians from Amphissa began to carry on the war openly: for a controversy arose between them and the Phocenses, concerning the boundaries of their land; and by the advice of the Thebans, and particularly of those about Iphmenia, they cut down the corn when it was in the height of its vigour, and carried it away, with the rest of the spoils. The Phocenses too, with a band of soldiers collected in haste, made excursions into the country of the Locrians, which the Locrians, by joining with them the Thebans, revenged; and in their turn laid waste the Phocensian lands. And in consequence of this the Phocenses, by sending ambassadors to Lacedaemonia, sharply accused the Thebans. But the Spartans being moved by their expostulations, raised a war against the Thebans; and, among other crimes, accused them of insolent behaviour towards Agesilaus, while he was sacrificing in Aulis.

But
But the Athenians having learnt the intention of the Lacedaemonians, sent ambassadors into Sparta, requesting that the affair for which they were accused by their adversaries might be settled by law, and not by arms. The Lacedaemonians, however, sent back the ambassadors in a rage: and the expedition of the Lacedaemonians which afterwards took place, and the death of Lyssander, we shall explain, when we relate the transactions of Pausanias. And indeed that which is called the Corinthian war, and which continually increased, commenced from the expedition of the Lacedaemonians into Boeotia. But this circumstance obliged Agesilaus to withdraw his army from Asia. When, therefore, he had passed over with his ships from Abydos to Seftus, and through Thrace had arrived at Thessaly, the Thessalians, on account of their friendship for the Thebans, endeavoured to stop his passage: and in this conduct too they thought they were justified, on account of their ancient good-will towards the Athenians. Agesilaus however passed through Thessaly, by throwing down the Thessalian horse; and afterwards, having conquered the Thebans and their allies, made his way through the Boeotians. But as soon as the Boeotians were routed, they fled to the temple of Minerva Itonia: and Agesilaus, though he was wounded in the engagement, would not by any means act towards the suppliants in a manner contrary to law.

CHAP. X.

Not long after this the Isthmian games were established, by those that fled on account of their Laconic manners. But the Corinthians then kept themselves quiet within the city,
THE DESCRIPTION

city, through fear of Agesilaus. However, when Agesilaus moved his camp, in order to return to Sparta, they celebrated the Isthmian games in conjunction with the Argives. But Agesilaus again returned with his army to Corinth; and, on account of the arrival of Hyacinthia, sent the Amyclaenses home that they might celebrate the games to Apollo and Hyacinthus, after the manner of their country. This band the Athenians, led by Iphicrates, attacked in their passage and slew. But Agesilaus came afterwards to Aetolia, for the purpose of assisting the Aetolians against the Acarnanians, by whom they were oppressed in battle. And indeed he compelled the Acarnanians to dissolve the war, at a time when they wanted but little of taking Calydon and other Aetolian towns. But some time after this he failed to Egypt, for the purpose of pursuing with his arms those that had revolted from the king; in which place he is said to have performed many illustrious actions; and as he was now advanced in years, he died in the course of this expedition. But the Lacedaemonians carried his dead body into his native country, and buried it with the highest honours.

But afterwards, Archidamus the son of Agesilaus reigning, the Phocenes plundered the temple of Apollo at Delphos; and the Phocenes, in carrying on the war against the Thebans, were assisted by mercenary troops. For the Lacedaemonians and Athenians sent them assistance by a public decree; the latter, indeed, in consequence of recollecting their ancient kindness towards them; but the Lacedaemonians, under a pretext of friendship, but in reality, as it appears to me, through hatred of the Thebans. But Theopompus, the son of Damasistratus, writes, that Archidamus engaged in this war; and that, in consequence of Denicha
OF GREECE.

Denicha his wife being corrupted by gifts, he was rendered more disposed to give them assistance. However, for my own part, I never can praise any one who receives sacred money, or assists those by whom the most illustrious oracle on the earth was destroyed. This indeed deserves to be praised in Archidamus, that when the Phocenses intended to have cut off all the Delphian youth, to have led away to slavery the women and children, and to have entirely subverted the city, he prevented the execution of their design.

Afterwards too he passed over into Italy, and assisted the Tarentines in warring on their neighbouring Barbarians, in which war he lost his life: and his dead body remained unburied, through the anger of Apollo, whose indignation he had incurred. But Agis, the eldest son of this Archidamus, fell fighting against Antipater king of Macedonia; and a younger son, Eudamidas, reigned over the Lacedæmonians, when they were at peace. The particulars however of Agis, the son of Eudamidas, and of Eudamidas the son of Agis, I have already related in my account of the Sicyonian affairs.

* * * * But on descending from Hermæ there is a place full of oaks, which is called Scotitas or the dark. This name, however, does not originate from the nearness of the trees to each other, and the darkness produced by this means, but from Jupiter, who is surnamed Scotitas, and whose temple, on the left hand, is distant from the road about ten stadia. After you have proceeded in this road a little farther, you will likewise see, on the left hand, a statue and trophy of Hercules; which last is said to have been raised by him when he slew Hippocoon and his sons. But the third turning from the straight road leads,
THE DESCRIPTION

on the right hand, to Caryæ and the temple of Diana; for the region Caryæ is sacred to Diana and the Nymphs. And the statue of Diana Caryatis stands in the open air; in which place the Lacedæmonian virgins celebrate a festival every year, and dance after the manner of their country.

But on returning into the public road, you will perceive the ruins of Selasia. And this place, as we have before related, was enslaved by the Achaians, when they vanquished the Lacedæmonians and their king Cleomenes the son of Leonidas. But in Thornax (which in proceeding along this road you will arrive at) there is a statue of Pythian Apollo, which is made in the same manner as that in Amyclæ; and which, in an account of that place, I shall describe. Among the Lacedæmonians, however, there is an Apollo Amyclæus, which is much more illustrious, because all the gold which Croesus king of the Lydians sent to this Pythian Apollo, was employed by them for the purpose of adorning the statue of Apollo in Amyclæ.

CHAP. XI.

AFTER leaving Thornax, the city presents itself to your view, which was at first called Sparta, and in process of time Lacedæmon. But as I profess, in my Attics, that I should not describe every particular, but only such as appeared to me most worthy of relation, I now make the same declaration, previous to my description of the Spartan affairs; for it was my intention from the beginning, to select out of many things reported by the vulgar, such
OF GREECE.

Such as appeared to me most worthy of narration; and as this intention is certainly a good one, there can be no reason why it should be neglected. Among the Lacedæmonians, then, who inhabit Sparta, there is in the first place a forum, which deserves to be inspected, and a place of consultation, in which the Elders assemble, together with the Ephori, the Nomophilaces, or guardians of the law, and those that are called the Bidiae. And the Elders, indeed, are the persons that principally assist the Lacedæmonians in the affairs of government: but the Ephori and Bidiae, each of which orders consists of five persons, preside over the games called Platanista, and other contests of the Spartan youth. The Ephori likewise take care of more serious concerns, and choose out of their number an Eponymus; just as at Athens, among those that are called the nine, one of them is the Archon Eponymus.

But that which is the most illustrious of all the works in the forum, is the porch which they call Persica, because it was raised from the spoils of the Medes; and in course of time arrived at its present magnitude and ornament. On the pillars of this porch, there are statues of several Persian commanders; and among these there is a statue of Mardonius the son of Gobryas, which is made of white stone. There is a statue too, in the same place, of Artemisia, the daughter of Lydamis, queen of Halicarnassus. They report that she voluntarily assisted Xerxes against the Greeks, and behaved very valiantly in a naval engagement at Salamis. In the same forum too there are two temples, one of which was dedicated by Caesar, viz. by him who was the first that desired to establish a monarchy among the Romans, and who first founded their present form of government; but the other was dedicated
THE DESCRIPTION

dicated by his son Augustus, who gave greater stability to
the government, and caused it to arrive at a greater de-
gree of dignity and power than it obtained under the
reign of his father. But, indeed, the name of Augustus
signifies, in the Greek tongue, venerable.

But near the altar of Augustus there is a brazen image
of Agias, who, they report, prophesied to Lyfander, that
he should take all the Athenian fleet, at the river Ægos,
except ten three-oared galleys, which would withdraw
themselves to Cyprus; but that the Lacedæmonians would
take the rest, and the men with which they were filled.
This Agias was the son of Agelochus, and the grandson
of Tifamenus: and Tifamenus, who was an Elean and of
the family of the Iamidæ, was told by an oracle, that
he should be victor in five illustrious contests. But when
he was vanquished in the quinquartum, at the Olympic
games, (for he was first of all victorious in two, having
vanquished Andrius Hieronymus in the course, and in
leaping, though he yielded the victory to him in wrest-
ling), he then at length understood the meaning of the
oracle, viz. that the god promised him the victory in five
warlike contests. But the Lacedæmonians, who were
not ignorant of what had been promised to Tifamenus
by the oracle, persuaded him to migrate from Elis to
Sparta, and assist the Lacedæmonians in common by his
prophecies: and Tifamenus, after he had complied with
their request, obtained in five battles the victory for the
Spartans.

But the first engagement, in which he was victorious,
was at Platæa against the Persians; the second, at Tegea,
when the Lacedæmonians fought against the Tegeæans and
Argives; and the third at Dipæa, when all the Arcadi-
ans,
OF GREECE.

ans, except the Mantineans, opposed the Lacedæmonians. But the Dipæsenses compose a small city of Arcadians in Mænalia. The fourth victory which he gained was over those Hilotæ, who, after the earthquake, caused the inhabitants of Ithome to revolt from the Hilotes. All the Hilotæ, however, did not revolt, but only the Messenici, who separated themselves from the ancient Hilotes. But I shall shortly explain the particulars pertaining to this affair. Then indeed the Lacedæmonians, by making a league with those that revolted, suffered them to depart, being persuaded to act in this manner by Tifamenus, and the oracle at Delphos. And lastly, Tifamenus predicted the fifth victory, when the Lacedæmonians fought with the Argives and Athenians at Tanagra. And such are the particulars which I have heard respecting Tifamenus.

But in the forum of the Spartans there are statues of Pythian Apollo, of Diana, and Latona: and all this place is called Chorus, because in the Gymnopædia (a festival which, if any, they celebrate with great pomp) the young men dance in honour of Apollo. Not far too from hence there is a temple of Earth, and of Agoræan Jupiter; and, besides these, of Minerva Agoræa, and of Neptune, whom they call Asphalous. There is also a temple of Apollo, and of Juno, and a statue of the Spartan people, of a prodigious magnitude. Among the Lacedæmonians too there is a temple of the Fates, and near it a sepulchre of Orestes the son of Agamemnon: for the bones of Orestes, being brought hither from Tegea, were buried in this place, by the command of the oracle. But near the sepulchre of Orestes, there is an image of Polydorus the son of Alcamenes, who was honoured by the Lacedæmonians.
THE DESCRIPTION
dæmonians above all their kings, and this to so great a de-
gree, that the Spartan governors use the image of Poly-
dorus for a public seal. There are here too a statue of
Mercury Forensis, carrying a young Bacchus, and archives
which they call Ephorea. In these, there is a monument
of the Cretan Epimenides, and of Aphaereus the son of Pe-
rieres. I am however of opinion, that what the Lacedæ-
monians relate of Epimenides, is more probable than the
account given of him by the Argives. But where the
temple of the Fates is situated, there the Phitidia are con-
tained, among the Lacedæmonians, together with hospi-
table Jupiter, and hospitable Minerva.

CHAP. XII.

ON departing from the forum, along the road which is
called Aphetæ, you will arrive at that place which is de-
nominated Booneta. But my narration requires, that I
should first explain why this road came to be so called.
They say, then, that Icarius the father of Penelope, propo-
sed to the suitors the contest of the course. And that
Ulysses indeed was victor, must be obvious to every one :
but they report that this race was ran in the Aphetæan
road. It appears to me, indeed, that Icarius instituted
this contest in imitation of Danaus: for Danaus, when he
could not find any one disposed to marry his daughters,
on account of their being polluted with parricide, declar-
ed, that he did not require a marriage portion, but would
leave his daughters free to marry the men that appeared
most beautiful in their eyes. This proclamation collected
a few suitors, and the contest of the race being proposed

OF GREECE.

285

to them, he that outran all the rest was to have the first choice, and take her whom he most approved; he that was next in order was to have the second choice, and so on to the last: and those that had no suitors, were ordered to wait till new ones came to the course.

But on this road, as I have already observed, the Lacedaemonians have a place which they call Boonetia. This was once the house of king Polydorus; and, after his death, was bought of his wife for certain oxen: for at that time there was not any coin either of silver or gold, but, according to ancient custom, they mutually gave and received for what they wanted, oxen, flaves, and rude silver and gold. Indeed, even at present, those that fail to the Indies report, that Indian rewards are given for the Grecian commodities which are carried thither, but that the inhabitants are unacquainted with money, though their country abounds with gold and brases. But beyond the palace of the Bidente there is a temple of Minerva, in which Ulysses is said to have dedicated a statue, and to have called it Celestheia, in consequence of having vanquished the suitors of Penelope in the course. There are three temples too of Minerva Celestheia in different places. But on proceeding from hence, about the Aphetian road, there are several heroic monuments; one of Iops, who appears to have lived about the time of Lelex or Myles; another of Amphiaras the son of Oicles, and which, they think, was constructed by the children of Tyndarus to Amphiaras, as to their cousin; and a third of Lelex.

Not far too from these there is a temple of Neptune Tannarius, and which they call Tannarium. And near this there is a statue of Minerva, which they report was dedicated
dedicated by those that brought a colony into Italy and Tarentum. But the place which they call Hellenium, was, according to some, so denominated, because, at the time when Xerxes passed over into Europe, the Grecian cities, that took up arms against him, consulted here about the most effectual means of opposing him; but, according to others, it received its name from those leaders that followed Menelaus to Troy, consulting in this place how they should fail to Troy, and punish Paris for the rape of Helen. But near the Hellenium, they exhibit the monument of Talthybius. The Αἰγινσές too, among the Achaians, exhibit a monument in the forum, which they say is the sepulchre of Talthybius. And this Talthybius, indeed, evinced his anger against the Lacedæmonians, on account of the slaughter of the ambassadors of Darius, who came to request earth and water; but against the Athenians, by seizing on the house of Miltiades the son of Cimon, because he was the means of the Athenians putting to death the ambassadors that came into Attica.

Among the Lacedæmonians, too, there is an altar of Apollo Acratas, and a temple of Earth, which is called GaeSeptum. But Apollo Maleatas is raised above this. But about the end of the road Aphetae, and very near the walls, there is a temple of Dëstynna, and royal sepulchres of those that are called the Eurypontidae. Near the Hellenium, too, there is a temple of Ariniæ, the daughter of Leucippus, and the sister of the wives of Caistor and Pollux. But in that part which they call the Fortifications, there is a temple of Diana: and proceeding a little farther, you will see a sepulchre which was raised for those prophets who came from Elis, and are called
OF GREECE.

287

called Iamidæ. There is also a temple of Maro and Alpheus, whose military virtue, in the battle at the Thermopylæ, shone the most conspicuous of all, after Leonidas. But the temple of Jupiter Tropæus was raised by the Dorians, when they vanquished in battle as well the other Achaians, who then possessed the Laconic land, as the Amyclaenses themselves.

But the temple of the Great Mother is reverenced by the Spartans in a most eminent degree. And after this, there are heroic monuments of Hippolytus, Theseus, and Aulon the Arcadian, the son of Tlepimenes. This Tlepimenes according to some was the brother, but according to others the son of Parthenopeus, the son of Melanion. But there is another passage from the forum, about which there is a building called Scias, in which assemblies are held even at present. This building is said to have been the work of Theodorus the Samian, who first discovered the method of casting iron, and making images from it. In the same place too the Lacedæmonians suspended the harp of Timotheus the Milesian, whom they accused, because in the modulation of the harp he added four chords to the seven strings of the ancients. But near the building Scias there is a round edifice, in which there are statues of Jupiter and Venus, each of which is called Olympian. They report, that Epimenides raised this building, and do not assent to what the Argives relate concerning him: for they say, that the Argives never warred on the Gnoisians.

CHAP.
Near this edifice there is a sepulchre of Cynortas the son of Amycla. There is also a monument of Caistor, and together with it a temple: for they report, that in the fortieth year after the battle against Idas and Lyceus, the sons of Tyndareus were considered as gods, and not before this period. Near Scias too the tomb of Idas and Lyceus is exhibited. It is more probable, however, that they were buried at Messenia, and not in this place. But the calamities of the Messenians, and the length of time in which they were exiled beyond Peloponnesus, caused many monuments of antiquity to be unknown to them on their return; and in consequence of this ignorance of theirs, this particular respecting the tomb of Idas and Lyceus must be dubious to every one. Opposite too to the temple of Olympian Venus, there is a temple of Proserpine the Saviour, which they report was raised by the Thracian Orpheus; but according to others it was built by Abaris, who came from the Hyperborei. But Carneus, whom they call the domestic, was honoured in Sparta before the children of Hercules returned from banishment: and a small temple was raised to him in the house of the prophet Cryus, who was the son of Theocles. For when the spies of the Dorians met with the daughter of this Cryus as she went to draw water, they entered into discourse with her, and afterwards coming to Cryus, learnt from him the means of taking Sparta.

The veneration, indeed, which the Dorians pay to Carneus Apollo, originated from Carnus, whose country
was Acarnania, and who acquired the art of divination from Apollo. For when Hippotes the son of Phylas flew this Carnus, Apollo, enraged at the deed, made the camp of the Dorienfes feel the effects of his anger; and Hippotes flying on account of this murder, the Dorienfes established propitiatory rites, in order to appease the Acarnanian prophet. But, indeed, this Carnus Apollo is not with the Lacedæmonians that Carnus who is called the domestic; for this last, as I have before observed, was worshipped in the house of the prophet Crius, while the Achaians possessed Sparta. Praxilla too relates, in her verses, that Carneus was the son of Europa, but that he was educated by Apollo and Latona. There is also another report concerning him, as follows: In the Trojan mount Ida, cornel trees were cut down in the grove of Apollo, in order to construct the wooden horse; but the parties concerned, finding that by this action they had incurred the anger of the god, appeased him by sacrifices, and called him Carneus, by transposing, after the ancient manner, the letter r.

But not far from the temple of Carnus Apollo there is a statue, which is called the statue of Aphætæus: and they report, that in this place the beginning of the course commenced to the suitors of Penelope. There is a certain place too which contains porches of a square figure, and where, in ancient times, old goods were sold. Near this there is an altar of Jupiter Ambulius, and of Minerva Ambulia, and, besides these, of the Dioscuri, under the appellation of the Ambuli. But opposite to this place you will see that which is called Colona, or a hill, and a temple of Bacchus Colonata. Near this too there is a grove sacred to that hero, who, they report, conducted Bacchus Vol. I.
THE DESCRIPTION

to Sparta. The Dionysiades and the Leucippides sacrifice to this hero, before they sacrifice to the god: and they propose the contest of the course to eleven other women, whom they also call Dionysiades, in consequence of an injunction given them to this purpose by the Delphic oracle.

But not far from the temple of Bacchus there is a temple of Jupiter Eunanemus; and on the right hand of this there is an heroic monument of Pleuron. The sons of Tyndareus, on the mother's side, descended from this Pleuron: for Arcus in his verses says, that Thestius was the father of Leda, and the son of Agenor who was the son of Pleuron. Not far from this monument there is a hill, on the top of which there is a temple of Argive Juno. They report, that this temple was dedicated by Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedaemon, and the wife of Acrisius the son of Abas. But the temple of Juno Hyperchiria was raised in consequence of an oracle, when the river Eurotas washed away much of the land: and they call the ancient wooden statue within the temple, the statue of Venus Juno. It is usual with mothers to sacrifice to this statue for the nuptials of their daughters. In the road, on the right hand of this hill, there is an image of Hetoelecmolcs, who (and this was likewise the case with his father Hippothenes) was declared victor at the wrestling in the Olympic games: and this happened to both eleven times; but the father surpassed the son by one victory.

CHAP.
OF GREECE.

C H A P. XIV.

On proceeding from the forum towards the west, you will see an empty sepulchre of Brasidas the son of Tellis: and not far from this tomb there is a theatre of white stone, which deserves to be inspected. Opposite to this theatre there is a sepulchre of Pausanias, who was the general of the Platæenses, and another sepulchre of Leonidas. Every year orations are delivered in praise of these two; and games are celebrated, in which none but Spartans are allowed to contend. And the bones, indeed, of Leonidas were brought from the Thermopylæ forty years after his death, and buried in this place. A pillar too is erected here, in which the paternal names are inscribed of those that sustained the attack of the Medes at the Thermopylæ. There is a place too in Sparta, which is called Theomelidæ; and in this part of the city the tombs of the kings called Agidæ are contained; and near this you may perceive that which is called the disputing place of the Crotani. But the Crotani are portions of the Pitanati.

Not far from this place of disputation there is a temple of Æsculapius, which is called Enapadon; and on proceeding from hence you will perceive the sepulchre of Tænarus, from whom, as they report, the promontory, which rises itself in the sea, was denominated. The temples of the gods, which this place contains, are, that of Neptune Hippocurius, and of Diana Æginæa. But on returning back to Lescche, you will see the temple of Diana Ifora, whom they likewise denominate Limnæa. This goddes is not indeed Diana, but the Britomartis of
292 THE DESCRIPTION

the Cretans, who is mentioned by me, in my description of the affairs of the Æginetæ. But very near the monuments of the kings called Agidæ, you will perceive a pillar, in which the victories of a Lacedæmonian, called Anchionis, in the course are inscribed; as well other, as his Olympic victories, which are seven, viz. four in the stadium, and the rest in the repeated course. He was not, however, victorious in the course with the shield, in which he engaged when the games were nearly finished. They report too that this Anchionis partook of the military expedition of Battus Theræus, that he brought a colony to Cyrene, and, in conjunction with Battus, expelled the people that dwelt about Lybia.

But they report that the temple of Thetis was raised on the following account: When they warred on the Messenians on account of their revolt, their king Anaxandrus invading Messenia enslaved many of the women, and among these Cleo, who was the priestess of Thetis. Leandris the wife of Anaxandrus, desired him to give her this Cleo; and finding that she possessed the wooden statue of Thetis, dedicated a temple to the goddess, in consequence of a vision in a dream. But they preserve this image of Thetis, in an arcane recess; and assert, that the religious institutions respecting terrestrial Ceres were delivered to them by Orpheus. It appears to me, however, that Ceres came to be considered as terrestrial by the Lacedæmonians, in consequence of the temple in Hermione. Among the Spartans too there is a very recent temple of Serapis, and a temple of Jupiter Olympus. They have likewise a place which they call Dromus, and which, even at present, is assigned to young men for the purpose of exercising themselves in the course.
OF GREECE.

On proceeding to this place from the tombs of the Agidæ, you will perceive, on the left hand, the monument of Eumedes. This Eumedes was the son of Hippocoon. Here too there is an ancient statue of Hercules, to which the Sphærii sacrifice; for so those persons are called by the Spartans, who from youths are just starting into manhood. But there are Gymnasia in the Dromus, one of which was dedicated by the Spartan Eurycles. And beyond the Dromus, and near the statue of Hercules, there is a house which at present belongs to a private person, but was formerly the property of Menelaus. But on leaving the Dromus you will see the temples of the Dioscuri, of the Graces, Lucina, Apollo Carneus, and Diana Hegemache, or the leader of battles. On the right hand too of the Dromus there is a temple of Agnitas, which is an appellation of Æsculapius, because the statue of the god is made of agnus or the willow-tree, which is similar to the rhamnus or white bramble.

But not far from the temple of Æsculapius there is a trophy, which they say was raised by Pollux, for the victory which he obtained over Lynceus: and this very circumstance evinces to me, that the children of Aphareus were not buried in Sparta. But near the beginning of the Dromus, the Dioscuri Apheteriæ are to be seen; and at a little distance from hence, the heroic monument of Alcon presents itself to the view. This Alcon is said to have been the son of Hippocoon. Near the temple of Alcon too there is a temple of Neptune, which they call Domatite; and the place in which it stands is called Platanitius, from the trees with which it abounds; for it is surrounded with lofty and thickset plane-trees. But the place in which the young men contend with each other
THE DESCRIPTION

is circularly invested by the Euripus, in the same manner as an island by the sea; and the passage to it is over bridges. On one side of these bridges there is a statue of Hercules, and, on the other, of Lycurgus. Indeed Lycurgus established laws, both for other concerns of the polity, and for the contests of the youth; who also perform other particulars, agreeable to ancient institutions, and sacrifice in the Ephebeum prior to their contest.

But the Ephebeum is beyond the city, not far from Therapne; and in this place, each band of young men sacrifices a canine whelp to Enyalian Mars, as they are of opinion that the strongest and bravest of tame animals ought to be sacrificed to the strongest of gods. I do not, however, know of any other Greeks who sacrifice canine whelps, except the Colophonians. For the Colophonians sacrifice a black whelp to Enodian Hecate; and both the Colophonians and Lacedaemonian youth establish nocturnal sacrifices. In this sacrifice, too, the Spartan youth cause two tame boars to fight with each other: and it so happens, for the most part, that the band to which the victorious boar belongs, bears away the palm in the Platanistus. And such are their transactions in the Ephebeum. But on the following day, and before noon, the boys pass over the bridges into that place which, we have said, is surrounded with the Euripus; and in the night preceding this day, the road which each party is to take is determined by lots. But these young men attack each other with their hands, and kick with their heels; they likewise bite and tear out each other's eyes. And in this manner one youth fights another; but, besides this, they make violent attacks in collected bodies, and one party pushes the other into the water.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XV.

Near the Platanetus too there is an heroic monument of Cynisca the daughter of king Archidamus, who was the first woman that applied herself to the care of horses, and that bore away the palm of victory in the chariot-races at the Olympic games. But behind the porch which is raised near the Platanetus, there are heroic monuments of Alcimus and Enaræphorus; and at no great distance from hence there is an heroic monument of Dorceus, and above this of Sebrius. These are said to have been the sons of Hippocoon. But a fountain, which is near the monument of Dorceus, is called from him Dorcea; and from Sebrius, the place is called Sebrium. On the right hand too of the monument of Sebrius there is a sepulchre of Alcman, who in composing songs was not discouraged by the Laconic dialect, which affords very little sweetness to the ear. There are likewise in this place the temples of Helen and Hercules; the former near the tomb of Alcman, and the latter very near the walls. In this last too there is an armed statue of Hercules; and the figure of the statue is said to have arisen from the contest of Hercules with Hippocoon and his sons.

They likewise report, that the hatred of Hercules originated in the house of Hippocoon; because when Hercules, after the death of Iphitus, came to Sparta in order to be purified from the slaughter, the Spartans did not think proper to gratify his request. The following circumstance, too, gave rise to the war: Oenous, who was the cousin of Hercules (for he was the son of Licymnius the brother of Alcmene) when he was a young man, came with
with Hercules to Sparta; and as he was walking about and surveying the city, came by accident to the house of Hippocoon. But here, a dog, the guardian of the house, flew upon him, and Æonus taking up a stone, hurled it at the dog; upon which the sons of Hippocoon swiftly pursuèd Æonus, and flew him with their staffs. This affair, however, violently enraged Hercules against Hippocoon and his sons; and giving way to his anger, he attacked them with arms, but receiving a wound in the engagement, privately withdrew himself: but afterwards, having collected a body of forces, he revenged the murder of Æonus, by the death of Hippocoon and his sons. And the sepulchre of Æonus is to be seen near the temple of Hercules.

But on proceeding from the Dromus towards the east, there is a road on the right hand, and in it a temple of Minerva Axiopæna. This temple was, they report, dedicated by Hercules, when he took just vengeance on Hippocoon and his sons for their former behaviour: but it was so called, because the ancients denominated 
v
g
ge
n
ce, 

æ

na or 
punishment. There is also another temple of Minerva in a road which, when you leave the Dromus, is on the left hand. This temple, as they report, was dedicated by Theras the son of Autesion, the grandson of Tifamenus, and the great-grandson of Therfander, when he brought a colony into that island, which is now from him called Thera, but was formerly denominated Calliste. Near this, is the temple of Hippothenes, who in wrestling was often victorious. But they religiously venerate Hippothenes, in consequence of an oracle, which admonished them, that by this means they would pay divine honours to Neptune.
OF GREECE.

Opposite, too, to this temple, there is an ancient statue of Enyalius in fetters. And this statue was fabricated by the Lacedaemonians, with the same design as the Victory without wings of the Athenians: for the former presume that Enyalius will never depart from them, as he is confined in fetters; and the latter, that Victory will always remain with them, as she is without wings. In Sparta too there is a place of disputation, which they call various; and near it there are heroic monuments of Cadmus the son of Agenor, of the posterity of Oiolycus the son of Theras, and of Aegeus the son of Oiolycus. Mæsia, Laes and Europas are said to have made these monuments; and these persons are reported to have been the sons of Hyrræus, and the grandsons of Aegeus. They are likewise said to have made the heroic monument of Amphilochoús, because the mother of Tisamenus, who was their great-grandfather's grandfather, was Demonassa the sister of Amphilochoús. But the Lacedaemonians alone of all the Greeks worship Juno, under the appellation of Oegophagus, and sacrifice she-goats to the goddess. They report indeed that Hercules established this temple, and first sacrificed she-goats; because, when he fought against Hippocoon and his sons, he suffered no impediment from Juno, though in other contests the goddess always appeared to oppose him. They add, that he sacrificed she-goats, because he was destitute of victims of another kind.

But not far from the theatre there is a temple of Natal Neptune, and heroic monuments of Cleodæus the son of Hyllus, and of Cæbalus. And with respect to the temple of Aesculapius, the most noble in the dominions of the Lacedaemonians is that at Booneta. But on the left hand of
THE DESCRIPTION

of this temple there is an heroic monument of Teleclus, of which I shall hereafter make mention in my description of the Messenian affairs. At a little distance from hence there is a hill of no great magnitude, and on it an ancient temple and a wooden statue of an armed Venus. This temple alone, of all I have ever seen, has another building raised upon it, and this is the temple of Morpha, which is an appellation of Venus. The goddess is represented sitting, veiled, and with bonds about her feet. They report, that Tyndareus added these bonds, in order to represent the stability which women ought to possess towards their husbands. For I cannot by any means admit the report, which says that Tyndareus punished the goddess with chains, because he considered the disgrace of his daughters as arising from Venus; as it would be perfectly foolish to expect to be revenged on the goddess, by making an image of cedar, and calling it by the name of Venus.

CHAP. XVI.

Near this is the temple of Hilaira and Phoebe, who, according to the author of the Cyprian verses, were the daughters of Apollo. Their priestesses are virgins, and are called Leucippides, as well as the goddesses. And one of the statues, indeed, was adorned by one of the Leucippides, who ministered to the goddesses in their sacred rites, with a new face instead of the old one, and this in a manner correspondent to the artifice with which statues are usually made at present; but she was deterred by a dream from acting in the same manner by the other. An egg depends from the roof of this temple, bound with fillets; and
OF GREECE.

and they report, that this is the egg which Leda brought forth. The women every year weave a garment for that Apollo which is at Amyclae, and call the place in which they weave it Chiton. Near this temple there is a house, which at first, as they report, was inhabited by the sons Tyndarus; but in after times it was possessed by the Spartan Phormio. The Dioscuri once came to this house in the habits of strangers, and feigning that they came from Cyrene, begged that they might be received here as guests, and requested that apartment with which they were most pleased when they dwelt among men. But Phormio told them, that all the other parts of his house were at their service, but that the apartment they desired was occupied by his daughter, who was a virgin. On the following day, however, both the virgin and all her attendants disappeared; but the statues of the Dioscuri were found in this apartment, together with a table, and upon it the fruit called master-wort. And such are the reports about this house.

But as you proceed from the Chiton towards the gates there is an heroic monument of Chilon, who was considered as a wise man, and of an Athenian hero, who was one of those that, with Dorieus the son of Anaxandridas, passed over with a fleet into Sicily, and there established a colony. But the reason of his bringing a colony hither, was, because the Erycian land was thought to belong to the posterity of Hercules, and not to the Barbarians by whom it was possessed. For they report, that Hercules wrestled with Eryx on these conditions, that if he was victor, the country possessed by Eryx should be his; but that if he was vanquished, he should give to Eryx the oxen of Geryon: for at that time Hercules drove
THE DESCRIPTION

drove these before him; and when they swam over to Sicily, he also passed over in the cup of the sun; that he might find them. But the benevolence of the gods towards Hercules was much greater than that which they afterwards exhibited to Dorieus the son of Anaxandridas: for Hercules slew Eryx, but Dorieus and all his army were nearly cut off by the Egeftani.

The Lacedaemonians too have rais'd a temple to Lycurgus their legislator, as to a god: and behind this temple there is a tomb of Eucosmus the son of Lycurgus, and near it an altar of Lathria and Anaxandra. These sitters were twins, and were married to the sons of Aristodemus, who were also twins. But they were the daughters of Therfander, who was the son of Agamididas, king of the Cleestonææ, but the great grandson of Cteippus the son of Hercules. Opposite to this temple there is a monument of Theopompos the son of Nicander, and another of Eurybiadas, who fought a naval battle for the Lacedaemonians against the Medes, in three-oared galleys, at Artemisium and Salamis. Neer this is the heroic monument, as it is called, of Atrabacus. But the place which is called Limnæum, contains a temple of Orthia Diana: and the wooden statue of the goddess is said to be that which Oreastes and Iphigenia formerly took away from Taurica. They report, that the Lacedaemonians brought this into their own country, as Oreastes was one of their kings. And they appear to me, in this, to speak much more probably than the Athenians. For why should Iphigenia have left the statue of the goddess in Brauron? Or how came it to pass, that, when the Athenians prepared to leave the country, they did not carry this statue away in their ships? For even at present the name of the Tauric
OF GREECE.

ric goddess is so illustrious, that the Cappadocians and inhabitants of the Euxine contend with each other about the possesssion of the statue of the goddess.

Is it probable, therefore, that the Athenians would suffer the Medes to carry away such a statue as their prize? For the statue which was brought from Brauron to Susa was afterwards given by Seleucus to the Syrian Laodicenses, and is even possessed by them at present. Indeed, that the statue of Diana Orthia among the Lacedaemonians, is that which was taken from the Barbarians, is evident, in the first place, from hence, that Altrabacus and Alopecus, the sons of Irbus, the grandsons of Amphitkhenes, and the great-grandsons of Amphicles the son of Agis, having found this statue, were immediately deprived of their reason: and in the second place, the Limnatae among the Spartans, and the Cynosurenses, and those who came from Mesoa and Pitane, while they were sacrificing to Diana, quarrelled with and even flew each other: and as many of them died at the altar, the rest were destroyed by disease. Hence an oracle was given, signifying that this altar ought to be sprinkled with human blood. Lycurgus, however, changed the custom of sacrificing a man by lot, to the scourging of young men with whips; as by this means the altar is equally imbued with human blood. But a female presides over the sacred rites; and while the young men are scourged, she holds the statue, which is but light on account of its smallness. If however any of the youths that are scourged are spared in the leaff, either on account of their beauty or rank, the image becomes so heavy that the priestess is no longer able to hold it. But whenever this is the case, she accuses the scourgers, and says, that she is thus oppressed through them;—so much is the image
THE DESCRIPTION

image delighted with human blood, on account of the sacrificers in Taurica. They call this goddess, too, not only Orthia, but Lygodemna, because the statue was found in a bush of willows: and it was so inclosed by them that it remained in an upright posture.

CHAP. XVII.

But the temple of Lucina is not far from that of Diana Orthia. They report that this temple was built, and that Lucina came to be considered as a goddess, in consequence of the Delphic oracle. The Lacedaemonians, however, have not a tower conspicuous for its elevation, in the same manner as the Cadmea of the Thebans, or the Larissa of the Argives. But as there are many hills in the city, they call the highest of these the tower. In this eminence there is a temple of Minerva, who is called Poliuchus and Chalciceus. Tyndareus, as they report, began to build this temple; and after his death his children attempted to finish it, and employed the spoils of Aphidna in its fabrication. However, as they died prior to its completion, the Lacedaemonians, many years after, built the temple, and made a statue of Minerva from brases. But the artificer was Gitiadas a native of Sparta, who composed Doric songs and a hymn to the goddess. Many too of the labours of Hercules are represented in brases; and many of his voluntary undertakings, which he brought to a happy conclusion.

But the other transactions of the children of Tyndareus, and their forcibly taking away the daughters of Leucippus, are here represented, together with Vulcan freeing his
his mother from her bonds; the particulars respecting all which I have already related in my description of the Attic affairs. Perseus, too, is represented here, directing his course to Africa against Medusa; and the Nymphs are seen giving him a helmet, and wings to his feet for the purpose of enabling him to pass through the air. And lastly, the particulars pertaining to the origin of Minerva, together with Amphitrite and Neptune, are accurately fabricated, and appear to me to excel the rest, and to be particularly worthy of inspection. After these, there is a temple of Minerva Ergane; and in that porch which is situated towards the south, there is a temple of Jupiter Cosmetas, and before it a monument of Tyndareus. But the porch which looks towards the west contains two eagles, upon each of which there is a Victory. These were the gifts of Lyfander; and were dedicated by him as monuments of a twofold victory which he obtained, viz. over Antiochus the governor of Alcibiades, and at the same time over the three-oared galleys of the Athenians; and afterwards at Ægospotamos, when he destroyed the Athenian fleet.

But on the left hand of Chalcioceus there is a temple of the Muses; because the Lacedæmonians march to battle, not to the sound of trumpets, but with the melody of pipes, the lyre, and the harp. Behind the Chalcioceus too there is a temple of Martial Venus, and the wooden statues which it contains are as ancient as those in any part of Greece. But on the right hand of Chalcioceus, there is a brazen statue of Jupiter, the most ancient of all the brazen works which this place contains: for the whole of this statue is not one continued work, but the parts were fabricated separately, and afterwards so aptly united together with
with nails, as not to be capable of dissolution. They report that Learchus of Rhegium made this statue, who, according to some, was the disciple of Dipænus and Scyllis, but, according to others, of Dædalus himself. In that place too which they call Scenoma, there is an image of a woman. The Lacedæmonians say, that this woman is Euryleonida, who obtained the victory in the Olympic contest of the two-yoked car. But near the altar of Chalcicæcus, there are two images of that Paufanias, who was general of the army in the battle at Platææ.

I shall not however at present relate the particulars respecting Paufanias, because they are known to every one. Besides, they may be read by those that have accurately written about his affairs. But I have heard from a certain Byzantian, that this Paufanias, having betrayed the trust committed to his charge, was alone of all the suppliants that fled to Chalcicæcus incapable of obtaining his pardon, and this for no other reason than that he could not purify himself from the stains of slaughter. For when he fixed his camp at the Hellespont, and was commander both of the Spartan fleet and that of their allies, he fell in love with a certain Byzantian virgin. As soon therefore as it was night, Cleonice (for that was the name of the virgin) was led to him; and Paufanias, who fell asleep before she arrived, was roused by a sudden noise: for as she was approaching towards him, she undesignedly dropt the burning lamp; and Paufanias, who, conscious of his own conduct in betraying Greece, was always harassed with distraction and terror, was then so much alarmed that he slew the virgin with a Persian scimitar. This was the deed, from the guilt of which Paufanias could never fly, though he employed all-various purifications, received
the deprecations of Jupiter Phyxius, and went to Phigalea to the Arcadian evocators of souls. He therefore suffered a just punishment for his behaviour towards Cleonice, and divinity itself. But the Lacedæmonians, by order of the Delphic oracle, have made brazen images, and venerate a daemon under the appellation of Epidote, who, they assert, averts from them the divine wrath arising from the rejected supplication of Pausanias.

CHAP. XVIII.

Near the statues of Pausanias there is a statue of Venus Ambologera (or the goddess who retards old age), which was dedicated in consequence of an oracle. There are also statues of Sleep and Death: and these two, according to the verses in the Iliad, are believed to be brothers. But on directing your course towards Alpius there is a temple of Minerva Ophthalmitis, which, as they report, was dedicated by Lycurgus, when he lost one of his eyes through Alexander, who was displeased with his laws. Lycurgus, therefore, flying for refuge to this place, was preserved by the Lacedæmonians from losing his other eye, and in grateful memorial of this, raised the temple of Minerva Ophthalmitis. Leaving this place you will perceive the temple of Ammon: and it appears, indeed, that the Lacedæmonians from the first used the Lybian oracle the most of all the Greeks. It is reported too, that Lyfander, when he besieged Aphytis, a town in Pallene, saw in a vision at night Ammon, who warned him, that it would be better, both for him and Lacedæmon, to desist from warring on the Aphytæi; and that, in consequence of this, Lyfander desisted.
THE DESCRIPTION

dismissed from all further hostilities, and caused the Lacedæmonians to venerate this divinity in an eminent degree.

The Aphytæi, indeed, reverence Ammon no less than the Ammonians that dwell in Lybia. But the particulars which are reported concerning Diana Cnagia, are as follow: Cnagea, a man who was a native of Sparta, came with the Dioscuri to the siege of Aphidna, but being taken captive in the battle and sold in Crete, he was a servant in that part which contains the temple of Diana. In course of time, however, he fled from his servitude, and a virgin, one of the priestesses of the temple, fled with him, taking away with her the statue of the goddess. And from this circumstance, as they report, Diana came to be called Cnagia. It appears to me, however, that this Cnageus came into Crete for a reason different from that assigned by the Lacedæmonians; since I do not think that there ever was any engagement at Aphidna, as Theseus was at that time detained in Theoprotia, and was not upon friendly terms with the Athenians, who were then more inclined to favour Menethus. And even admitting that an engagement took place, it does not appear probable, that any one of the victorious party should be enslaved, especially as the Lacedæmonians were so powerful from their victories, that they might have taken Aphidna itself. And thus much concerning particulars of this kind.

But on coming from Sparta to Amyclæ, you will see the river Tiafa: and they are of opinion, that Tiafa was the daughter of Eurotas. Near this river is the temple of the Graces, of Phaenna, and Cleta, who are rendered illustrious by the verses of Alcman. They believe, too, that
OF GREECE.

that Lacedæmon established this temple of the Graces, and likewise assigned the names. But the particulars in Amyclæ worthy of inspection are, first, a man standing on a pillow, whose name is Ænetus, and who contended in the quinquerium. This man being declared victor in the Olympic games, and receiving in consequence of this a crown, immediately died. Of him therefore there is an image; and besides this brazen tripods. But they report, that the ten more ancient tripods were taken in the war which they waged with the Messenians. Under the first of these tripods the statue of Venus stands; under the second that of Diana: and the tripods, with the works which they contain, were made by Gitiadas. But the third was made by Æginetes Callon; and under this Proserpine stands.

Again, Aristander the Parian made the image of the woman with a lyre, viz. Sparta; and Polycletus the Argive made the Venus, which is called with AMYCLÆUS. These tripods surpass the others in magnitude, and were dedicated on account of the victory at Ægospotamos. But the other gifts which are added to the throne, viz. the Graces, and the statue of Diana Lycoprone, were not only dedicated, but made by Bathycles Magnesius who made the throne of Amyclæus. I shall, however, omit relating from whom Bathycles learnt his art, or during whose reign at Sparta he made the throne. This throne I have seen myself, and shall therefore describe the ornaments which it contains. It is sustained then, both behind and before, by two Graces and as many Hours. But on the left hand, Hydra and Typhon are beheld; and on the right hand, the Tritons. It would be troublesome, indeed, to the reader, should I attempt to describe
describe accurately every particular about this throne, though otherwise there are many things which deserve to be well regarded by the acute observer. But Neptune and Jupiter carry Taygete the daughter of Atlas, and her sister Alcyone. Atlas himself too is carved, and the single contest of Hercules with Cyncus, together with the battle of the Centaurs with Pholus. I cannot, however, assign the reason why Bathycles has represented the Minotaur bound, and drawn along alive by Theseus.

In the same throne too there is a choir of the Phaeacians, and Demodocus singing; and the achievement of Perseus against Medea is represented. And not to mention the contest of Hercules with the giant Thurius, and of Tyndarus with Eurytus, you may there perceive the daughters of Leucippus forcibly taken away; Mercury carrying Bacchus while he was yet a boy to heaven; and Minerva leading Hercules to an association, from that time, with the gods. Besides these, Peleus is represented delivering Achilleus to be educated by Chiron; Cephalus is seen carried away by Aurora on account of his beauty; and the gods celebrating the marriage of Harmony with gifts. The single contest too of Achilles with Memnon is here represented; Hercules slaying Diomed king of Thrace, and Neffis, by the river Euenus; Mercury leading the godesses to take the judgment of Paris; and Adraustus and Tydeus causing the battle to cease between Amphiarous and Lycurgus the son of Pronax. Here likewise, Juno is seen looking at Io the daughter of Inachus changed into a cow; and Minerva flying from the pursuit of Vulcan. Besides these, you may see the exploits of Hercules against the Hydra orderly represented, together with his dragging the three-mouthed dog from

Hades.
OF GREECE.

Hades. Anaxias and Mnæinous too are seen on horseback; and Megapenthes and Niconstratus the sons of Menelaus are carried on the same horse.

Here too you may behold Bellerophon slaying the Lycian savage, and Hercules driving along the oxen of Geryon. But on the higher extremities of the throne, the sons of Tyndarus are seated on horseback, on each side: and beneath the horses there are sphynxes, and wild beasts running above them, viz. a panther against Castor, and a lioness against Pollux. On the highest part too of the throne there is a choir of the Magnetæs, who assisted Bathycles in fabricating the throne. But if you go under the throne, in order to behold its more interior parts; you will first of all see, in the place where the Tritons are represented, the hunting of the Calydonian boar; Hercules slaying the sons of Actæon; Calais and Zetes driving away the harpies from Phineus; Pirithous and Theseus forcibly taking away Helen; Hercules strangling the lion; and Apollo and Diana piercing Tityus with their arrows. Here are likewise to be seen the battle of Hercules with Oeneus the Centaur, and of Theseus with the Minotaur; and again the battle of Hercules with Achelous; and the particulars reported about Juno, viz., that she was bound by Vulcan. After these the games are represented which Acastus established, and the particulars which are related in the Odyssey about Menelaus and the Egyptian Proteus. And lastly, Admetus is seen yoking a boar and a lion to a car; and the Trojans are carrying funeral sacrifices to Hector.
THE DESCRIPTION

CHAP. XIX.

But the throne, in that part which was prepared for the god to sit on, is not throughout continuous, but has many seats, and between each there is a considerable interval. Of these the middle is the broadest and contains a statue, the magnitude of which I do not find delivered by any one. It appears however to me, to be about thirty cubits. This was not the work of Bathycles; for it is ancient, and made without art; and, except the face, the extremities of the feet and the hands, the whole is similar to a brazen pillar. The statue has a helmet on its head, and a lance and bow in its hands. But the base of the statue is in the form of an altar, and is said to contain the dead body of Hyacinthus. Indeed, before they sacrifice to Apollo, they perform funeral rites to Hyacinthus upon this altar, through a brazen door which is in the left side of the altar. The carvings in this altar are as follow: The statues of Biris, Amphitrite and Neptune; Jupiter and Mercury discoursing with each other; near them Bacchus and Semele, and Ino next to Semele.

In this altar too there are Ceres, Proserpine and Pluto; together with these, the Parcae and the Hours; and to these are added Venus, Minerva, and Diana. These divinities are represented carrying to heaven Hyacinthus and his sister Polyboea, who, as they report, died while she was a virgin. This statue too of Hyacinthus has a beard; and Nicias Nicomedensis has represented him, in his painting, as a remarkably elegant figure; and at the same time has signified the love of Apollo towards him.

Besides
OF GREECE.

Besides these, Hercules may be seen in this altar, led to heaven by Minerva and the other gods. You may behold too the daughters of Theslius, the Muses, and the Hours. But the particulars which are related of the wind Zephyr, and how Hyacinthus was involuntarily slain by Apollo, and likewise concerning the flower, were perhaps far different from the general report.

But Amycla, which was subverted by the Dorienfes, and which is at present a village, contains a temple of Alexandra, and a statue, both which deserve to be inspected. The Amyclænenses report, that this Alexandra is Cassandra the daughter of Priam. In this place too there is an image of Clytemnestra, and a statue of Agamemnon which is considered as his sepulchre. The inhabitants of this place venerate Amyclæus and Bacchus, whom, in my opinion, they very properly denominate Pīla. For the Dorienfes call wings Pīla: and men are no less elevated by wine, than birds by wings. And such are the particulars among the Amyclænenses which deserve to be related.

But another way from the city leads to Therapne. In this road there is a wooden statue of Minerva Alea: and before you have passed over the Eurotas, a little above the bank, you will perceive the temple of Jupiter the Opulent. But when you have passed over the river, the temple of Cotylæus Æsculapius presents itself to the view, which was raised by Hercules, who denominated Æsculapius Cotyleus, because in a former battle with Hippocoon and his children he received a wound in the cotyle or hip. The temple of Mars, however, is the most ancient of every thing which is extant in this road; and the image of the god, which is on the left hand in the road, is reported
THE DESCRIPTION

to have been brought from Colchi by the Dioscuri. This statue they call Therita from Thero, who is said to have been the nurse of Mars. Perhaps, however, the name Therita is Colchian; for the Greeks do not know of any Thero the nurse of Mars. Indeed, it appears to me, that this appellation was not given to Mars from his nurse, but because in an engagement with an enemy it is necessary to be no longer mild. Just as Homer says respecting Achilles:

"His looks are as the lion's fierce.—"

But Therapne, the name of the country, was derived from the daughter of Lelex. In this place there is a temple of Menelaus: and they report, that Menelaus and Helen are buried here. The Rhodians, however, do not correspond in their report with the Lacedaemonians: for they say, that Helen, after the death of Menelaus, and while Orestes was yet wandering, being expelled the country by Nicostratus and Megapenthes, came to Rhodes to Polyxo, the wife of Tlepolemus, and a woman adapted to her circumstances at that time. For Polyxo was herself an Argive, and having prior to this been married to Tlepolemus, fled with him to Rhodes; and after his death governed the island and educated the son which he left her. They report, therefore, that this Polyxo being desirous to revenge the death of Tlepolemus on Helen, as soon as Helen was in her power, sent her servants to her, as she was bathing, in the habits of the Furies; and these women seizing Helen, hung her on a tree; and, in memorial of this event, the Rhodians have dedicated a temple to Helen Dendritis.

I shall now therefore relate what the Crotoniatae report
port concerning Helen, and to which the Himæri also assent. In the Euxine sea then, near the exit of the Ister, there is an island sacred to Achilles; and which is called Leuce. This island is about twenty stadia in extent, is thick set with trees, and is full of savage and tame animals. It contains too a temple and a statue of Achilles; and Crotoniates Leonymus is said to have been the first that failed into it. For when the Crotonians warred on the Italian Locrians, the Locrians, in consequence of their familiarity with the Opuntii, called Ajax the son of Oileus to the battle; and Leonymus, who was the general of the Crotonians, attacking that part of the enemy's army which he heard was led on by Ajax, received a wound in the breast. As he suffered, therefore, very much from this wound, he came to Delphos in order to procure relief; and the Pythian oracle gave him for answer, that if he failed to the island Leuce, Ajax would devise a remedy for his wound. In process of time therefore he was cured, and, returning home, reported that he had seen Achilles, together with Ajax the son of Oileus and Ajax Telamon; that Patroclus and Antilochus associated with these; that Helen was married to Achilles; and that she had ordered him, when he failed to Himera, to tell Steichoros, that the loss of his fight happened to him through the anger of Helen. And in consequence of this, Steichoros composed the verses which they call a recantation.
THE DESCRIPTION

CHAP. XX.

In Therapne too I have seen the fountain Meffeis. Some of the Lacedæmonians, however, assert, that this is not the fountain which was called by the ancients Meffeis, but that which is at present called Polydeucea. But the fountain Polydeucea, and the temple of Pollux, are on the right hand of that road which leads to Therapne. Not far too from Therapne there is a place called Ephebeum, and in it a temple of the Dioscuri; and in this place the youth sacrifice to Enyalian Mars. Again, not far from hence there is a temple of Neptune, under the appellation of Gæaunchus, or the earth containing god. On proceeding from hence, as if going to Taygetus, there is a place called Alefia, in which, as they report, Myleta the son of Lelex first invented a hand mill, and taught the inhabitants how to grind corn with it. Here too the Lacedæmonians have raised an heroic monument to the son of Taygete. But when you have crossed over the river Phillias, and direct your course as if in a right line to the sea, you will arrive at Pharis, in the Laconic land, and which was once inhabited. And on departing from Phillias, there is a road on the right hand, which leads to the mountain Taygetus. In the plain about this mountain, there is a temple of Jupiter Messapeus; which appellation was derived from the name of a man who sacrificed to the god.

On leaving Taygetus too, you will arrive at a town which was formerly the city Brïsæ. In this place there is even yet a temple of Bacchus, and certain statues in the open
OF GREECE.

open air. But the statues which the temple contains, the women alone are permitted to behold. The women, too, alone perform sacrifices in the arcane recesses of the temple. But Taletum, which is the summit of Taygetus, raiseth itself above Bryseè. They call this sacred to the sun: and in this place they sacrifice, among other things, horses to the sun. The same sacrifice, too, is I know reported to be adopted by the Persians. But not far from Taletum, there is a thicket which is called Euoras, and which among other wild beasts nourisheth sylvan goats. Taygetus too affords great plenty throughout, of these goats, of boars, stags and bears. But the place between Taletum and Euoras is denominated Thera. Not far too from the summits of Taygetus there is a temple of Ceres Eleusinia: and the Lacedæmonians report, that Hercules was concealed in this temple, while he was healed of a wound by Æsculapius. In this temple there is a statue of Orpheus, which, as they report, was the work of the Pelasgi. I likewise know other sacred rites which are performed here, and which are different from those at Eleusis.

But near the sea there was a town called Helos, and which is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue of the Lacedæmonians:

"Those whom Amycla holds, and those who dwell
*In Helos, bord'ring on the briny main."

Helius the youngest son of Perseus brought hither a colony: and the Dorians afterwards besieged and took the city. The inhabitants too of this city were the first public servants of the Lacedæmonians, and were first called Hilotæ, from the place of their birth. Afterwards, whatever servant the Dorians possessed, although he might be
THE DESCRIPTION

be a Messenian, they called an Hilot; just as the whole tribe of Greeks was called Hellas, from Hellas which was once a part of Thessaly. But from this town, which as we have observed was formerly called Helos, they carry, on stated days, the image of Proserpine to Eleusinum: and a place called Lapithaeum is distant from Eleusinum about fifteen stadia, and was so called from a native whose name was Lapithes. Lapithaeum therefore is in Taygetus, and not far from it is Derrhion, in which place there is a statue in the open air of Diana Derrhiaitis, and near it a fountain which they call Anonus. But on leaving Derrhion, at about the distance of twenty stadia, you will arrive at the Harplea, which extend as far as to the plain. And on proceeding from Sparta to Arcadia, you will see a statue in the open air, of Minerva, who is called Pareu. After this there is a temple of Achilles, which it is unlawful to open; but such of the youth as are about to contend in Platauiflus, sacrifice to Achilles, prior to their engagement. The Spartans report that Prax, the great-grandson of Pergamus the son of Neoptolemus, built this temple.

On proceeding a little farther, you will see the sepulchre of Hippos, as it is called, or the horse: for Tyndareus having in this place sacrificed a horse, ordered the suitors of Helen to stand by the entrails, and swear upon them. But the oath which they took was this: that they would assist Helen, and those that should marry Helen, if any injury should be offered to either. And after they had taken the oath, they buried the horse in this place. Not far from hence there are seven pillars raised in memorial of this affair, after the manner of the ancients, as it appears to me, and which they say are images of the seven
OF GREECE.

seven planets. Along this road there is a grove of Cranius, which is called Stemnatius. There is also a temple of Diana Mysia. But the statue of Shame is distant from the city about thirty stadia, is said to have been dedicated by Icarius, and to have been made on the following account: When Icarius gave Penelope in marriage to Ulysses, he tried whether Ulysses was willing to reside in Lacedaemon: but failing in his expectations, he entreated his daughter to remain with him. When Ulysses, too, departed for Ithaca, Icarius pursued his chariot, and having at length by his importunity vanquished his resistance, Ulysses freely permitted Penelope either to follow him, or return to Lacedaemon with her father. They report, that Penelope made no reply to the offer of Ulysses, but veiled her face; and that Icarius perceiving she was more inclined to Ulysses, suffered her to depart with him. In consequence of this, they dedicated, as they report, a statue of Shame in that part of the road in which Penelope veiled her face.

CHAP. XXI.

On proceeding to the distance of about twenty stadia from hence, you will arrive at the river Eurotas, which flows very near this road. Here there is a monument of Ladas, who in swiftness of foot surpassed all the men of his time. In the Olympic games, he was crowned for having ran a longer race than usual. And, as it appears to me, being exhausted with his victory, he was immediately brought hither, and dying here, was buried above the public road. But a person of the same name with
THE DESCRIPTION

with Ladas, and who also was victor in the Olympic games, though not in the longer race, but in the stadion, was one Achivus of Ægium, as is testified by the written accounts of those Eleans who were victors in the Olympic games. But on directing your course as if towards Pellana, you will arrive at a place called Characoma. In former times, the city Pellana was near this place, in which Tyndareus is said to have dwelt, when he abandoned Sparta in consequence of flying from Hippocoon and his sons. In this place I have seen the temple of Æsculapius, and the fountain Pellaris, which well deserve to be inspected. They report, that a virgin fell into this fountain, as she was drawing water, and that her veil was found in another fountain called Lancea. A place called Belemina is distant from Pellana about one hundred stadia; and is watered more than any other place in the Laconic region, as the water of the river Eurotas flows through it. Fountains too are contained here in great abundance.

But on descending to the sea, to Gytheum, you will arrive at a village belonging to the Lacedæmonians, of the name of Croceæ. The stone quarries in this place do not consist of one continued stone, but stones are dug out of them similar to such as are found in rivers, and which might be employed to advantage by artificers in adorning the temples of the gods. These stones, too, greatly contribute to the ornament of fish-ponds and fountains. Before this village a stone statue stands of Jupiter Croceatus; and near the stone-quarries there are brazen statues of the Dioscuri. On leaving Croceæ and turning on the right hand from the direct road to Gytheum, you will arrive at a small town called Ægiæ. They assert, that this town is called by Homer, Augeæ. There is a marsh here, which
OF GREECE.

which is called by the name of Neptune; and near it there is a temple, and a statue of the god. But they are afraid to fish in this lake, because it is reported, that those who catch the fish which it contains will be changed themselves into fishes. Gytheum is distant from Ægrie about thirty stadia: and the Eleutherolacones dwell about its maritime parts, who were liberated from the yoke of slavery imposed on them by the Lacedæmonians, by the emperor Augustus.

The whole of Peloponnesus too is surrounded by the sea, except that part which contains the isthmus of the Corinthians. But the Laconic sea produces shell-fish, from which purple is procured for the purpose of dying garments, and which is next in excellency to the Tyrian purple. There are eighteen cities of these Eleutherolacones; the first of which, on descending from Ægrie to the sea, is Gytheum; afterwards Teuthrone, Las, Pyrrhicius, follow; near Tanarus, Caenopolis, Oetylos, Leucéra, Thalamæ, Alagonia, Gerenia, are situated; and beyond Gytheum and near the sea, Afopus, Acria, Bocæ, Zaraz, Epidaurus (which is called Limera), Brasia, Geronthæ, and Marios. And these are all the cities which are left of the Eleutherolacones, out of twenty-four, which was their number at first. But the other towns belonging to Sparta, which I shall mention, do not use the same laws as those I have already described. The Gytheatæ too do not refer their origin to any mortal, but report that Hercules and Apollo, when they contended about the tripod, after their dispute was at an end, built the city in common. Hence the statues of Apollo and Hercules are placed in the forum belonging to these people: and near these divinities, there is a statue of Bacchus. But in a different
ferent part of the forum, there is a statue of Apollo Car·
nias, a temple of Ammon, and a brazen statue of Æs-
culapius. The temple itself is without a roof: and to-
gether with this temple, there is a fountain sacred to the
god, a holy temple of Ceres, and a statue of Neptune
Gæauchus. But that person who is called by the Gythe-
uteæ old, and is said to dwell in the sea, is, I find, no
other than Nereus: and Homer in his Iliad, in the fol-
lowing speech of Thetis, gave rise to this appellation:

"Within the spacious bosom of the sea
Ye Nereids now withdraw! and there attend
The old marine, and mansion of our Sire."

In this region too there are gates, which they call the
Castrides: and in the tower there is a temple and statue
of Minerva.

C H A P. XXII.

From Gytheum, at about the distance of three stadis,
there is a stone which they call Sluggis. They report, that
Orestes was cured of his infancy by sitting on this stone:
and on this account the stone is called Jupiter Captotes
in the Doric tongue. But the island Cranae is situated
opposite to Gytheum, in which place, according to Ho-
mer, Paris who carried away Helen first slept with her.
Near this island, too, in the continent, there is a temple
of Venus Migonitis, and the whole place is called Mi-
gonium. They report, that this temple was raised by Pa-
ris. But Menelaus having returned safe home, in the
eighth year after the destruction of Troy, dedicated near
the temple of Venus Migonitis, a statue of Thetis and of
the
OF GREECE. 321

the goddefs Praxidica, or the Avenger. There is a mountain too, sacred to Bacchus, above Migonium, which they call Laryium: and in this place, when the spring commences, they celebrate a festival to Bacchus; assigning, among other causes of the sacred institution, the discovery of a ripe grape on this mountain. But on the left hand of Gythium, and at the distance of about thirty stadia, you will see in the continent the walls of Trinaus. The place, however, appears to me to have been formerly a castle, and not a town: and I am of opinion, that its name was derived from the three small islands opposite to the shore.

At about the distance, too, of eighty stadia from Trinaus, the ruins of Helos still remain: and thirty stadia from hence, the city Acriæ is situated near the sea. In this place there is a temple of the Mother of the Gods, and a statue of stone, which deserve to be inspected. The inhabitants of Acriæ affirm, that this is the most ancient of all the works among the Peloponnesians, which are dedicated to the Mother of the Gods. For the Magnesii who inhabit that part of Sipylus which is near the north, upon a stone which they call Codinus, have a statue of the Mother of the Gods the most ancient of all; and they report that this was made by Broteas the son of Tantalus. But there was a man among the Acriatae, whose name was Nicoles Olympionice, who was twice victor in the course, and five times in the chariot-race: and there is a monument raised to him, between the gymnasion and that part of the walls which joins to the port. Above Acriæ too, at the distance of about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea, is the city Geronthrae, which was subverted by the Dorians who possessed Lacedaemon, and was inhabited by them prior to the arrival of Vol. I. Y
the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. The Dprienfes too, after having expelled the ancient inhabitants, introduced a colony of their own. At present, however, this city is a part of the dominions of the Eleutherolacones.

But, in the way which leads from Acriæ to Geronthræ, there is a town which is called Ancient. In Geronthræ too there is a temple, and a grove of Mars. Every year they celebrate a festival to the god, during which women are forbidden to enter the grove. About the forum there are fountains of sweet water: and in the tower there is a temple of Apollo, and an ivory head of the statue of the god; for the fire has consumed the other parts of the statue, together with the former temple. But Marios, another town of the Eleutherolacones, is distant from Geronthræ about one hundred stadia. In this place there is an ancient temple common to all the gods; and about it there is a grove watered with fountains. There are fountains too in the temple of Diana; and Marios is remarkable for the water with which it abounds. But there is a town called Glyppia above Marios, and which is situated in the moft interior part of the country: and there is a way of twenty stadia in length which leads to another town of Geronthræ, called Selinuntes. And such are the places which have a more interior situation, as you ascend from Acriæ to the continent.

Again, with respect to the places near the sea, the city Afopus is distant from Acriæ about sixty stadia. In this city there is a temple of the Roman emperors; and above the city, at the distance of twelve stadia there is a temple of Æsculapius. They denounce the god Phiblauæ, or a lover of the people: and the bones which are honoured in the gymnasium,
OF GREECE.

Though of a surpassing magnitude, are nevertheless the bones of a man. In the tower too there is a temple of Minerva Cyparissia: and towards the bottom part of the tower there are ruins of a city, which is called the Achaian Paracyparisiae. Besides, in this country there is a temple of Æsculapius, which is about fifty stadia distant from Asopus: and the place in which this temple is contained is called Hyperteleaton. But a promontory, which is distant from Asopus about two hundred stadia, extends itself into the sea, and is called the jaw-bone of an afo. This promontory contains a temple of Minerva, which is without a statue and a roof, and is said to have been made by Agamemnon. There is also a monument here of Cinadus, who was the pilot of Menelaus.

But after this promontory, that which is called the Boeatic bay pours itself forth: and the city Boæx is situated towards the extremity of this bay. It was built by Boæus, one of the sons of Hercules, who brought a colony into it from the three cities Etis, Aphrodias, and Sida. They report, that Æneas, while he was flying to Italy, being shipwrecked by a storm, built two of these ancient cities, one of which he called the name of the daughter of Etias; and the third city, as they say, was denominated from Sida the daughter of Danaus. The exiles from these cities, enquiring where it would be proper for them to fix their habitation, received for answer, that Diana would shew them where they should build a city. After this a hare started forth to their view, which they followed as a guide; and she hiding herself in a myrtle, they built a city in the very place where the myrtle grew, and even at present venerate this tree, and call Diana the Saviour. But there is a temple of Apollo in the forum of the Boeans:...
and the ruins of the temples of Serapis and Isis are about
seven stadia distant from Boeae. On directing your course
to these ruins, you will see on the left hand a stone statue
of Mercury: and among the ruins you may perceive a tem-
ple of Aesculapius and Health.

C H A P. XXIII.

Cythera is situated opposite to Boeae: and the dis-
tance by sea from that promontory which, as we have
observed, is called the jaw-bone of an ass, and the pro-
montory Platanistuntes, is about forty stadia; for in this
part the island is at the least distance from the con-
tinent. But in Cythera there is a haven called Scandea,
in the parts by the sea: and the city Cythera is distant
from this haven about ten stadia. This place contains
a most holy temple of Venus Urania, or the Celestial,
which is the most ancient and sacred of all those which
are dedicated by the Greeks to Venus: and the statue of
the goddess is armed. But on sailing from Boeae to those
places which are above the promontory Malea, you may
perceive a lake, which they call Nymbeum: and near
this there is a statue of Neptune in an upright position,
and a cavern near the sea, in which there is a fountain of
sweet water. This place is much inhabited. After you
have sailed by the promontory Malea, at about the dis-
tance of one hundred stadia, there is a place in the
borders of the Boeae, and in it a temple of Apollo,
whom they call Epidelium: for the statue of Apollo which
remains at present was formerly dedicated at Delos. For
OF GREECE.

at that time when Delos was the emporium of all Greece, and by its religious veneration of divinity had obtained perfect security, Menophanes, who led the forces of Mithridates, either from his own natural insolence, or impelled by Mithridates (for a man wholly given to gain will consider divine concerns as subordinate to wealth); this Menophanes then, with a fleet of three-oared galleys, invaded the island when it was destitute both of walls and arms. In consequence of this, he easily conquered the city, and slew both the foreigners that dwelt there at that time and the Delians themselves. He likewise plundered the wealth of the merchants and the offerings suspended in temples, enslaved the women and children, and overturned Delos from its foundations.

In the eagerness too of their depredations, one of these Barbarians insolently threw this image of Apollo into the sea; and the waves rolling it into these borders of the Bœotæ, occasioned the place to be called Epidæulum. However, neither Menophanes nor Mithridates could escape the anger of the god. For, after the subversion of Delos, as Menophanes was returning home by sea, his ships were attacked by the merchants whom he had plundered, and he himself was slain by them: and the god compelled Mithridates to destroy himself, in consequence of losing his kingdom and being driven about every where by the Romans. There are some too who report, that he procured one of the Barbarians for a sum of money as a reward to slay him. And such was the punishment which these men suffered for their impiety.

But Epidaurus, which is called Limera, borders on the Bœotæ, and is distant from Epidæulum about two hundred stadia. They report, however, that this place is not

\[ \text{a colony} \]
THE DESCRIPTION

a colony of the Lacedæmonians, but of those Epidaurians that dwell in Argolis. For when the ambassadors, who were publicly sent by the Epidaurians into the island Coos to Aesculapius, landed in this part of the Laconic region, in consequence of certain admonitions in a dream, they made this the place of their abode. They farther report too, that the dragon, which they had brought with them from Epidaurus, fled from the ship, and concealed itself in a cavern not far from the sea; and that, in consequence of this prodigy and certain visions in a dream, it appeared to them that they ought to fix their habitation in this place. But where the dragon descended, altars to Aesculapius are erected; and wild olive-trees grow round the altars.

Again, on proceeding to the right hand, to the distance of about two stadia, you will perceive the water of Ino, as it is called. The circumference of this lake is but small, but its depth is considerable. Into this water, during the festival of Ino, they cast baked cakes, which if the water retains, they consider it as a fortunate omen to the person who threw them into the lake; but the contrary if the water sends them back again. The bowls or cups of mount Ætna too are said to possess the same prophetic power: for they throw into these, things wrought from gold and silver, and sacred offerings of every kind, which if the fire absorbs, they rejoice as in a fortunate circumstance; but if it rejects them, they consider it as an ill omen to the person by whom they were thrown. But near the way which leads from Boeae to Limera Epidaurus, there is a temple of Diana Limnatis in the borders of the Epidaurians. The city itself, however, presents itself to the view, not far from the sea, in an elevated place, and
and contains the following particulars worthy of inspection: a temple of Venus, and a temple of Æsculapius, in which there is a stone statue in an upright position; a temple of Minerva, in the tower; and before the port, a temple of Jupiter, under the appellation of the Saviour. A promontory too called Minoa, near the city, extends as far as to the sea; and the bay, in this part, is in no respect different from the other irruptions of the sea, which take place about the Laconie region. But the shore in this part abounds with pebbles, which are both elegant in their figure, and beautiful for the variety of colours which they possess.

C H A P. XXIV.

ZARAX too is distant from Epidaurus about twenty stadia. This place has a harbour very well adapted to sailors, but, of all the cities of the Eleutherolacones, has been the most oppressed. For Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes, and the grandson of Agesipolis, alone subverted this, of all the Laconic cities. Of this Cleonymnus I shall speak in another part of this work. In Zara there is nothing remarkable; but in the extremity of the port there is a temple of Apollo, and a statue holding a harp. But on departing from hence towards the sea, to the distance of about six stadia, and returning from thence to the most inland parts, at the distance of ten stadia, the ruins of the Cyphantes (for so those people are called) present themselves to the view. Among these there is a temple of Æsculapius, with a stone statue. There is also a fountain of cold water, which leaps from a rock: and
they report that Atalanta, being thirsty as she was hunting in this place, struck the rock with her spear, and thus caused the water to flow. The town Braiaë too is situated in the extremity of this part of the Eleutherolacitian dominions, near the sea; and is distant about two hundred stadia from Cyphantæ. The inhabitants of this place report things different from all the rest of the Greeks; and these are as follow:

Semele brought forth a son from Jupiter, and Cadmus detecting the affair, threw Bacchus into a chest, which, being cast into the sea and tossed about by the waves, was at length thrown on their coast. Here Semele, who died after her delivery, was magnificently buried; and Bacchus was taken care of, and educated. On this account their city, which till that time was called Oreatæ, by a mutation of name was denominated Braiaë, and this from the ark being thrown on that coast. Just as even at present the vulgar say of any thing which is thrown by the sea on the land, that it has been ejected by the waves of the sea. The Braiastæ too, further add, that Ino during her wanderings came into their country, and that when she came there, she was willing to become the nurse of Bacchus. They slew the cavern too where Ino nursed Bacchus, and call the plain which contains the cavern, the garden of Bacchus.

But of the temples in this place, one is sacred to Alcucapius, and the other to Achilles, to whom they every year celebrate a festival. There is likewise a small promontory in Braiaë, which gradually extends itself to the sea; and on it brazen hats are placed, which are not larger than those which are worn on the head. I do not know whether they consider these as belonging to the Dioscuri.
OF GREECE.

Oscuri, or to the Corybantes. There are, however, three
hats; and with these there is a statue of Minerva. But
on the right hand of Gytheum there is a place called
Las, which is distant from the sea ten stadia, and forty
from Gytheum. That part which lies between the three
mountains Ilius, Ama, and Cnacadius, is at present inha-
bited, though formerly this city was situated on the top of
mount Asia; and even now the ruins of the ancient city
are to be seen; and before the walls there is a statue of
Hercules and a trophy raised on account of the Macedo-
nians, who were a part of the army of Philip when he
invaded the Laconic region, and who, wandering from the
rest of the army, laid waste the maritime part of the
country.

Among these ruins there is a temple of Minerva, who
is called Asia; and this they report was raised by Castor
and Pollux, on their returning safe from the Colchian
expedition; for there was a temple of Minerva Asia among
the Colchians. I very well know, indeed, that the sons
of Tyndareus partook of Jason's expedition; but that the
Colchi worshipped Minerva Asia, I alone commit to writ-
ing from the report of the Lacedaemonians. But near
the city which is inhabited at present, there is a foun-
tain which is called Cagaço, from the colour of the
water; and near the fountain, there is a gymnasium,
which contains an ancient statue of Mercury. With re-
spect to the mountains, too, in that which is called Ilius
there is a temple of Bacchus, and on its summit a temple
of Æsculapius. But in the mountain Cnacadius there is
a temple of Apollo Carneus. And a place called Hyp-
sos, in the borders of the Spartans, is distant from Car-
neus about thirty stadia, and contains a temple of Æs-
culapius,
culapius, and of Diana who is called Daphnæa. Near the sea too, and in the promontory, there is a temple of Diana Diçlynna, to whom they celebrate a festival every year.

But on the left hand of this promontory, the river Smenos pours itself into the sea, and affords a water remarkably sweet. The fountains of this river are in the mountain Taygetus, and it is distant from the city not more than five stadia. In a place too which is called Arainus, there is a sepulchre of La, and a statue upon the sepulchre. They report that this town was built by La, who was slain by Achilles; and they add, that Achilles came to this place when he demanded of Tyndareus Helen in marriage. "The truth of the case however is, that La was slain by Patroclus, as he was one of the suiters of Helen. Indeed, that Achilles never desired Helen in marriage, may be inferred from hence, that, in the Catalogue of Women, there is no mention of Achilles. But Homer in the beginning of his Iliad informs us, that Achilles came to Troy, merely from his regard to the children of Atreus, and not induced by the oaths of Tyndareus. The same poet too, in describing the funeral games, introduces Antilochus asserting that Ulysses is older than him; and when Ulysses relates to Alcinous what he saw in Hades, he informs him, among other things, that he saw Perithous and Theseus, who lived in an age prior to his. And we know, indeed, that Helen was forcibly taken away by Theseus; so that it cannot by any means be admitted that Achilles was one of the suitors of Helen.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XXV.

ON proceeding from this monument you will perceive a river pouring itself into the sea, the name of which is Scyras. This river was formerly without a name, and was then first denominated, when Pyrrhus the son of Achilles entered into it with a fleet, as he was failing from Scyros to the nuptials of Hermione. Beyond the river too there is an ancient temple, separate from the altar of Jupiter. And in the most inland parts, at the distance of forty stadia, you may perceive the town Pyrrhicus. According to some, this town was denominated from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles; but according to others, from the god Pyrrhus, who is one of the Curetes. There are also some who assert, that Silenus, when he left Malea, dwelt in this place. And that Silenus, indeed, was brought up in Malea, is evident from the following verses of Pindar:

Strenuous in the dance to beat
Tuneful measures with his feet,
Silenus, who in Malea erit
Nais' husband careful nurt.

But Pindar does not any where assert that Silenus was called Pyrrhicus, though this is reported by the inhabitants of Malea.

But in the forum of Pyrrhicus there is a well, which the inhabitants are of opinion was given to them by Silenus. If this well should ever be dried up, they would labour under a great scarcity of water. The Pyrrhicii
332 THE DESCRIPTION

have in their land a temple of Diana Astratea, who came
to be so denominated, because the army of the Amazons
stopped its march in this place. There is also a temple
of Amazonian Apollo. Both the statues are of wood; and
are said to have been dedicated by the women that came
from Thermodon. But on descending from Pyrrhicus to the
sea, you will arrive at the town Teuthrone. The inhabi-
tants report, that this town was built by the Athenian
Teuthras; and they worship, above all the divinities, Diana
Iforia. They have also a fountain called Naia. The pro-
montory Tænarum too extends into the sea, at the dis-
tance of one hundred and fifty stadia from Teuthrone;
and beneath it are the ports Achilleus and Paphamathus. But
in the promontory there is a temple similar to a cavern;
and before it is a statue of Neptune. Some of the Greeks
relate, in their verses, that Hercules drew up through this
the dog of Pluto, though the cavern has not any subterranea
passage; nor is it very easy to be persuaded, that
there is a certain subterranean habitation of the gods,
into which souls are collected.

Hecatæus, indeed, the Miletian, asserts with great pro-
probability, that a dreadful serpent was nourished in this
cavern, and that he was called the dog of Pluto, because
the venom of his bite was always productive of death.
He adds, that Hercules drew up this serpent by the com-
mand of Eurytheus. But Homer, who first called that
which Hercules drew up, the dog of Hades, neither calls
this animal by any name, nor does he feign any thing
concerning his figure, as he does concerning the Chimæra.
But writers posterior to Homer have called this animal
Cerberus; and assimilating his other parts to those of a
dog, have asserted that he had three heads. Homer,
however,
OF GREECE.

however, by the dog of Hades may be supposed to signify an animal not more familiar to the human species than a dragon.

But there are other sacred offerings in Tænarum, and Arion, the harper, sitting on a Dolphin. And the particulars respecting Arion and the dolphin Herodotus relates, as what he himself heard, in his account of the Lydian affairs. I, indeed, have seen in Paroschebe a dolphin, who was the cause of safety to a boy, because he healed him of a wound which he had received from the fishermen, and who would attend on the boy when he called him, and carry him on his back wherever he pleased. There is also in Tænarum a fountain which does not contain any thing wonderful to behold at present, but which formerly, as they report, afforded the prospect of ports and ships to those who looked within it. This effect of the water was destroyed by a woman washing in it a polluted garment. On failing from this promontory to the distance of about forty stadia, you will arrive at the town Cænepolis, which was formerly called Tænarum. In this town there is a temple of Ceres, and near the sea a temple of Venus, which contains a statue in an upright position. On departing from hence to the distance of thirty stadia, you will see the vertex of Tænarum, which is called Thyrides, and the ruins of the city Hippola, among which there is a temple of Minerva Hippolaitis. The city Messa, and a port, are at a little distance from hence; and there are about one hundred and fifty stadia between this port and Oetylum. But the hero, from whom this city was denominated, was an Argive, and was the son of Amphianax, and the grandson
THE DESCRIPTION

of Antimachus. There is a temple too in Oetylum, which
deserves to be inspected; and in the forum a statue of
Carnean Apollo.

C H A P. XXVI.

AGAIN, from Oetylum to Thalamae there is a road
of nearly eighty stadia in length. In this road there is a
temple and oracle of Ino; and prophecies are delivered
here in sleep; for the goddess answers such as consult her
by dreams. But there are brazen statues in that part of
the temple which stands in the open air, one of Paphia,
and another of the Sun. That which is contained, how-
ever, in the inward part of the temple cannot be clearly
seen, on account of the crowns which conceal it; though
it is reported to be made of brass. But water flows here
from a sacred fountain, which is pleasant to drink, and
which they call the water of the moon. Paphia, indeed,
is not the native divinity of the Thalamae. A maritime
city too, called Paphnos, is distant about twenty stadia
from Thalamae. A small island is adjacent to this place,
which is not larger than a great stone. This also is called
Paphnos; and the Thalamae report, that the Dioscuri
were born in this place. Indeed I know that Alcman
asserts this in his verses. The Thalamae, however, do
not assert that the Dioscuri were educated in Paphnos, but
that they were brought to Pellana by Mercury. In this
island there are brazen statues of the Dioscuri, in the open
air, which are not more than a foot in length: and these
statues are not moved out of their place, though the sea,
during
OF GREECE.

during the winter, vehemently shakes the stone on which they stand. This indeed is a prodigy: nor is this less, that the ants here appear to be whiter than the usual colour of these insects.

The Messenians report, that this island formerly belonged to them: and on this account, they are of opinion that the Dioscuri belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians. But Leuctra is distant from Pepnous about twenty stadia. And with respect to the name of this city, I am ignorant of its origin; though, if it was denominated from Leucippus the son of Perieres, as the Messenians say, it appears to me that this is the reason why they reverence Æsculapius more than all the other gods, as they are of opinion that he was the son of Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus. There is a stone statue of Æsculapius here, and in a different part, of Ino. There is also a temple of Cassandra the daughter of Priam; a statue which is called Alexandra by the natives; and statues of Apollo Carneus, who is honoured by these people in the same manner as by the Lacedaemonians in Sparta. In the tower too there is a temple and statue of Minerva: and the Leucrians have a temple and grove of Love, through which water flows in the winter. But the leaves which fall from the trees are not carried to any other place by the inundation of the water. I shall too relate what I am certain happened in my time, in the maritime part of Leuctra. The wind having driven a fire into the wood, burnt a great number of the trees; and in that part which was laid bare by the fire, a statue of Ithomatas Jupiter was found, placed like a dedicated statue. The Messenians make use of this circumstance as an evidence that Leuctra formerly belonged to them. It is
THE DESCRIPTION

is, however, possible, that the Lacedaemonians might from the first have inhabited Leuctra, and that they might have worshipped Jupiter Ithomatas.

Cardamyle, indeed, which is mentioned by Homer in his enumeration of Agamemnon's gifts, is in subjection to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta; Augustus Caesar having separated this place from Messenia. But Cardamyle is distant from the sea eight stadia, and from Leuctra sixty. In this place, not far from the shore, there is a grove sacred to the daughters of Nereus, into which, they report, these Nymphs ascended from the sea, in order to behold Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, as he was on his journey to Sparta in order to marry Hermione. In the town itself there is a temple of Minerva, and a statue of Apollo Carneus, which they venerate after the manner of the Doric ephes. But the city, which Homer calls Enope, is of Messenian denomination, and serves as a place of convention to the Eleutherolacones; but is at present called Gerenia. According to some, Nestor was educated in this city; but according to others, he fled hither when Pylos was taken by Hercules. Here, viz. in Gerenia, there is a monument of Machaon the son of Æsculapius, and a holy temple raised to him: for they are of opinion that the remedies of human diseases were discovered by Machaon.

The sacred place, in which this temple stands, is called Rhodos: and the statue of Machaon is of brass, and in an upright position. His head too is adorned with a crown which the Messenians in their native tongue call Ciphos.

The author of the poem called the small Iliad, affirms that Machaon was slain by Eurypylus the son of Telephus: and hence, as I well know, in the sacred rites belonging to Æsculapius in Pergamus, the hymns, indeed,
begin from Telephus, but by no means celebrate Eurypylus; nor is he even mentioned in the temple, because they know that he slew Machaon. The bones, too, of Machaon are said to have been preserved by Nestor: but they report, that Podalirius, when he returned home after the destruction of Troy, was driven by a tempest to Syros, which is a city in the continent of Caria, and there fixed his habitation. But there is a mountain in Gerania, and in it a temple of Calathaia. There is a cave too near the temple, the entrance into which is narrow, but its inward parts contain things which deserve to be inspected. And as you proceed from Gerania, as if ascending to the most inland parts, you will arrive at Alagonia, which is a town about thirty stadia distant from hence. This town is numbered among the places belonging to the Eleuthero-lacones, and contains temples of Bacchus and Diana, which are worthy of observation.
THE DESCRIPTION

BOOK IV.

MESSENIAS.

CHAPTER 1.

The dominions of the Messenians are limited by Augustus Caesar to that space which lies between the land belonging to the Lacones and Gerania; and this thicket is at present called Choerius. The first inhabitants are reported to have taken possession of this country when it was a desert, in the following manner: After the death of Lelex, who reigned in that part of Greece which is now called Laconia, but was then from him denominated Legia, Myles, who was his eldest son, obtained the government; but Polycamon, who was the youngest of his sons, and on this account was nothing more than a private person, continued in this obscure condition till he married the Argive Messene, who was the daughter of Triopas, and the grand-daughter of Phorbias. But Messene being elevated through her father's dignity and power, who at that time surpassed in these the other Greeks, could not endure that her husband should be a private man. Hence, collecting together a band of Argives and Lacedæmonians, Polycamon invaded this country, and called the whole region
OF GREECE.

region Messene, after the name of his wife. He also founded other cities, and among these Andania, which he made the royal city. For before the Thebans fought with the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, and had built Messene, which is at present situated under Ithome, it does not appear to me that any city was called Messene. I conjecture this from the verses of Homer. For, in his catalogue of those that came to Troy, he mentions Pylos, Arene, and some others; but is silent with respect to a city of the name of Messene. In the Odyssey too, he evinces that the Messenians were a people, but not of one city:

"Messena's state from Ithaca detained
Three hundred sheep, and all the shepherd swains."

And still more clearly when he speaks of the bow of Iphitus:

"This gift, when on Messena's shores he trode,
On young Ulysses' Iphitus bestowed:
Beneath Ortilochus's roof they met;—"

For he signifies, by the house of Ortilochus, a small town in Phere; and this he explains in the place where he speaks of Pisistratus meeting with Menelaus:

"To Phere now, Diocleus's stately seat,
(Ortilochus's son) the youths retreat."

Polycaon therefore, the son of Lelex, and his wife Messene, were the first that reigned in this country. But Caucon, the son of Celainus and the grandson of Phlyus, brought hither from Eleusis the orgies of the Great Goddess. The Athenians report that this Phlyus was the son of Earth; and this is confirmed by the hymn of Musæus to Ceres, which he composed for the Lycomedes. But Lycus the son of Pandion, many years afterwards, increased
THE DESCRIPTION

increased the reputation of the mysteries of the Great Goddesses; and they even at present call the place where the mysteries are purified, the grove of Lycus. Indeed, that in this country there is a place which is called the grove of Lycus, is evident from this verse of the Cretan Rhianus:

"With rough Elxus, and beyond the grove
Of Lycus."——

But that this Lycus was the son of Pandion, is evident from the verses which were composed on the image of Methapus: for Methapus was an Athenian, and was the author of mysteries and all-various orgies. The same person, too, instituted for the Thebans the mysteries of the Cabiri; and near an enclosure belonging to the Lycomedes, dedicated an image with an inscription. This inscription, which is as follows, both affirms other things, and strengthens the credibility of my relation: "I have purified the abodes and paths of Hermes the father, and of the first-born virgin; for here Caucon, sprung from the illustrious race of Phlyus, established in Messene contests sacred to the Great Goddesses. But it is a wonderful circumstance, that Lycus the son of Pandion should establish the sacred works of Attis in the venerable Andania." This inscription, therefore, testifies that Caucon, who was the grandson of Phlyus, came to Messene: it likewise mentions other things respecting Lycus; and that the ancient mysteries were celebrated in Andania. And, indeed, it appears to me probable, that both Messene and Polycoon were willing to establish the mysteries in that city, which they fixed upon as the place of their abode.

CHAP.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. II.

Indeed, I have endeavoured by diligent enquiry to learn who were the children of Polycæon and Messene; and, for this purpose, I have perused the writings which are called the Great Eoææ, the Naupaëtian verses, and all that Cinæthen and Alœus have genealogised in verse, but without obtaining any information in this particular. For though the Great Eoææ assert, that Polycæon the son of Butes was married to Euæchme the daughter of Hyllus (the son of Hercules), yet they make no mention either of a man of Messene, or of Messene herself. But in after times, when five ages were elapsed, as it appears to me, and not more, and none of the posterity of Polycæon remained, the Messenians say, that Perieres the son of Aëolus was called to the government; and that Melaneus, who was a skilful archer, and who on this account was believed to be the offspring of Apollo, came to Perieres, who bestowed on him that part of the country which is now called Carnælius, but was then denominated Æchalia from the wife of Melaneus. The Thessalians, however, and Eubœensæs (for most of the Grecian affairs are involved in doubt) disagree so much in their relation, that, according to some of these, Eurytium, which is at present a solitary place, was called in ancient times Æchalia; and Creophylus, in his Heraclea, agrees with this account of the Eubœensæs. But Hecateus the Milesian writes that Æchalia is in Scium, a part of Eretria.

The Messenians, however, appear to me both in other respects to speak more probably on this affair, and par-

Z 3 particularly
THE DESCRIPTION

ticularly about the bones of Eurytus, which we shall after-
wards relate. But Aphareus and Leucippus were the
offspring of Perieres, by Gorgophone the daughter of Per-
seus. These, after the death of Perieres, reigned over
the Messenians; though Aphareus was the most absolute
of the two. While he reigned, he built the city Arene,
and called it after the daughter of Æbalus, who was both
his wife and sister from one and the same mother. For
Gorgophone was married to Æbalus: and, indeed, we
have twice already mentioned this circumstance, in our
account of the Argolic and Laconic affairs. Aphareus,
therefore, built the city Arene in Messenia, and received
into his house, Neleus the son of Crotheus and the
grandson of Æolus (who was called Neptune), who was
his cousin, when he fled from Pelias at Ioleus; and gave
him the maritime part of the land, which contained Py-
lus, among other cities, and which Neleus made the place
of his royal abode. Lycus also, the son of Pandion, came
to Arene, at the time when he fled from his brother Æge-
us at Athens; and delivered the orgies of the Great
Goddesses to Aphareus and his children, and to his wife
Arene; evincing to them, at the same time, that Caucon
had initiated Messene in Andania.

The eldest too, and the bravest of the children of Apha-
reus was Idas, the youngest Lynceus, whose sight, if we
may believe Pindar, was so acute that he could see through
the trunks of trees. I am not certain whether this
Lynceus had any children; but Idas had a daughter,
Cleopatra, from Marpeffa the wife of Meleager; though
the author of the Cyprian verses affirms that the wife of that
Protesilaus, who when the Greeks failed to Troy was the
first that dared to land, was Polydora, the daughter of
Meleager
OF GREECE.

Meleager and the grand-daughter of Æneas. If this account therefore be true, three women, beginning from Marpessa, cut their own throats after the death of their husbands.

C H A P. III.

But after the children of Aphaeus fought with their cousins the Dioscuri, for the oxen, and Pollux had slain Lynceus, but Idas was destroyed by thunder; the house of Aphaeus was totally destitute of male offspring, and the government of the Messenians devolved on Neitor the son of Neleus, together with dominion over all such places as Idas formerly governed, except such lands as were in subjection to the children of Æsculapius. For they report, that the sons of Æsculapius came from Messenia to the siege of Troy; as Æsculapius was the son of Arinoe the daughter of Leucippus, and not of Coronis. And, indeed, they call a certain solitary place in Messenia, Tricca; and repeat some verses of Homer, in which Neitor consoles Machaon when he was wounded with a dart. For, say they, he would not have bestowed so much kindness on him unless he had been his neighbour, and a king of a kindred race. These reports too about the children of Æsculapius, are confirmed from hence, that there is a monument of Machaon at Gerania, and a temple of the children of Machaon at Pheræ. But when the Trojan war was finished, and Neitor, after returning home, had ended his days; the military expedition of the Doriæs and the descent of the Heraclidæ taking place two generations afterwards, the posterity of Neleus were ejected from Messenia.
THE DESCRIPTION

Messenia. And such are the particulars respecting Titemenus, which I have added to the present relation.

This, however, remains still to be added: When the Dorians set Argos to Temenus, Cresphontes requested of them Messenia for himself, as he was older than Aristodemus; for Aristodemus died prior to his making this request. But Theras the son of Autesion opposed Cresphontes in the highest degree: and this Theras was the grandson of the grandson of Polynices the son of Oedipus, and at that time was guardian to the sons of Aristodemus, as he was their uncle on the mother's side; for Aristodemus married the daughter of Autesion, whose name was Argia. But Cresphontes, who wished for the possession of Messenia, requested of Temenus that he would cast lots about this affair. In consequence of this, Temenus threw the lots in a water-pot, after he had filled it with water, but in such manner that whichever lot was drawn first, Messenia might be his portion. But in order to accomplish this, he fraudulently made the lot of the children of Aristodemus of potter's clay, dried in the sun, and of Cresphontes of baked tile. Hence the lot of the children of Aristodemus wasted away, but that of Cresphontes remained firm; and through this stratagem, Cresphontes obtained Messenia.

But the ancient Messenians were not expelled from their kingdom by the Dorians; for they willingly obeyed their new king Cresphontes, and gave the Dorians a part of their land. They were induced, too, to yield this obedience, in consequence of having suspected the former kings, because they were descended from the race of Iolcus. Cresphontes, too, married Merope the daughter of Cypselus, who then reigned over the Arcadians, by whom he had other sons,
OF GREECE.

sons, and Æpytus, who was his youngest. And he built, indeed, in Stenyclerus a palace for himself and his children; for in ancient times other kings, and Perierges himself dwelt in Andania. Aphereus, likewise, afterwards having fortified Arcne, dwelt in it, together with his children. But the royal abode of Nestor and his children was Pylos. Lastly, Creiphontes made Stenyclerus the royal city; and while he resided here he was slain, together with all his children except Æpytus, because he was more attached to the common people than to the rich; for Æpytus escaped, because he was but as yet a boy, and was under the guardianship of Cypselus, his grandfather on his mother's side. As soon, however, as Æpytus arrived at manhood, the Arcadians brought him to Messene, bringing with them at the same time the other kings of the Dorians, the children of Aristodemus, and Simus the son of Temenus.

Æpytus, therefore, as soon as he had recovered his paternal kingdom, took vengeance on the murderers of his father, and on those who had been the authors of the deed. Afterwards, by flattering attentions, he conciliated to himself the good-will of the nobility; became a favourite of the common people by his gifts; and arrived at such a high degree of honour, that his posterity were called the Æpytidae, instead of the Heraclidæ, which was their former appellation. But Glauclus the son of Æpytus, who succeeded his father in the kingdom, imitated his father indeed in his behaviour to the noble and vulgar, but was much superior to him in piety to the gods. For when in the temple of Jupiter, on the summit of Ithome, no honours were paid to the god by the Dorians, except by the familiars of Polycaon and Messene, Glauclus ordered that he should be venerated; was the first that sacrificed.
THE DESCRIPTION

sacrificed to Machaon the son of Æsculapius in Gessenia; and dedicated such gifts to Meseone, the daughter of Triopas, as are usually offered to heroes. Isthmius, too, the son of Glaucus, raised a temple in Phere to Gorgafus and Nicomachus. But Dotadas was the son of Isthmius, who, among other havens which he furnished in Mesenia, built one in Mathone. Sybotas the son of Dotadas succeeded his father: and he made it a law, that kings should every year sacrifice to the river Pamfius, and that, prior to the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, which were then celebrated in Andania, they should perform funeral sacrifices to Eurytus the son of Melaneus,

CHAP. IV.

AGAIN, during the reign of Phintas the son of Sybotas, the Messenians, for the first time, sent a sacrifice to Apollo at Delos, with a choir of men. Eumelus taught them the song with which they celebrate the god, and which they call Prosodion. And these are the only verses which are reckoned the genuine progeny of Eumelus. But while this Phintas reigned, a disagreement, for the first time, took place between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, the occasion of which is doubtful, but which is said to have been produced as follows: Within the limits of Messenia there was a temple of Diana Limnatis, which was alone common to the Messenians among the Dorians, and to the Lacedæmonians. And the Lacedæmonians indeed assert, that the virgins which they sent to the festival were violated by the Messenians, and that their king Teleclus the son of Archelaus, the grand-
OF GREECE.

Son of Agesilaus, and the great grandson of Doryflus, who was the son of Labotas, the grandson of Echistatus, and the great-grandson of Agis, was slain through endeavouring to prevent an injury from taking place. They add, that the violated virgins flew themselves through shame.

The Messenians, however, relate this affair differently: that stratagems were raised by Teleclus against those persons of quality that came to the temple in Messene. For when the Lacedaemonians, on account of the goodness of the land, desired to possess Messenia, Teleclus adorned the beardless youths after the manner of virgins, and so disposed them, that they might suddenly attack the Lacedaemonians with their daggers as they were sitting. The Messenians, however, running to their assistance, slew both Teleclus and all the beardless youths. But the Lacedaemonians, as they were conscious that this action was perpetrated by public consent, never attempted to revenge the death of their king. And such are the reports of each party, which every one believes, just as he is influenced by his attachment to each. After this event had taken place, and when one generation had passed away, Alcamenes the son of Teleclus reigning in Lacedemon, but of the other family Theopompos the son of Nicander, the grandson of Charillus, and the great-grandson of Polydectes, who was the son of Eunomus, the grandson of Prytanis, and the great-grandson of Eurypon; and Antiochus and Androcles reigning over the Messenians;—at this period, a hatred commenced between the Lacedaemonians and Messenians.

And the Lacedaemonians, indeed, began hostilities the first, in the following manner: Polychares was a Messenian, who in other respects was far from being obscure, and
THE DESCRIPTION

and who rendered himself illustrious by obtaining the palm of victory in the Olympic games. For in the fourth Olympiad, when the Eleans had only one contest, that of the stadium, Polychares was victor. This man had many oxen, and as his own pastures were not sufficient to feed them, he gave them to be fed by a Spartan, whose name was Euæphnus, with the promise of the progeny of the cows as his reward. Euæphnus, therefore, was a man who preferred wealth to integrity, and whose manners were affable and alluring. Hence, he sold the oxen of Polychares to certain merchants who failed to Laconia, and afterwards came to him, and told him that some robbers had made an incursion into his field, and, among other depredations, had taken away both the oxen and herdsmen. In the mean time, while he is thus deceiving Polychares, one of the herdsmen fled from the merchants, who, on his return, found Euæphnus with his master, and informed Polychares of the truth of the affair. Euæphnus, therefore, not being able to deny the charge, earnestly intreated both Polychares and his son to pardon him; for, as there are many things which compel human nature to act unjustly, among all these, the desire of gain is the most powerful.

Euæphnus, too, acquainted Polychares with the sum for which he had sold the oxen; and promised that he would refund the money, if Polychares would send his son with him. When Euæphnus came therefore to Laconia, he committed an action much more impious than the former; for he slew the son of Polychares. And Polychares, who was violently moved by such a base action, as it was reasonable to suppose he would be, came to Lacedæmonia, to the kings and Ephori; and with excessive lamentations bewailed:
OF GREECE.

bewailed the death of his son. He likewise explained to them, what injuries he had received from a man whom he had made his guest, and in whom he confided beyond all the Lacedæmonians. However, when by a repetition of his grievances, he obtained no satisfaction, and no punishment was inflicted on Euxæphnus, he became insane, and giving way to his anger, as one who no longer regarded his own safety, had the boldness to slay every Lacedæmonian that he met with. The Lacedæmonians therefore report, that this war originated both on account of the murder of Teleclus, and Polychares not being given up to them; and still prior to these two reasons, on account of their being suspected by the Messenians for the fraud of Cresphontes, in drawing lots.

CHAP. V.

The Messenians, however, report just the contrary concerning Teleclus, to what I have related; and evince that Æpytus the son of Cresphontes was restored by the sons of Aristodemus, which could not have taken place if there had been any disagreement between them and Cresphontes. They further add, that Polychares was not given up to the Lacedæmonians to be punished, because the Lacedæmonians would not deliver up Euxæphnus: that nevertheless they were willing, that sentence should be passed, either by them, or by the Argives, who were allied to both cities, or by a council of Amphiælys: that they were even willing to commit the affair to the judgment of the Areopagites, because the Areopagus appeared from ancient times to have judged affairs respecting
speaking murder. They likewise assert, that the Lacedæmonians did not engage in war on this account; but that, in consequence of their immoderate desire of dominion, they wished to oppress other Grecian cities, as well as theirs. As an example too, they adduce the Arcadians and Argives, whose dominions the Spartans continually infested. That, besides this, the Spartans being ensnared by the gifts of Croesus, were the first of the Greeks that entered into an alliance with the Barbarians; at which time, indeed, Croesus enslaved both the Greeks that dwelt in Asia, and the Dorians that dwelt in Caria, on the continent. They add, that when the temple of Apollo at Delphos was plundered by the Phocesian leaders, the Spartan kings and nobles not only privately partook of this sacrilege, but publicly the chief of the Ephori and the senate. And lastly, they adduce this as a proof beyond every thing that the Lacedæmonians never refused any undertaking for the sake of gain, that they chose, for their associate in war, Apollodorus who tyrannized in Cassandra.

Why, indeed, the Messenians consider this last action as so very disgraceful, it is not my business at present to investigate; for neither the warlike ardour of the Messenians alone, nor the length of the war destroyed the tyranny of Apollodorus; and yet the calamities which the Cassandrenses sustained from their tyrant, were not much inferior to the evils of the Messenians. And such, according to each nation, were the causes of the war. But when the injuries which we have already related took place, ambassadours came from the Lacedæmonians to the Messenians, desiring them to give up Polychares. The kings of the Messenians, however, answered the ambassadours,
OF GREECE.

dots, that they would consult the people about the affair, and would send an account of their decisions to Sparta. As soon, therefore, as the ambassadors departed, the people were assembled, whose opinions were very different on this occasion. For Androcles voted, that Polychares should be given up, as one who had perpetrated actions impious and dire; but Antiochus opposed this for many reasons, and for this among the rest, that it would be a most miserable circumstance, if Polychares should suffer punishment before the eyes of Euphynus; at the same time enumerating the quality and quantity of the things which he must necessarily endure. In the end, too, the contention became so great, that the partizans of Androcles and Antiochus took up arms against each other.

This battle, however, was of no long duration; for as the greater number were on the side of Antiochus, they slew both Androcles and the most illustrious of his partizans. Antiochus, therefore, now reigning alone, sent into Sparta, informing the Spartans, that he had committed the affair to the decision of those judges whom we have already mentioned. But the Lacedæmonians are said to have returned no answer to the letters of the Messenians; and Antiochus dying not many months after, his son Euphaes succeeded to the government. The Lacedæmonians, however, neither announced war to the Messenians by a messenger, nor openly renounced their friendship, but making preparations as much as they were able in secret, took an oath, that they would not lay down their arms, neither by the length of the war (if it should happen to be much extended), nor by their losses, however great they might be, till they had taken Messenia.

Having
THE DESCRIPTION

Having previously taken this oath, they marched out by night towards Amphæa, appointing Alcæmenes the son of Teleclus for their general. Amphæa was a small city near the Laconic land, and in Messenia; was situated on a lofty hill, and had fountains of water in abundance. In other respects, too, this city seemed to be very well adapted as a receptacle for all the purposes of war.

This city, therefore, whose gates were open, and which was without guards, was taken without resistance by the Lacedæmonians, who slew the inhabitants, some of whom were yet in their bed-chambers; but others, as soon as they perceived the calamity, fled suppliantly to the temples and altars of the gods, and a few only escaped the destruction. This was the first attack which the Lacedæmonians made on the Messenians; but the second was in the year of the ninth Olympiad, in which Xenodocus the Messenian was victor in the stadium. At that time, too, the Athenians were not governed by annual magistrates chosen by lot: for the people at first took away much of the authority from the posterity of Melanthus, who were called Metontidæ, and instead of allowing them a kingly power, subjected them to the control of equitable laws; and afterwards limited their government to the extent of ten years. At the time, therefore, that Amphæa was taken, the Athenian Æsimitides the son of Æschylus was in the fifth year of his government.

CHAP.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. VI.

But, before I describe the particulars of this war, and what each party performed and suffered through the interference of a divine power, it will be proper to relate the transactions of Aristomenes the Messenian, and the order of time in which the events respecting him took place. For the war which happened between the Lacedaemonians and their allies, and the Messenians with their assistants, was not denominated from those that began the war, as was the case with the Persian and Peloponnesian war; but it was called Messenian from the slaughter which was made of the Messenians, just in the same manner as the war against Troy came to be called Trojan, and not Grecian. But Rhianus Bemaus has celebrated this Messenian war in verse, and Myron Prieneensis in prose; neither of these, however, has related all the events of the war, in a continued series from beginning to end; but each has confined himself to a particular part. And Myron, indeed, begins from the capture of Amphica, and describes all that happened to the death of Aristomenes; but Rhianus does not touch upon this beginning of the war, but only relates the transactions which took place after the revolt from the Lacedaemonians. He does not, however, relate the whole of these particulars, but only the events posterior to the battle at the great mount; and the particulars respecting Aristomenes the Messenian, for whose sake I have made mention of Rhianus and Myron, as one who dignified the name of Messenian before any other person, and in the most eminent degree.

Vol. I.

A a

Myron
THE DESCRIPTION

Myron Prieneensis, therefore, has inserted this man in his history: but in the verses of Rhianus, Aristomenes is no less celebrated than Achilles in Homer’s Iliad. Hence, as there is such a difference in the narration of these writers, it remains that I should reject the account given by one of them, but not the relation of both. Rhianus, indeed, appears to me to speak the most probably of the two, with respect to the age of Aristomenes: but Myron, as may be easily learnt from his writings; and especially from this account of the Messenian affairs, is by no means solicitous about speaking the truth, and relating things of a probable nature. For he asserts, that Theopompus, king of the Lacedaemonians was slain by Aristomenes, before the death of Aristodemus; though it is well known that Theopompus neither died in battle, nor by any other means, before the war was finished: and it was Theopompus himself that finished the war. But this is evinced by the elegies of Tyrtaeus, in which he says:

"King Theopompus by the gods belov’d,
Captur’d Messene, form’d for ample choirs."

Aristomenes, therefore, as it appears to me, flourished in the war after this; and whose transactions we shall more accurately investigate in our relation of that war. But the Messenians, as soon as they knew that Amphea was taken, from the report of those that were saved from the devastation, met together from all their cities in Stenyclerus; and calling the people to their association, the best among them, in the first place, and afterwards the king himself, strengthened the minds of the vulgar who were terrified at the destruction of Amphea, and exhorted them not to form a judgment of the event of the war from the adverse
O F G R E E C E .

verse circumstance which had already taken place, nor suppose that the Lacedæmonians were better prepared for the war than themselves. They added, that warlike concerns had indeed been studied by the Lacedæmonians for a longer time; but that the present necessity would, to worthy men, be more powerful than superior skill. And lastly, that, by defending their country, their conduct would be more acceptable to the gods, than if they had commenced hostilities unjustly.

C H A P. VII.

A F T E R Euphaes had thus addressed them, he dismissed the assembly, and put all the Messenians in arms. For he compelled those that were ignorant of warlike affairs to learn them, and confirmed the skill of veteran soldiers by continually exercising them in military arts. In the mean time the Lacedæmonians made incursions into the Messenian dominions, but without injuring the country, cutting down the trees, or demolishing the houses, because they considered the place as their own. They drove before them, however, whatever cattle they found, and carried away the corn and other fruit. They likewise besieged some of their cities, but took none, as they were fortified with walls, and strongly secured: and after many fruitless efforts they were compelled to retreat, much wounded; and at last desisted from attempting to take their cities. But now the Messenians in their turn laid waste the maritime parts of Laconia, and all the fields about Taygetus. And in the fourth year after the capture of Amphia, Euphaes relying on the ardour of the Messenians, who
THE DESCRIPTION

who were vehemently incensed with the Lacedæmonians, and at the same time believing that they were sufficiently skilled by continual exercise in military affairs, ordered them to begin their march, commanding at the same time the servants to follow, carrying with them wood, and every thing else necessary for forming a trench.

The Lacedæmonians, therefore, learning all this from the guards in Aniphea, drew out their forces. There was a plain in Messenia, which was in other respects well adapted for an engagement, but was separated from the adjacent places by a very deep moat. In this plain Euphaes drew up his army, of which he appointed Cleonidas the general. But the horse and light-armed troops, each of which were less than five hundred, were led by Pytharatus and Antander. As soon, therefore, as the armies came to an engagement, the moat prevented the heavy-armed troops from encountering, who through hatred were eagerly tending towards each other. But the horse and the light-armed troops engaged with each other above the moat. These were equal both in number and skill; and on this account, the battle between them was equal. In the mean time, while both parties were vigorously engaged, Euphaes ordered his servants to fortify, first of all, the back of his army with a trench, and afterwards both the sides. As soon as it was night, therefore; and the battle was dissolved, the front of his army was also secured with a trench; which when the Lacedæmonians perceived on the return of day, they admired the providential care of Euphaes, and found that it would not be proper for them to fight with the Messenians, who could not be compelled to leave their fortifications, as they were totally unprepared to besiege them.

In
OF GREECE.

In consequence of this, the Lacedæmonians returned home, and, in the following year, after the old men had reviled the soldiers for their timidity and contempt of their oath, a second army was openly raised against the Messenians. This army was led by the two kings, Theopompus the son of Nicander, and Polydorus the son of Alcamenes; for Alcamenes himself died prior to this. The Messenians with their army opposed these; the Spartans beginning the fight: But Polydorus commanded the left wing of the Lacedæmonians, and Theopompus the right; and the middle part of the army was led by Euryleon, who was born indeed at Lacedæmon, but whose origin was from Cadmus and the Thebans; for he was the fifth grandson of Aægeus, the son of Oiolycus, the grandson of Theras, and the great-grandson of Autocles. But of the Messenian army, Antander and Euphaes were opposed to the right wing of the Lacedæmonians; and Pytharatus stood opposite to the left wing, which was commanded by Polydorus. In the middle of the army stood Cleonnis.

When the two armies were now nearly coming to an engagement, the kings, advancing forward, exhorted their soldiers to behave valiantly on this occasion. And Theopompus indeed, after the manner of the Lacedæmonians, urged his troops in a short speech, to be mindful of the oath they had taken against the Messenians, and told them, that it would be both beautiful and honourable for them, to eclipse by their actions the glory of their fathers, who enslaved their neighbouring cities; and that by behaving gallantly on the present occasion, they might add to their dominions a much happier region. But the speech of Euphaes was longer than that of the Spartan, though he spoke no more than what the time would permit.
He told them, that the present contest was not alone for land and possessions, but that they very well knew what would be the condition of the vanquished:—that defeat must be attended with the captivity of their wives and children; that the lightest punishment of their young men would be death, which might perhaps be accompanied with flagellation; that their temples would be plundered, and their country destroyed by fire. He added, that he did not speak of things which were nothing more than probable, but that the destruction of Amphai must convince all men of the reality of his assertions. That to die valiantly might be considered as gain, when compared with the endurance of such evils; and that it was much easier while they were yet unconquered, and equally courageous with the enemy, to vanquish their adversaries by a vigorous resistance, than to labour in restoring their fallen fortune, when their courage was lost. And such was the speech of Euphaes.

C H A P. VIII.

But as soon as the leaders of the two armies gave the signal of engagement, the Messenians rushed impetuously on the Lacedaemonians, as men whom anger compelled to give death to their enemies; and every one was anxious to be the first to begin the fight. The Lacedaemonians on the other side cheerfully sustained the shock; and at the same time took care to preserve their ranks. As soon, however, as they drew nearer, they threatened each other with the motion of their arms; and this was accompanied
accompanies with fierce looks and reviling language. The Lacedæmonians said, that the Messenians were their servants, and that they were in no respect more free than the Hilotes. The Messenians, on the contrary, called the Lacedæmonians impious, as persons who, through an intemperate desire of dominion, attacked even their kindred, and acted in an irreligious manner towards the gods that were the guardians of the country of the Dorians, and particularly towards Hercules. But when from reproaches they came to blows, they rushed on each other with collected might, and man fought hand to hand with man; but the charge of the Lacedæmonians was the most furious, who were superior both in the art of war and in number; for the neighbouring nations, who were in subjection to their authority, had followed them to this war. The Afinæi too, and Dryopes, who were driven by the Argives, in the preceding age, from their dominions, and came to Lacedæmonia as suppliants, were now obliged to assist them in the war. But the Cretan archers, who were hired for this purpose, stood against the light-armed troops of the Messenians.

The Messenians, indeed, whose case, if they were conquered, must be desperate, and who were equally incited by a contempt of death, considered every thing they might endure, rather as something necessary to such as wished to render their country illustrious, than as any thing dire; and that the more vigorously they fought, the more difficult it would be for the Lacedæmonians to sustain their attacks. And, indeed, some of these, leaping beyond their ranks, gave proofs of illustrious daring; while in others, who were so dangerously wounded that they were ready to breathe their last, the vigour of an insane confidence was
THE DESCRIPTION

was remarkably conspicuous. Neither were mutual exhortations wanting: for those that were yet alive, and without wounds, exhorted the wounded to call forth all their force, that they might meet death with pleasure, whenever they should arrive at the extremity of their fate. And again, those that were wounded, when they perceived their strength beginning to fail them, and that they could not long survive, admonished those whose forces were as yet unimpaired, not to act in a manner unworthy of themselves, and not suffer their death to be entirely useless to the preservation of their country.

But the Lacedaemonians, in the beginning of the engagement, neither mutually exhorted each other, nor gave such unexpected specimens of boldness as the Messenians: but, as they had been instructed in warlike concerns from their youth, they formed themselves into a deeper phalanx, and hoped that the Messenians would not be able to oppose them to the last, and endure the labour of arms, and the wounds which they would receive in the battle. And such were the circumstances peculiar to each army, as well with respect to the actions, as the minds of the warriors: but this was common to both sides, that no one suppliantly implored the mercy of his conqueror, or promised large sums for his preservation. For each perhaps distrusted the mercy of his enemy, on account of his hatred: and that which was the principal circumstance, each was indignant that he had not been the cause of his enemy's death. Those likewise that slew their enemies, neither proudly boasted on the occasion, nor made use of bitter reproaches; for the hope of victory was not stronger on one side than on the other. A more illustrious death, too, befell those who attempted to take the spoils of any fallen warrior.
warriors; who were pierced with darts in any naked part of their body; who fell unexpectedly, while their attention was directed to a different quarter; or who were slain by the yet breathing subjects of their plunder.

The kings themselves, too, fought in a manner which deserves to be celebrated. For Theopompus rushed upon Euphaeas as if he meant to give him instant death. But Euphaeas, perceiving him approaching, said to Antander: There is no difference between the boldness of Theopompus and his ancestor Polynices; for when Polynices led an army from Argos against his country, he flew his brother with his own hand, and was at the same time slain by him. He added, that Theopompus was willing to contaminate the posterity of Hercules, with the same crime of parricide as defiled the family of Laius and Oedipus, though he will not depart very joyful from the engagement. After Euphaeas had thus spoke, he also rushed upon his enemy. But upon this occasion, the battle which, in the place where they met, was before in a languid condition, was now again restored to its most flourishing state. The bodies of the warriors became invigorated; and the battle more fiercely raged, through the contempt of death which was now every where increased. Hence it seemed as if the engagement was but just then commenced; and at last, those that fought about Euphaeas, and who were chosen men, becoming nearly insane, through their strenuous exertions drove Theopompus from his station, and put the Lacedæmonians to flight. The other wing, however, of the Messenians, was in a miserable situation: for Pythagoras the general being slain, the troops, that were now without a leader, became disordered, and lost all their confidence and vigour.

However,
THE DESCRIPTION

However, neither Polydorus pursued the flying Messenians, nor Euphaes the Lacedaemonians. For it appeared to Euphaes, and the principal persons that were about him, much better to stay, and give assistance to the vanquished troops. Yet they did not mingle themselves with Polydorus, or his band; for they were now involved in darkness through the night. This circumstance too restrained the Lacedaemonians from pursuing the flying Messenians, together with their ignorance of the places. Besides this, the discipline of their country restrained them; for they religiously observed the precept delivered by their ancestors, that they should be more anxious to preserve their order, than to cut off a flying enemy. But in the midst of the battle, Euryleon on the side of the Lacedaemonians, and Cleonnis on that of the Messenians, fought with equal vigour and success. But the approach of night there likewise dissolved the contest. This battle was fought on both sides, for the most part, with the heavy armed foot; for there were but few horse, and they performed nothing worthy of relation. At that time, indeed, the Peloponnesians were not skilled in horsemanship. But the naked archers of the Messenians, and the Cretans among the Lacedaemonians, did not engage at first, because each, after the manner of their ancestors, stood united with the foot. On the following day, as soon as it was light, neither army attempted to renew the battle, or to raise a trophy: but when the day was somewhat advanced, they were occupied in sending heralds about burying the dead; and when this was agreed to by each party, they immediately applied themselves to the business of interment.
AFTER this battle the affairs of the Meßenians were in a calamitous situation. For, in the first place, through the great sums of money which they had expended in fortifying their cities, they had no longer the means of supplying their army. In the next place, their slaves had fled to the Lacedæmonians. And lastly, a disease resembling a pestilence, though it did not infest all their country, yet greatly embarrassed their affairs. In consequence, therefore, of consulting about their present situation, they thought proper to abandon all those cities which had the most inland situation, and to betake themselves to the mountain Ithome. In this mountain there was a city of no great magnitude, which, they say, is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue:

"And those that in the steep Ithome dwell."

In this city, therefore, fixing their residence, they enlarged the ancient enclosure, so that it might be sufficient to defend the whole of its inhabitants. This place was in other respects well fortified: for Ithome is not inferior to any of the mountains within the Isthmus in magnitude; and besides this, is most difficult of access.

When they were settled in this mountain, they determined to send to Delphos, and consult the oracle concerning the event of the war. Tīs, therefore, the son of Alcōis, was employed on this errand; a man who, in nobility of birth, was not inferior to any one, and who was particularly given to divination. This Tīs, on his re-
THE DESCRIPTION

turn from Delphos, was attacked by a band of Lacedaemonians belonging to the guard in Amphea, but defended himself so valiantly that they were not able to take him. It is certain, however, that they did not desist from wounding him, till a voice was heard, from an invisible cause, DISMISS THE BEARER OF THE ORACLE. And Tisias, indeed, as soon as he returned to his own people, repeated the oracle to the king, and not long after died of his wounds. But Euphaes collecting the Messenians together, recited the oracle, which was as follows: "Sacrifice a pure virgin, who is allotted a descent from the blood of the Æpytidae, to the infernal daemons, by cutting her throat in the night: but if the virgin who is led to the altar descends from any other family, let her voluntarily offer herself to be sacrificed." Such then being the declaration of the god, immediately all the virgins descended from the Æpytidae awaited the decision of lots: and when the lot fell upon the daughter of Lyciscus, the prophet Epebolus told them it was not proper she should be sacrificed, because she was not the genuine daughter of Lyciscus; but that the wife of Lyciscus, in consequence of her barrenness, had falsely pretended that this was her daughter.

In the mean time, while the prophet was thus dissuading the people, Lyciscus privately took away the virgin, and fled to Sparta. But the Messenians being greatly dejected as soon as they perceived that Lyciscus had fled, Aristodemus, a man descended from the Æpytidae, and who was most illustrious both in warlike concerns and other respects, offered his own daughter as a voluntary sacrifice. Destiny, however, no less absorbs the alacrity of mankind, than the mud of a river the pebbles which it contains.
OF GREECE.

contains. For the following circumstance became a hinderance to Aristodemus, who was then desirous of saving Messene by sacrificing his daughter: A Messenian citizen, whose name is not transmitted to us, happened to be in love with this daughter of Aristodemus, and was just on the point of making her his wife. This man, from the first, entered into a dispute with Aristodemus, asserting, that the virgin was no longer in the power of her father, as she had been promised to him in marriage, but that all authority over her belonged to him as her intended husband. However, finding that this plea was ineffectual, he made use of a fitful lye in order to accomplish his purpose, and affirmed, that he had lain with the girl, and that she was now with child by him. But in the end, Aristodemus was so exasperated by this lie, that he slew his daughter, and having cut open her womb, plainly evinced that she was not with child. Upon this, Epebolus, who was present, exhorted them to sacrifice the daughter of some other person, because the daughter of Aristodemus, in consequence of having been slain by her father in a rage, could not be the sacrifice to those demons which the oracle commanded. In consequence of the prophet thus addressing the people, they immediately rushed forth in order to slay the father of the dead virgin, as he had been the means of Aristodemus becoming defiled with the blood of his offspring, and had rendered the hope of their preservation dubious. But this man was a particular friend of Euphaes; and in consequence of this, Euphaes persuaded the Messenians, that the oracle was accomplished in the death of the virgin, and that they ought to be satisfied with what Aristodemus had accomplished. All the Æpytides, therefore, were of the opinion of
THE DESCRIPTION

of Euphaes, because each was anxious to be liberated from the fear of sacrificing his daughter. In consequence of this, the advice of the king was generally received, and the assembly dissolved. And after this they turned their attention to the sacrifices and festival of the gods.

C H A P. X.

But the Lacedaemonians, on hearing the oracle given to the Messenians, were greatly dejected, and their kings became much less vigorous in their preparations for the war. At length, in the sixth year after the flight of Lycurgus from Ithome, the Lacedaemonians (as their sacrifices were auspicious) led an army to Ithome. The Cretans, however, were absent, and the allies of the Messenians were slow in coming to their assistance: for the Spartans were suspected, as well by other Peloponnesians, as by the Arcadians, and particularly by the Argives. And the Argives, indeed, were to have come secretly to the Lacedaemonians, from private, rather than public decree. But the expedition was openly announced to the Arcadians; though neither did these give their assistance. On the other hand, the report of the oracle induced the Messenians to try the event of the war, without the aid of their allies. In many respects, therefore, there was no difference between this, and the former war. For the day deferred them before the battle was finished; but it is related that neither any wing, nor band of soldiers, was forced to fly: for they report, that the troops did not remain in the order in which they were placed at first; but that the best troops in either army were stationed in the middle,
OF GREECE.

middle, and that all the labour of the war was in this part. For Euphaes himself was more ardent in fight than was proper for a king; and, rushing with unrestrained fury on Theopompus, received many wounds, and among these some that were incurable. As he lay on the ground, therefore, ready to expire, the Lacedæmonians, while he still breathed a little, endeavoured to drag him to their army. But the benevolence which Euphaes had shewn to the Meffenians, and the disgrace which would attend them if they suffered his body to be taken by the enemy, routed them to the most vigorous exertions. Indeed it appeared to them to be much better to lose their lives, than to survive the loss of their king.

The fall, therefore, of Euphaes, both lengthened the battle, and increased the courage of each army: and afterwards Euphaes, having recovered a little, perceived that his troops were not inferior to the enemy in fight. Not many days after, however, he died, having reigned over the Meffenians thirteen years, and warred on the Lacedæmonians the whole time of his reign. But as Euphaes had no children, he left the kingdom to the arbitration of the people: and Cleonnis and Damis contended for its possession with Aristodemus, considering themselves as superior to him both in other respects and the concerns of war. For Antander fell in the battle, through fighting in defence of Euphaes. Besides, the opinions of the two prophets, Epebolus and Ophioneus, opposed Aristodemus; as they did not think it right that the government should be conferred on a man polluted with the murder of a daughter of Abyrus, and his posterity. Aristodemus, however, obtained the kingdom. But Ophioneus, a prophet of the Meffenians, and who was blind from his birth, used to
38. **THE DESCRIPTION**

to prophesy, by asking his consulters what they had done both privately and publicly, and thus foretell to them future events. Aristodemus, therefore, assuming the reins of government, was solicitously employed in rewarding the people according to their deserts, and raised Cleonnis and Damis to the highest honours. He likewise paid a sedulous attention to his allies, and sent gifts to the nobles of Arcadia, to Argos, and Sicyon. But in the war which was carried on in the reign of Aristodemus, there were very few depredations and incursions during the summer. The Messenians, indeed, in conjunction with the Arcadians, entered into the Laconic region; but the Argives never thought proper to come to open hostilities with the Lacedaemonians, but took care that, if they should ever fight against them, it might appear that they unwillingly assisted the Messenians.

**CHAP. XI.**

In the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus, a junction of the Messenian forces took place in consequence of a prediction; for they were very much debilitated through the length of the war, and greatness of the expense with which it was attended. But the Corinthians alone, of all the Peloponnesians, assisted the Lacedaemonians: and the whole army of the Arcadians, together with chosen troops of Argives and Sicyonians, assisted the Messenians. The Hilots; therefore, and their neighbours, stood in the middle of the Spartan army. The kings took their station in the wings; and a phalanx more dense than ever was adopted. Aristodemus, too, disposed his forces in the following
OF GREECE.

bowing manner: For such of the Arcadians or Meffienians, whose bodies were more robust, and whose courage surpassed that of the rest, but whose arms were not strong—for these he chose the most useful arms, and when the occasion was urgent, placed them between the Argives and Sicyonians. He likewise very much expanded his phalanx that it might not be surrounded by the enemy, and took care that when his forces were drawn up, they might have the mountain Ithome behind them. The command, too, of the heavy-armed troops he gave to Cleomies, but he and Damis stood with the light-armed forces, among whom there were but few slingers and archers. The remaining part of the troops, both by the agility of their bodies, and the lightness of their arms, were adapted to the making of incursions and retreats, and for this purpose had nothing more than a coat of mail, or a shield.

Such among these too, as were destitute of armour, were clothed with the skins of goats and sheep; some wore the skins of wild beasts; and the Arcadian moun-taineers in particular, were covered with the spoils of wolves and bears. Each person carried many darts, and some had lances; and this part of the inhabitants of Ithome, was stationed where it could be least seen by the enemy. But the heavy-armed troops of the Meffienians and their allies, sustained the first attack of the Lacedæmonians, and after this gave proofs of singular courage. These forces were, indeed, much inferior to the enemy in number, but being chosen men, they fought with a promiscuous multitude, who were not equally brave with themselves; and hence they easily resisted their attacks, through their alacrity and skill. Here too the well-girded troops of the Meffienians, as soon as the signal of battle was given,
rushed on the Lacedæmonians, aiming at their sides by hurling their darts at a distance: and others of superior boldness, came nearer, and fought hand to hand with the enemy.

But the Lacedæmonians, though they were a second time in a dangerous situation, and perceived that their affairs were at present without hope or redress, yet were not in the least disturbed, but betaking themselves to the light-armed troops of the Meßenians, endeavoured to overthrow them. However, as these troops easily fled on account of their lightness, the Lacedæmonians were at first perplexed, and afterwards enraged. Such indeed is the condition of human nature, that men are unable to curb themselves, when any thing happens contrary to their desires. Hence, those of the Lacedæmonians that were now wounded, and such as remaining in their ranks were exposed to the first incursions of the light-armed troops, ran before the rest, when they saw these troops rushing upon them, and, inflamed with anger, pursued them to a greater distance when they fled. But the light-armed troops of the Meßenians, in the same manner as they first began, beat and transfixed with their darts those that kept their ranks, suddenly overthrown those that pursued them, and assaulted them from behind, as they were returning to their own troops. And such was the form of the war, in the different parts of the army. In the mean time the heavy-armed troops of the Meßenians and their allies, more boldly assaulted the Spartans that were opposite to their forces. And at last, the Lacedæmonians, being wearied with the length of the battle, and disordered by the unusual manner of fighting of the Meßenian light-armed troops, broke their ranks. After this,
OF GREECE.

this, turning their backs, the same troops molested them in a still greater degree. But the number of the Lacedaemonians that fell in this engagement cannot be ascertained; though I am persuaded, it was very considerable. After this, when each person departed to his proper place of abode, all but the Corinthians were suffered to return without molestation; for these were obliged to fight their way home, whether they passed through the Argive or Sicyonian dominions.

CHAP. XII.

THE Lacedaemonians were greatly afflicted at the event of the war, and particularly that they had lost so many, and such illustrious men. To this was added the loss of all hope of the war ending agreeably to their desire. Hence, they sent spectatores to Delphos, to whom the Pythian deity gave the following oracle: "Phœbus persuades you, not only to apply yourselves to the works of war; but as the Messenian people obtained prey by fraud, they must be taken by the same arts as they employed in acquiring their present condition." The kings and the Ephori, therefore, after they had applied themselves to find out the meaning of the oracle, but without success, determined to imitate the achievement of Ulysses at Troy; for they sent one hundred men to Ithome as spies of the enemies' designs; and that it might plainly appear they were banished, they were condemned by a public decree. But these men no sooner came to Aristodemus, than they were dismissed by him in the following words: "The injuries of the Lacedaemonians are recent; but their crafty devices
devices are ancient." The Lacedæmonians, therefore, failing in their stratagem, endeavoured afterwards to prevent the Messenians from being assailed by their allies. However, as they were rejected by the Arcadians (for the ambassadors first came to these), they did not think proper to visit the Argives.

But Aristodemus, knowing the operations of the Lacedæmonians, sent likewise to ask advice of the god. And the Pythian deity gave him the following oracle: "The god gives thee the glory of the war; but take care, lest the fraudulent and hostile troops of Sparta become superior. For Mars shall possess their well-wrought arms, and the crowns of their choirs shall have severe inhabitants, in consequence of two persons emerging from the battle of a secret troop. Nor shall the sacred light of day behold this consummation of the fight, till the final destiny of these two shall be accomplished." Aristodemus, however, and the prophets, could not by any means detect the meaning of the oracle: but not many years after the god unfolded and accomplished his prediction. Other particulars too of the same kind at that time happened to the Messenians. After Lycurgus had migrated to Sparta, the daughter that attended him in his flight died; and as he often came to visit her tomb, some Arcadian horse took him by stratagem. But being led to Ithome, and brought before an assembly, he declared that his country had not been betrayed by him, but that he was induced to leave it, in consequence of the prophet asserting, that the virgin was not his legitimate daughter. After he had made this apology, his assertions were not credited, till a certain woman, who was at that time the priestess of Juno, came into the theatre, and voluntarily confessed, that the vir-
gin was her daughter, and that she had imposed her on the wife of Lyciscus. I now, therefore, says she, come to unfold this secret affair, and to resign my office of priestess.

But the priestess spoke in this manner, because it was a law with the Messenians, that if any of the children of a priest or priestess died before their parents, then the office of priesthood should be transferred to other persons. As they believed, therefore, that the woman spoke truth, they chose another priestess for the goddess, and freed Lyciscus from the danger of death. After this they thought proper (for it was now the twentieth year of the war) to send again to Delphos; in order to enquire which party would be victorious: and the Pythian deity gave them the following answer: "He who first places about the altar of Jupiter Ithomatas, tripods, twice five decades in number, shall with glory possess the Messenian land. For such is the will of Jupiter. But you must first employ stratagem, and revenge will follow: for you cannot deceive divinity. Act agreeably to the intention of the Fates. Now these, and then those are oppressed by destiny." The Messenians, upon hearing this oracle, interpreted it as promising them the victory: for as they had a temple of Jupiter Ithomatas within their walls, it did not seem probable, that the Lacedæmonians could dedicate the tripods before them. In consequence of this, they took care to make wooden tripods, as they had not money sufficient to make them of brass. This oracle was told to the Spartans by a certain person of Delphos.

But when the Spartans, by their public consultations, were not able to adopt any wise measures of conduct, a certain person of the name of Oebalus, who was not illustrious
THE DESCRIPTION

lustrious either for his birth or possessions; but was remarkable for his sagacity, as the event shewed, made a hundred tripods of clay, and concealing them in a sack, took them together with a net, as if he had been a hunter. This man, as one who was even unknown to many of the Lacedæmonians, easily concealed himself among the Messenians; and mixing among the ruflics of the country, came with them to Ithome as soon as it was night, dedicated to the god his tripods of clay, and returning again swiftly to Sparta, told the Lacedæmonians what he had done. But the Messenians, as soon as they discovered the affair, were greatly disturbed, and conjectured the truth, that this was accomplished by the Lacedæmonians. Aristodemus, however, calmed the afflicted minds of the Messenians, both by such discourse as was suitable to the occasion, and by placing the wooden tripods, which were now made, round the altar of Jupiter. It happened too at that time, that the prophet Ophioneus, who was blind from his birth, was enabled to see, which was a circumstance of a most admirable nature: for he obtained the use of his eyes in consequence of a violent pain of the head, with which he was afflicted.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE god likewise gave other tokens of the approaching ruin of the Messenians. For the shield belonging to the brazen statue of Diana, whose arms were of brass, fell off of its own accord: and when Aristodemus was about to sacrifice to Jupiter Ithomatas, the rams spontaneously struck the altar with such force with their horns, that
OF GREECE.

they died through the vehemence of the blow. And lastly, the dogs, assembling together in one place, howled every night, and at last went in a body to the army of the Lacedæmonians. These prodigies disturbed Aristodemus; and his terror was increased by the following nocturnal vision. He thought that, as he was departing for the battle, having previously armed himself for this purpose, he saw the entrails of the victims lying on the table, his daughter standing by him in a black garment, and sheewing the wounds in her belly and breast; and that afterwards throwing down the entrails from the table, and taking off his arms, she gave him a golden crown, and a white vestment. But while Aristodemus was dejected on other accounts, and particularly because he thought this dream portended his death, as the Messenians bury the most illustrious persons crowned, and wrapped in a white garment; some one told him, that the prophet Ophioneus no longer saw, but that he had suddenly become blind again, as he was at first.

Upon this, the meaning of the oracle became perfectly apparent, and it was now evident, that by the two emerging from a secret troop, and being afterwards destroyed, Apollo signified the eyes of Ophioneus. Aristodemus, therefore, grieving for the condition of his domestic affairs, and perceiving that he had slain his daughter without any advantage, and that there was no hope of safety to his country, flew himself on the tomb of his daughter. He was, indeed, a man who preserved the Messenians in as great a degree as human counsel could effect; but whose operations and designs were frustrated by fortune. But he died after he had reigned six years and some months, and the Messenians were so afflicted and disturbed with
The Description

his loss, that they were inclined to send to the Lacedaemonians in a supplicant manner; but anger restrained their intention. However, having called an assembly together, they did not elect a king, but chose Damis for the general of their forces, who joined Cleonnis and Phyleas to himself as his colleagues, and furnished every thing from his present supplies for the purposes of war. For he was compelled to act in this manner from the siege, through which, the want of provision was so great, that they had reason to fear destruction from famine. Indeed, the Messenians were never deficient in virtue and courage: but as, in about the space of five months, they had lost all their generals, and the best of their citizens, they abandoned Ithome, after the war had lasted nearly twenty years, which Tyrtaeus evinces in the following verses:

"When nineteen years were past, their splendid works
They left, and from Ithome's mountains fled."

But the war was finished in the first year of the fourteenth Olympiad, in which the Corinthian Damon conquered in the stadium, and when, among the Athenians, the Medontidae still held the decennalian government, and the fourth year of the reign of Hippomenes was expired.

Chapter XIV.

Such of the Messenians after this, as had friends in Argos, Sicyon, or Arcadia, fled to those cities for refuge: and those that originated from sacred families fled to Eleusis, and officiated in the orgies of the mighty goddess. But the greater part of the multitude betook themselves to their ancient places of abode. And with respect to the Lacc-
OF GREECE.

Lacedæmonians, they first of all subverted Ithome from its foundation; and afterwards attacking other cities, easily took them. But of the spoils, they dedicated three brazen tripods to Amyclean Apollo. Upon the first of these tripods there is a statue of Venus; upon the second of Diana; and upon the third there are statues of Proserpine and Ceres. But of the Messenian land they gave to the Afinæi, who had been formerly conquered by the Argives, those maritime parts which they at present possess: and to the posterity of Androcles (for the daughter of Androcles was yet alive, and the offspring of this daughter, who, after the death of Androcles, fled to Sparta) they assigned that region which is called Hyamia.

But the conduct of the Lacedæmonians towards the Messenians was as follows: In the first place they forced them to swear, that they would never revolt from the Spartans, nor ever attempt any new enterprize. In the second place, they did not exact of them any annual tribute, but ordered them to carry to Sparta the half of all the produce of their agriculture: and besides this, that both the men and women should attend the funerals of kings and nobles, clad in a black garment; and that such as did not comply with these orders should be punished.

But their injurious treatment of the Messenians is mentioned in these verses of Tyrtaeus:

"Like asses, whom their cruel masters load
With mighty burthens, through tyrannic power
The half of all their fertile crops they bear."

And that they were compelled to attend funerals in a mourning habit, is evident from these verses:

"They and their wives compell'd to mourn their lords
When snatch'd from hence by death's pernicious hand."
THE DESCRIPTION

The Messenians, therefore, being oppressed with these evils, and not perceiving any hopes of milder treatment from the Lacedæmonians in future, considered that it was much better to die fighting, than to emigrate from Peloponnesus, and began to form new plans of revolt. The younger part, too, incited them to this revolt in no moderate degree: and though these youths were as yet unskilled in war, their elevation of soul was very conspicuous; and they preferred dying for the freedom of their country, to felicity in a state of subjection. The Messenian youth, indeed, were educated in several places, but the best and most numerous resided about Andania. Among these, too, Aristomenes was the most conspicuous, who is even now honoured by the Messenians as a hero; and his birth-day is celebrated in the most splendid manner. For they report, that a certain daemon, or a god, had connection with his mother, in the form of a dragon. A circumstance of this kind is, I know, related by the Macedonians about Olympia, and by the Sicilyonians about Aristodamia. There is this difference, however, between the accounts, that the Messenians do not say that Aristomenes was the son of Hercules or Jupiter, in the same manner as the Macedonians assert, that Alexander was the son of Ammon, and the Sicilyonians, that Aratus was the son of Æsculapius; but most of the Greeks say, that Pyrrhus was the father of Aristomenes. This I know, too, that the Messenians in their libations, call upon Aristomenes the son of Nicomedes. This Aristomenes, therefore, who was in the vigour both of his age and courage, instigated others of the better sort to a revolt. This, however, he did not immediately put in execution openly; but privately sending certain persons to the Argives and Arcadians,
OF GREECE.

dians, he tried whether they were willing to assist him without framing excuses, and with the same vigour as they employed in the former war.

C H A P. XV.

AND, indeed, the Messenians perceived their associates cheerfully prepared to engage in the war; for now the Arcadians and Argives clearly exhibited their hatred to the Lacedaemonians. Hence, when every thing necessary for the war was procured, the Messenians revolted in the forty-ninth year after the destruction of Ithome, but in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad, in which Icarus Hypereuenis was victor in the stadium. But at that time the Athenians had yearly magistrates, and Teleias was their archon. Tyrtaeus, however, does not mention the names of the Spartan kings: but Rhianus, in his verses, says that Leotychides was king during this war; though I cannot by any means assent to him in this particular. But Tyrtaeus may be considered as signifying what he does not openly assent: for there is an elegy of his extant respecting the former war, in which we meet with the following verses:

"Untam'd by toil, our fathers mighty fires,
For nineteen years rous'd all their martial fires."

It is evident therefore, from hence, that the Messenians engaged in this second war in the third age: and the series of time evinces that Anaxandrus the son of Euryocrates, and the grandson of Apollodorus, reigned in Sparta at that period. But the king out of the other family was Anaxidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, the grandson of Archidamus,
THE DESCRIPTION

and the great-grandson of Theopompus. The sovereign command, too, descended to the great-grandson of Theopompus, because Archidamus the son of Theopompus died before his father, and so the government devolved on Zeuxidamus, the young son of Theopompus.

But it appears that Leotychides obtained the government, after Demaratus the son of Aristomenes: and Ariston was the seventh grandson of Theopompus. At that time therefore, the Messenians fought against the Lacedaemonians, at Deira, in the first year after their revolt. Neither party, however, was assisted by its allies; nor was it clearly evident which side was victorious. They report, that the actions of Aristomenes, in this engagement, surpassed what could be expected with any probability from one man, in consequence of which, after the battle, they would have chosen him for their king; for he was of the family of the Aepytidae: but as he refused this dignity, they chose him for their general; and at the same time invested him with absolute power. After this, Aristomenes considered, that those who had performed actions worthy of commemoration, never refused any kind of endurance in war; but that he above all men ought to strike the enemy with terror at first, and that he should by this means become more dreadful to them in future. In consequence of this opinion therefore, he came by night to Lacedaemon, and fixed a shield near the temple of Chalcion, with an inscription signifying that Aristomenes dedicated it from the spoils of the Lacedaemonians. At the same time too, the Lacedaemonians received an oracle from Delphos, which commanded them to make use of an Athenian for their counsellor. Hence, when by ambassadors they had informed the Athenians of the oracle, and
OF GREECE.

at the same time required an Athenian as their adviser, the Athenians were by no means willing to comply: for they considered, that the Lacedæmonians could not without great danger to the Athenians take possession of the best part of Peloponnesus; and at the same time, they were unwilling to disobey the commands of the god.

At last they adopted the following expedient: There was at Athens a certain teacher of grammar, whose name was Tyrtaeus, who appeared to possess the smallest degree of intellect, and who was lame in one of his feet. This man they sent to Sparta, who at once instructed the principal persons in what was necessary for them to do, and at another time the common people by singing elegies to them, in which the praise of valour was contained, and verses called Anapæstis. But in the year after the battle at Deræ, when the allies of both parties were present, they prepared for an engagement, near the monument of Carpus. The Eleans therefore and Arcadians, Argives and Sicyonians, assisted the Messenians. Thebes likewise were present who before this had voluntarily fled from Messenia; and from Eleusis, those that by paternal right performed the orgies of the mighty goddesses, and the grandsons of Androcles. And all these indeed cheerfully sent assistance to the Messenians. But the Corinthians joined with the Lacedæmonians, and some of the Lapreatæ drawn by hatred of the Eleans. The Asinæi were in league with both parties. But this place which contains the sepulchre of Carpus, is in the Stenyclerus of Messenia: and they report, that Hercules in this place swore to the children of Neleus, and received an oath from them on the testicles of a boar. The prophets, too, performed the sacrifices on both sides: and the prophet of
of the Lacedaemonians was Hecatus, the grandson of that Hecatus who came to Sparta with the sons of Aristodemus; but of the Messenians, Theoclus. This Theoclus was the son of Eumantis; and Eumantis, who was an Elean, of the family of the Iamidæ, was brought to Messene by Cresphontes.

CHAP. XVI.

When the prophets, therefore, began to incite the troops, they hastened with greater alacrity to the fight. And indeed the ardour throughout was correspondent to the strength and vigour of the combatants: but Alexander king of the Lacedaemonians, and the Spartans about him, displayed an ardour superior to the rest. In the army too of the Messenians, the grandsons of Androcles, viz. Phintas and Androcles, and the troops which they commanded, endeavoured to give specimens of superior courage and skill. But Tyrtæus and the Hierophants of the goddesses did not engage in fight, but contented themselves with rousing the courage of the most distant parts of the two armies. With respect to Aristomenes, he was surrounded by eighty chosen Messenians of the same age with himself, and each of whom considered himself honoured by being thought worthy to fight in conjunction with such a man as Aristomenes. They were all, too, skilful in perceiving from trilling circumstances the assistance which they mutually stood in need of, and particularly in observing the actions of their leader both while he was engaged in fight, and was beginning to engage.

These,
These young men were the first that opposed Anaxander, and the flower of the Spartan army. However, as they were at length cruelly wounded, they were irritated to a degree of insane confidence, and desperately overturned the troops about Anaxander. But these were no sooner put to flight, than Aristomenes ordered another band of Messenians to pursue them, and at the same time turning himself with his forces to the fresh troops of the enemy, he forced these to turn their backs; and after these, others, and so on, till by penetrating through every part of the Lacedæmonian army, with much greater vigour than seemed possible to one man, he broke the ranks wherever he came, in a terrible manner, and put the whole army to flight. The troops of the enemy being thus routed, fled covered with shame, with unremitting speed, till they all met together at a sylvan pear-tree, which grew in a certain part of the plain: and in this place the prophet Theocles recalled Aristomenes from the pursuit, because the Dioscuri had sat on this tree. Aristomenes, however, giving way to his wrath, and not hearing all that the prophet said, as soon as he arrived at the pear-tree, lost his shield: and this misfortune afforded some of the Lacedæmonians an opportunity of saving themselves by their flight; for he lost some time in endeavouring to find his shield. But the Lacedæmonians becoming very much depressed after this battle, were beginning to put a period to the war: and they would have put their intentions in execution, if Tyrtaeus had not prevented them by singing his elegies, and supplying the troops that were slain from the Hilotes.

But as soon as Aristomenes returned to Andania, the women threw upon him wherever he went, their fillets, and
and other elegant decorations, and the men praised him in the following song, which is even sung at present:

"Ev'n to the middle Styenicrian plain,
And to the lofty mount, the Spartan troops
The conquering Arisotomens pursu'd."

Aristomenes, too, afterwards recovered his shield: for coming to Delphis, he ascended, agreeably to the admonition of the Pythian deity, into the sacred adytum of Trophonius in Lebadea, and there found his shield, which he afterwards brought to Lebadea, and dedicated. And in this place I have seen it suspended. Its signature is an eagle extending its wings on each side, as far as to the the margin of the shield. But after this, Arisotomens returning from Boeotia with the shield which he had found in the secret recess of Trophonius, immediately applied himself to still greater operations. For collecting other troops of the Messenians, and having his own person surrounded with choicen forces, he waited till the twilight was passed, and then marched to a Laconic city, which formerly was called, and in the catalogue of Homer is denominated Pharis, but which is called by the Spartans and the neighbouring cities, Phara.

As soon as he arrived at this place, he flew those that attempted to defend themselves, and taking the town returned with the spoil to Messene. And the Lacedaemonians with their king Anaxander taking up arms in order to oppose him, he overturned them in their march, and began to pursue the flying Anaxander; but being wounded by a dart in his thigh, he was obliged to stop his pursuit, though he did not from this accident lose any of his prey. After this, when as much time was elapsed
OF GREECE.

As was sufficient for the cure of his wound, he intended to have marched into Sparta itself, but was deterred by seeing in the night the spectres of Helen and the Dioscuri. However, he attacked in open day the Caryan virgins as they were celebrating the choirs facted to Diana, and, making captives of such of them as surpassed the rest in riches and birth, led them to a certain Messenian town. Here, committing the virgins to the custody of some of his own troop, he rested for one night. In the mean time the young men, through intoxication and intemperate desire, began to offer violence to the virgins, and did not even pay any attention to Aristomenes, who endeavoured to restrain them from acting in a manner unbecoming natives of Greece; so that he was obliged to slay some of the most forward, and afterwards restored the captive virgins uninjured to their parents, receiving at the same time a considerable sum of money for their ransom.

CHAP. XVII.

There is a place in the Laconic region called Ægila, in which there is a holy temple of Ceres. Aristomenes and his soldiers, knowing that in this place the women met together to celebrate a festival, endeavoured to take them captive. But as these women did not defend themselves without the assistance of the goddess, the greater part of the Messenians were grievously wounded by the women with the spits and burnt entrails which were used in the sacrifices, and Aristomenes himself, being struck with torches, was taken prisoner. However, he was soon rescued, and came the same night to Messene. It is said,
that Archidamia gave him his liberty, not allured by
money, but induced by love (for she loved him prior to
this affair), though she pretended that he broke his fet-
ters and fled. But in the third year, when the battle at
the great moat, as it is called, was about to commence, and
the Arcadians from all their cities gave assistance to the
Messenians; the Lacedæmonians corrupted by money Aris-
tocrates the son of Hicetas, who was a Trapezuntian,
and king of the Arcadians, and at that time was the
general of the Arcadian armies. For the Lacedæmonians
are the first we are acquainted with that made presenta-
to an enemy, and caused the event of a war to be venal.

But before the Lacedæmonians acted in this unlawful
manner towards the Messenians, and Ariscoctrates was
corrupted by them, those that fought trusted to their vir-
tue and the providence of the gods. The Lacedæmoni-
ans, however, appear, in following times, when they met
with an Athenian fleet at Ægospotamos, to have corrupted
by money both other Athenian commanders and par-
ticularly Adimantis. But a certain punishment, which is
called Neoptolemea, once befell the Lacedæmonians:
and this punishment was thus denominated in conse-
quence of Neoptolemus the son of Achilles slaying Priam
at the altar of Hercean Jupiter, and being himself slain in
the same manner at the altar of the Delphic Apollo.
And hence, when any one suffered just what he had made
others endure, such a punishment came to be called Ne-
optolemea. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, when they
were in a very flourishing condition, when they had de-
stroyed the fleet of the Athenians, and had seized on a
great part of Asia with Agesilaus for their leader, could
not totally subvert the Persian empire; but the Barbarian
OF GREECE.

circumvented them with their own arts, by sending money to Corinth, Argos, Athens, and Thebes. Hence the war called Corinthiac, originated from this bribery; and Agesilaus was obliged to abandon his possessions in Asia. This fraudulent conduct, therefore, of the Lacedaemonians towards the Messenians, the daemon in after times turned to their destruction.

But Aristocrates, as soon as he had received the money from the Lacedaemonians, at first concealed his intentions from the Arcadians; but when the two armies were marching to battle, he then terrified his troops, by observing to them, that if they should engage, they would be left in a very disagreeable situation, and that their retreat would be cut off if they should be vanquished. He farther added, that the victims in the sacrifice did not portend the desired success. In consequence of this, he ordered all of them, when he should give the signal, to betake themselves to flight. When the Lacedaemonians, therefore, began the fight, and the Messenians turned themselves to oppose them, Aristocrates, while the battle was but just begun, drew off the Arcadians, and by this means left the left wing and the middle of the Messenian army naked; for the Arcadians filled up these two parts of the army, because the Eleans, Argives, and Sicyonians were absent from the fight. And that the Arcadians might be effectually restrained from engaging, Aristocrates fled through the Messenians.

But the Messenians, in consequence of this unexpected change, were so astonished, and so disturbed by the Arcadians passing through them, that many of them wanted but little of forgetting their present danger; for instead of directing their attention to the Lacedaemonians that

Cc2 were
were now rushing on them, they looked back on the flying Arcadians; and while some suppliantly entreated them to stay, others reviled them as betrayers and violators of their compacts. In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, without much difficulty, surrounded the abandoned Messenians, and obtained an easy and expeditious victory over them. But Aristomenes and his band stood their ground, and endeavoured to repel the most forward of the Lacedæmonians. They were, however, too few to be of much use on this pressing occasion: and such numbers of the Messenians perished, that those who thought at first that they should be the lords of the Lacedæmonians instead of their slaves, had not then the least hope of being saved. Among those of the principal fort, Androcles and Phintas fell, and he who in this engagement deserved the highest praise, Phanas, and who, prior to this, was illustrious for his victory in the long chariot race of the Olympic games. But Aristomenes after the battle collected together the flying troops of the Messenians, and leaving Andania, and the other more inland towns, betook himself to the mountain Ira. When he had entrenched himself with his forces in this place, he was besieged by the Lacedæmonians, who expected an immediate conquest. Such however was the resistance of the Messenians, that they defended themselves for eleven years. But that the siege continued so long is evident from the verses of Rhianus upon the Lacedæmonians, in which he says:

“For twelve changing seasons, form’d
From stormy winter and the virid herb,
Near a white mount, the Spartan camps were fix’d.”

In these verses, he circumscribes years by winters and summers; and by the herd, signifies grass, a little before harvest time.
OF GREECE.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Messenians, as soon as they had fixed their residence in Ira, being excluded from every other place of abode, except such maritime parts as the Pylians and Mothonæans had preserved for them, employed themselves in taking prey not only from the Laconic dominions, but from their own country, which they now considered as hostile to their intentions. Indeed they made incursions every where, just as it happened; and Aristomenes in particular, having collected into one body a chosen band of three hundred men, plundered with them as much as possible from the Lacedæmonians, and took from them corn, wine and cattle, but restored back their slaves and furniture for money. This plundering, however, compelled the Lacedæmonians to publish an edict, that such parts as bordered on Messenia and the Laconic region should not be cultivated during the war, as they perceived that they tilled the land more for the inhabitants of Ira than themselves. Hence, the scarcity of corn which happened in Sparta was attended with a sedition, as those that had possessions in these parts could not bear that their land should remain in this uncultivated state. This dissatisfaction, however, Tyræus appeased by his verses: and in the mean time Aristomenes, with his chosen band, left Ira as soon as it was night, and with great celerity marched to Amycla, at which place he arrived by break of day, took and plundered the city, and returned to Ira before the Spartans could give any assistance to the town.

Aristomenes too after this continued to plunder the Spartan land, nor did he cease his hostilities, till happening
ing to meet with more than half of the Lacedæmonian forces, together with both the kings, among other wounds which he received in defending himself, he was struck so violently on the head with a stone, that his eyes were covered with darkness, and he fell to the ground. The Lacedæmonians, on seeing this, rushed in a collected body upon him, and took him alive, together with fifty of his men. They likewise determined to throw all of them into the Ceadas, or a deep chasm, into which the most criminal offenders were hurled. Indeed, the other Mæs- fenians perished after this manner; but some god who had so often preferred Aristomenes, delivered him at that time from the fury of the Spartans. And some who entertain the most magnificent ideas of his character, say, that an eagle flying to him bore him on its wings to the bottom of the chasm, so that he sustained no injury by the fall.

Indeed, he had not long reached the bottom before a daemon shewed him a passage, by which he might make his escape: for as he lay in this profound chasm wrapped in a robe, expecting nothing but death, he heard a noise on the third day, and uncovering his face (for he was now able to look through the darkness) he saw a fox touching one of the dead bodies. Considering, therefore, where the passage could be through which the beast had entered, he waited till the fox came nearer to him, and when this happened seized it with one of his hands, and with the other, as often as it turned to him, exposed his robe for the animal to seize. At length, the fox beginning to run away, he suffered himself to be drawn along by her, through places almost impervious, till he saw an opening just sufficient for the fox to pass through, and a light streaming through the hole. And the animal indeed, as soon
OF GREECE.

soon as she was freed from Aristomenes, betook herself to her usual place of retreat. But Aristomenes, as the opening was not large enough for him to pass through, enlarged it with his hands, and escaped safe to Ira. The fortune, indeed, by which Aristomenes was taken, was wonderful, for his spirit and courage were so great, that no one could hope to take him; but his preservation at Ceadas is far more wonderful, and at the same time it is evident to all men that it did not take place without the interference of a divine power.

CHAP. XIX.

But when the Lacedaemonians were told by certain persons, who fled voluntarily as if they had been exiles, that Aristomenes had returned safe to his own people, they considered the narration as incredible, as if they had been told that a dead man had been restored to life by his own means. The following transaction, however, convinced them of the truth of this report. The Corinthians sent certain forces to the Lacedaemonians, to assist them in the capture of Ira. Aristomenes being informed of this by his spies, and that their camps were without a guard, attacked them by night, and while they were yet asleep slew many of them, and their leaders Hypermenides, Achladæus, Lystratus, and Idectus, and afterwards plundered the general's tent. The Lacedaemonians, therefore, well knew that the author of this enterprise could be no other than Aristomenes. After this, Aristomenes sacrificed to Jupiter Ithomatas; and the sacrifice which he then offered is called Hecatomphonia, and is of most ancient
THE DESCRIPTION

ancient institution. It is likewise performed by such of
the Messenians as have slain in battle one hundred men.
Aristomenes, therefore, sacrificed the first Hecatomphonia,
when he fought at the tomb of Carpus; the second, when
he slew the Corinthians in the night; and he is said to
have performed a third sacrifice, in consequence of some
posterior excursions.

But the Lacedæmonians, as it was now the time in
which they celebrated their Hyacinthia, agreed with the
Messenians in Ira on a cessation of hostilities for forty days.
And while they were celebrating this festival, the Cretan
archers, who were called from Lyctus and other Cretan
cities, made incursions into Messenia. Aristomenes, there-
fore, in consequence of the league, was at that time
absent from Ira; and as he was wandering about without
fear, seven of these Cretan archers took him by stratagem,
and bound him with the cords of their quivers, for it was now evening. After this, two of these men
went to Sparta, and told the Lacedæmonians that Ari-
tomenes was taken, while the rest led him thus captive
to Agilus, a place in Messenia. In this place a virgin
dwelt along with her mother, for her father was dead.
But in the night prior to this event, the virgin saw in a
dream a lion without talons, led along by wolves: but
she thought that he was freed from his bonds by herself,
that she caused him to resume his wonted courage, and
gave him his talons; and that thus at length the wolves
were torn in pieces by the lion. As soon, therefore, as
the Cretans brought Aristomenes to this place, the virgin
knew the meaning of her dream, and asked her mother
who Aristomenes was. But when her mother had satisfied her in this particular, and she had beheld Aristo-

menes,
OF GREECE.

menes, she knew at once what she ought to do. Hence the gave the Cretans wine in abundance, and as soon as they were intoxicated, and in a deep sleep, drew out a dagger, with which she cut the bonds of Aristomenes; and he receiving the dagger from her, flew his insidious enemies. Gorgos, the son of Aristomenes, married this virgin by the desire of Aristomenes, in consequence of her having preserved his life. But Gorgos was not more than eighteen years old when he married the virgin.

CHAP. XX.

At length, in the eleventh year of the siege, Ira was taken by the will of the Fates, and the Messenians driven from their abodes. Indeed, the oracle given to Aristomenes and Theocles, when they came to Delphos, after the battle at the moat, was verified by the event of the particulars which it respected. But the Pythian virgin, on their enquiring concerning their safety, answered them as follows: "As long as a goat shall drink the winding water of Neda, I will preserve Messene, but no longer: for her destruction is at hand." The fountains of this river Neda are in the mountain Lyceus; and the river itself flowing through Arcadia, and again winding towards Messenia, becomes the boundary of the maritime parts to the Messenians and Eleans. And then, indeed, the Messenians thought that they ought not to suffer the he-goats to drink of the water of Neda. The meaning however of the divinity was as follows: The wild fig-tree, which the Greeks call Olympos, is denominated by the Messenians tragos, or a goat. At that time, therefore, a wild
a wild fig-tree which grew on the banks of the Neda, instead of tending upwards inclined towards the river, and touched the water with its outermost leaves. The prophet Theoclus beholding this, sagaciously conjectured that the Pythian deity, by the goat drinking out of the Neda, alluded to this fig-tree; and that the fatal time of the Messenians was now at hand.

However, he concealed this circumstance from the multitude, but bringing Arisotomenes to the fig-tree, informed him that the time of their safety was expired. Arisotomenes was persuaded that this was the case; and as affairs were now brought to an extremity, provided for the present circumstances in the best manner he was able. As the Messenians, therefore, possessed something belonging to arcane mysteries, which, if destroyed, would be the eternal ruin of Messene, but if preserved, would, according to the oracles of Lycus the son of Pandion, be the means of restoring Messene, in some future period, to its pristine condition;—this arcanum Arisotomenes, who knew the oracles, carried away as soon as it was night, and buried it in the most solitary part of the mountain Ithome; as he was of opinion that Jupiter Ithomatas, and the other divinities who had preserved Messene to that time, would carefully guard the sacred deposit, and not suffer the Lacedaemonians to take away their only hope of possessing Messene again, in some after period of time.

After this, great evils befell the Messenians through adultery, as was the case with the Trojans before them. For some of the Messenians dwelt on the summit of the mountain Ira, and others dwelt beyond the gates; but no person whatever voluntarily came to them from Laconia. A servant however of Emperamus, who was an illustrious
OF GREECE.

Illustrious Spartan, drove along the oxen of his master, and fed them not far from the river Neda: and perceiving the wife of a Messenian who did not dwell within the walls coming to draw water, he fell in love with her, had the boldness to enter into amorous conversation with her, and at last prevailed on her by gifts to consent to his desire. After this, he watched the time when her husband departed to his guard; for the Messenians defended the citadel by turns, as they were fearful lest the enemy should attempt to enter within the walls from this part of the town. When this man therefore went to his charge, the herdsman hastened to his wife. It happened, however, at that time, that the husband of the woman was accompanied in the night with a guard of soldiers; but the Messenians, in consequence of a violent shower of rain, were obliged to leave their guard; for the rain fell upon them in great abundance, and they had neither any projection from the wall, nor towers, by which they might be sheltered from the inconvenience of the weather.

They likewise hoped, that the Lacedaemonians would never think of attacking them in such a dark and stormy night. Aristomenes, too, could not inspect the guard as he was accustomed to do: for not many days before this, the Lacedaemonians with the Apteraean archers, led by the Spartan Euryalus, had intercepted a Cephallenian merchant, who used to carry corn and other necessaries to Ira; but Aristomenes, as this man was his guest, preserved both him and his goods, though he was by this means so wounded, that he was incapable of acting as usual. This, therefore, was the principal reason of their leaving the citadel: and as each returned home from his charge, this was the case among the rest with the husband.
band of the woman who had committed adultery with the herdsman. But the woman, who at that time had the herdsman with her, as soon as she perceived her husband coming, concealed her gallant with all the celerity possible, received her husband with more kindness than usual, and enquired the reason of his unexpected arrival. He, who neither suspected her adultery, nor knew of the herdsman being in the house, told her the truth of the case; that both he and all his companions were driven from their post by the violence of the rain. The herdsman heard this relation, and, as soon as he was well instructed in each particular, betook himself with the utmost celerity to the Lacedaemonians. At that time, however, both the Spartan kings were absent; but Emperamus, the master of the herdsman, was the leader of the forces that besieged Ira. The herdsman, therefore, coming to his master, in the first place begged pardon for his flight; and afterwards informed him, that the time was particularly favourable to the capture of Ira; relating, to convince him of this, the several particulars of the Messenian's discourse.

CHAP. XXI.

THE narration of the herdsman was credited, and Emperamus with his Spartans immediately followed him to Ira. But their march was difficult, by reason of the darkness and violence of the rain. However, having mastered these disadvantages by their alacrity, they arrived at the citadel of Ira, and by means of scaling ladders, and other such methods as they were able to adopt, ascended above the
OF GREECE.

397

the fortifications. Among other prodigies which portended to the Messenians their imminent destruction, the dogs were observed to howl, not in their usual manner, but with a more continued and violent clamour. The Messenians, therefore, perceiving that their last and most necessary contest was now at hand, did not take up all their arms, but every one snatching the weapon which he chanced to find, endeavoured to defend the only country which remained to them out of all Messenia. But Gorgos the son of Aristomenes, Aristomenes himself, the prophet Theocles, and Manticlus the son of Theocles, first perceived that the enemy was within the walls, and were the first that gave their assistance. These were joined by Euergetadas, a man, who, among other things for which he was honoured in Messene, had ennobled himself by marriage; for he was married to Agnagora the daughter of Aristomenes.

All these, therefore, except Aristomenes and the prophet, though they perceived themselves caught as it were in a net, and on all sides surrounded and oppressed, yet entertained a certain hope from the present forlorn state of their affairs; but these two were confident, that the destruction of the Messenians would be no longer deferred, as well knowing what the oracle obscurely signified by the goat. However, notwithstanding this, they were of opinion, that this circumstance should be concealed from the multitude; and eagerly running through every part of the town, exhorted all they met to behave themselves valiantly, and called from their houses those that yet remained behind. On that night, indeed, nothing worthy of relation was performed by either party. For the
THE DESCRIPTION

Lacedæmonians were rendered remiss by their ignorance of the place, and the courage of Aristomenes. But the Messenians were too much distracted to attend to the orders of their leaders; and, if any one enkindled a torch, or any other inflammable substance, it was immediately extinguished by the god of rains.

As soon as it was day, and they were able to behold each other, Aristomenes and Theocclus endeavoured to render the Messenians desperate, both by instructing them in such particulars as the occasion required, and reminding them of the courageous behaviour of the Smyrnæans, who being a part of the Ionians, through their virtue and alacrity, drove out Gyges the son of Dascylus, who then possessed the city of the Lydians. But the Messenians, on hearing this, were filled with a desperate courage, and rushed on the Lacedæmonians wherever they happened to meet with them. The women too, from higher places, hurled tiles and other destructive materials at the Lacedæmonians: but the violence of the rain prevented them from climbing to the roofs of their houses. However, they had the courage to take up arms; and by this means inflamed the ardour of the men, when they perceived that the very women had rather die in the defence of their country, than become slaves to the Lacedæmonians. This vigorous resistance might perhaps have averted their destiny, but the god poured down the rain in increased abundance, rolled loud thunder over their heads, and filled them with terror, by darting his lightning in their eyes. On the contrary, this dreadful storm increased the confidence of the Lacedæmonians, who considered it as a signal that the god declared himself on their side; especially when
when the prophet Hecatus, in consequence of the thunder being on their right hand, informed them that it was an auspicious sign.

This prophet, too, invented the following stratagem. The Lacedæmonians were far superior to the Messenians in number, but as they were not drawn up in a wide plain and in the regular order of battle, but fought in scattered parties in different quarters of the city, those in the rear of every troop were necessarily useless. These troops therefore Hecatus ordered to return to the camp, and after they had refreshed their bodies with food and sleep, to come back again in the evening and relieve those that were wearied; as by this means, fresh troops succeeding such as were worn out with fatigue, the vigour of the fight would be easily sustained. But now the affairs of the Messenians were, on all sides, in the greatest perplexity; for they had been in arms for three days and nights without any respite, and were nearly exhausted with watching, rain, cold, hunger and thirst; but the women were the most reduced, through their being unaccustomed to war, and the continuance of the labour. The prophet Theocclus, therefore, at length said to Aristomenes: Why do you endure this fruitless labour? It is decreed by destiny, that Messene shall be entirely destroyed; the destruction is now apparent, was formerly signified by the Pythian deity, and was lately evinced by the wild fig-tree. And me, indeed, the god impels to fall with my country; but do you as much as you are able preserve the Messenians, and save yourself. After he had thus addressed Aristomenes, he rushed on the enemy, and with a loud voice told the Lacedæmonians, that they would not perpetually rejoice in their victory over the Messenians.
nians. After this, falling on those that opposed him, he made a great slaughter among them, and at length, fatiated with the destruction of his enemies, fell, covered with wounds. But Aristothenes called the Messenians from the fight, except those that, on account of their courage, fought by his side; for these he suffered to maintain their ground: but he ordered the rest to place their wives and children in the midst of their troops, and follow wherever he should make a passage for their escape. Over the last of these forces he placed Gorgos and Manticlus; and he himself, rushing on the leaders of his enemies forces, by the shaking of his head and the motion of his spear, evinced that he meant to force a passage, and make his escape. Emperamus, therefore, and the Spartans that were present suffered the Messenians to pass through them, without farther exasperating men already driven to the extremity of desperation; the prophet Hecatus at the same time persuading them to act in this manner.

CHAP. XXII.

As soon as the Arcadians understood that Ira was taken, they immediately requested Aristocrates to lead them to battle, that they might either preserve the Messenians, or perish along with them. But Aristocrates, as one who had been bribed by the Lacedaemonians, was not willing to gratify their request, and told them that he knew there were no Messenians left alive for them to assist. As soon, however, as the Arcadians clearly perceived that some Messenians remained, who had been compelled to leave Ira, they went of their own accord to meet
OF GREECE.

Meet them at the mountain Lyceus, brought food and raiment for them, and sent certain persons to console them, and conduct them in their march. When the Messenians, therefore, had arrived safe at Lyceus, they were hospitably entertained by the Arcadians, and liberally invited to abide in their cities, and share their land. But Aristomenes, through commiseration of plundered Ira, and hatred of the Lacedæmonians, devis'd the following stratagem. Out of the number of the Messenians he select'd fifty men, whom he knew were the least concerned about their own safety, and in the hearing of the other Arcadians, and of Aristocrates himself, who he did not then know had betrayed the Messenians (for he thought that he fled through cowardice and fear, and not from a vicious motive), inquired of the fifty, whether they were willing to die with him in revenging their country's cause? As soon as they had all declared that they were willing, he told them, that in the evening he would lead them to Sparta, as the greater part of the Lacedæmonians were then at Ira, and the rest were occupied in plundering the property of the Messenians.

Aristomenes farther added, "If we should be fortunate enough to take possession of Sparta, we shall be able to restore to the Lacedæmonians their possessions, and receive back ours in exchange: but, if we fail in our design, and lose our lives, we shall render ourselves illustrious to posterity by our daring attempt." When he had thus spoken, three hundred Arcadians were willing to participate with him of the bold undertaking; but their march was at that time restrained, because the victims did not exhibit auspicious omens. On the following day, however, their secret design was unfolded to the Lacedæmonians, and...
THE DESCRIPTION

they were a second time betrayed by Aristocrates. For Aristocrates immediately committed to writing the intention of Aristomenes, and sent the book by a servant in whom he could confide to Anaxander at Sparta. This servant, however, on his return was intercepted by certain Arcadians, who before this had been at variance with Aristocrates, but at that time suspected his conduct. They brought, therefore, this servant to the Arcadians, and shewed the people the answer which was sent from Lacedæmonia. In this letter Anaxander acknowledged, that the flight of Aristocrates at the great mast had been no small aid to the Lacedæmonian affairs, and thanked him for his present intelligence. But as soon as this matter was publicly known, the Arcadians threw stones at Aristocrates, and exhorted the Messenians to do the same. They however looked at Aristomenes, who, fixing his eyes on the ground, wept. The Arcadians, therefore, stone Aristocrates to death, and buried him after they had hurled his corpse out of their dominions. They erected a pillar too in the temple of Lyæus, with the following verses inscribed on it:

Time, with avenging hand, is sure at last
To punish unjust kings, and easily with Jove
Messenæ's traitor found: for perjur'd men
T'elude divinity in vain attempt.
Hail, sov'reign Jove, and save Arcadia's realms!

CHAP.
OF GREECE.

CHAP. XXIII.

But such of the Messenians as were either left at Ira, or in any other place, were incorporated among the Hilotes. The Pylians, however, Mothonæans, and others that dwelt near the sea, after the capture of Ira, betook themselves to Cyllene, which was the haven of the Eleans; and from hence sent to the Messenians in Arcadia, desiring them, in one collected body, to seek for a proper place of abode, and to make Aristomenes the leader of their expedition. Aristomenes, however, declared, that as long as he lived he would war on the Lacedæmonians, and that he knew perfectly well that some new evil would always befall Sparta through his means. He therefore gave them Gorgos and Manticlus for their leaders. But Euergetidas with the other Messenians migrated to the mountain Lycaeus, and from thence, as soon as he perceived that the stratagem of Aristomenes respecting the capture of Sparta had proved abortive, returned with fifty Messenians to Ira, and meeting with the Lacedæmonians laden with prey, made them repent their undertaking, and at length fell himself in the engagement. But Aristomenes, as soon as he had appointed the leaders for the Messenians at Cyllene, gave permission to any that were willing to follow them. And all, indeed, accepted his offer, except such as were prevented by old age, or the want of things necessary for their settlement.

This capture of Ira, and completion of the second war of the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, happened when Autolycus was the Athenian archon, and in the
THE DESCRIPTION

first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, in which Chionis
Laco was victor. But when the Messenians met together
at Cyllene, they thought it best to stay there during the
winter, which had then commenced. And after they had
adopted this resolution, the Eleans supplied them with
the necessaries of life. But as soon as the spring appeared,
they began to consider where they should direct their
course. And Gorgos, indeed, was of opinion, that they
should fix upon the island Zacynthus above Cephalenia,
as by this means becoming islanders instead of inhabitants
of the continent, they might injure the land of the Laced-
æmonians by their maritime excursions. But Manticlus
exhorted them both to bury Messene and their hatred of
the Lacedæmonians in oblivion, and told them, that by
failing to Sardus, they might possess an island the greatest
of all others, and the first in felicity. In the mean time
Anaxilas sent to the Messenians, and offered them a re-
sidence in Italy. This Anaxilas reigned over Rhegium,
and was the great grandson of Alcidas andidas. But Alcidas
migrated from Messene to Rhegium, after the death
of king Aristodemus, and the capture of Ithome.

This Anaxilas, therefore, persuaded the Messenians to
settle with him, and told them on their arrival, that there
was a disagreement between him and the Zancleai, who
possessed a very delightful country, and a city situated
in a very convenient part of Sicily. He added, that
if he should conquer this country, he would give it to
them. After the Messenians had approved this intention,
Anaxilas passed over with them into Sicily. Zancle was at
first infested with robbers; and as the country was situ-
ated in a desert, the robbers inclosed with a wall all the
parts about the port, and built a castle, by means of
which they might both assault persons at sea, and defend
themselves when they were assaulted. Their leaders were the Samian Cratæmenes, and Perieres of Chalcis, who appear to have afterwards colonized others of the Greeks. And then, indeed, Anaxilas vanquished the Zanclezi in a naval battle, and the Messénians in a land engagement. But the Zanclezes being afterwards besieged by the Messénians by land, and the Rheginians by sea, and having their wall thrown down, fled to the altars and temples of the gods. Anaxilas, therefore, as this was the case, ordered the Messénians to cut off the supplicant Zancleans, and to make slaves of the rest together with their wives and children. Gorgos, however, and Manticlus entreated Anaxilas not to compel them to act in the same impious manner towards the Greeks, as their kindred had acted towards them. After this, therefore, the Zancleans rising from the altars, and oaths being given on both sides, the place came to be inhabited by both in common. But the name of the city was changed, and called Messene, instead of Zancle. These events happened in the twenty-ninth Olympiad, in which Chionis Lacon was the second time victor, and Miltiades was the Athenian archon. But Manticlus raised a temple of Hercules for the Messénians; and at present there is a temple of the god beyond the walls, which they call Hercules Manticus: just as with respect to Ammon in Libya, and Belus in Babylon, the latter of these was denominated from the Egyptian Belus the son of Lybe, and the former from a shepherd who founded the temple. And such was the end of the wanderings of the exiled Messénians.
THE DESCRIPTION

C H A P. XXIV.

In the mean time Aristomenes, as he did not choose to take the command of the new colony, married his sister Agnagora to Tharyx in Phegalia, and the eldest of his daughters to Damothidas Lepreate, and the next to her to Theopompus Heraenisis. After this, he went to Delphos to consult the oracle. And the answer, indeed, which Aristomenes received is not known: but the Pythian deity ordered Damagetus Rhodius king of Ialybus (who came to Apollo to enquire what woman he should marry) to marry the daughter of the best of the Greeks. Damagetus, therefore, married the third daughter of Aristomenes, as he considered her father by far the best of all the Greeks that existed at that period. But Aristomenes came to Rhodes with his daughter, and afterwards proposing to pass over from thence to Andys the son of Gyges, and to Ecbatana to king Phraortes, he was seized with a disease, and died before he was able to accomplish his design. The Lace-daemonians, therefore, were freed from any further molestation through Aristomenes; and Damagetus, and the Rhodians, raised an illustrious monument to his memory, and paid him from that time all the honours which he deserved. But here I shall pass over the particulars relative to those persons who are called in Rhodes the Diagoridae, because they originated from Diageras the son of Damagetus, the grandson of Doreus, and the great grandson of Damagetus and the daughter of Aristomenes; and this, lest I should appear to write about things which do not concern the present history.
OF GREECE.

The Lacedaemonians, then, as soon as they had subdued Phocis, divided all the country amongst themselves, except the land of the Aiolae: but they gave Mothone to the Nauplienses, who a little before this had been driven from Nauplia by the Argives. Such of the Messenians, however, as remained in the land, and who were placed from necessity among the Hilotes, revolted a second time from the Lacedaemonians in the twenty-ninth Olympiad, in which Xenophon vanquished the Corinthians, and when Archimedes was the Athenian archon. But they revolted on the following account: Some of the Lacedaemonians, who were condemned to death for a certain crime, fled in a supplicant manner to Tanarus: but here the chief of the Ephori tore them from the altar, and put them to death.

And the Spartans, for this violation of suppliants in the temple of Neptune, experienced the anger of the god, by the entire subversion of their city. During the time of this calamity, therefore, such of the ancient Hilotes among the Messenians as remained, migrated to the mountain Ithome. But the Lacedaemonians sent against them, among their other allies, Cimon the son of Miltiades, who was publicly their friend, and a band of Athenians. The Athenians, however, were no sooner arrived, than they were suspected by the Spartans as disposed to innovation, and in consequence of this suspicion were recalled by them from Ithome. But the Athenians, as soon as they perceived that they were suspected by the Lacedaemonians, became friends with the Argives on this account, and gave to the Messenians, who in the siege of Ithome had been dismissed on certain conditions, Naupactus for a place of abode, and which had been taken from those Locrians who at Aetolia are called Ozolae. This country be-
came a place of safety to the Messenians that left Ithome: and at the same time the Pythian deity announced to the Lacedæmonians, that they would be punished if they injured the suppliants of Jupiter Ithomatas. In consequence of this, the Lacedæmonians dismissed them from Peloponnesus, on certain conditions.

CHAP. XXV.

But the Messenians, though they were in possession of Naupactus, were not satisfied with the enjoyment of a city and country the gift of the Athenians, but had a strong desire of obtaining with their own hands something worthy of renown. Hence, on finding that the Æneada who belonged to the Acarnanes possessed a fertile country, and that they were the perpetual enemies of the Athenians, they directed their forces against them. The Messenians, indeed, were not more in number than the Æneada, but they were much superior to them in valour. In consequence of this, therefore, they vanquished them in battle, and afterwards driving them within their walls, besieged their city. Here the Messenians, not omitting any thing which has been invented for the purposes of a siege, placed ladders against the walls, which they undermined; and at the same time employed all the machines which could be constructed in so short a time. A part of the wall therefore being thrown down, the inhabitants were afraid left, if the city should be taken, they should be slain, and their wives and children enslaved; and in consequence of this made a league, and abandoned the city. This place was possessed by the Messenians for the space of one year; but
OF GREECE.

In the following year the Acarnanes having collected an army from all their cities, determined upon warring on Naupactus. This hasty resolution was however laid aside, when they perceived that they must march through the Ἑtolians, with whom they had been continually at war; and besides this, they suspected, which was really the case, that the Naupacti were fitting out a fleet, and as these people were in possession of the sea, that they should not be able to accomplish any thing considerable by engaging with them either by sea or land.

In consequence of this, changing their design, they immediately turned their forces against the Messenians in Oeniadæ; and for this purpose prepared every thing proper for the siege; for they could not suppose, that such a handful of men would dare to engage an army composed of all the Acarnanes. The Messenians, on the other hand, though they had collected together a quantity of corn, and other things necessary for persons besieged, and for a siege of long duration, determined before they were surrounded by the enemy, to engage in open fight; as they did not think it by any means proper, that they who were not inferior to the Lacedæmonians in courage, though they were less fortunate, should be terrified at the multitude of the approaching Acarnanians. They likewise called to mind the illustrious achievement of the Athenian's at Marathon, where three hundred thousand Medes were cut off by only thirty thousand Athenians. They therefore drew up in order of battle against the Acarnanes, and the manner of the fight is said to have been as follows:

The Acarnanes, as far excelling the Messenians in number, surrounded them on all sides, except in that part
THE DESCRIPTION

where they were prevented by the gates at the back of the Messenians, and where the Messenians were defended by their own people from the walls. Both the sides however of the Messenian army, were enclosed and vigorously attacked by the Acarnanians; but the Messenians rushing on the enemy in collected troops, disordered one part of their forces, destroyed another part, and wounded many. Notwithstanding this, they were not able to put the enemy to flight, because, wherever certain of the Acarnanians perceived their ranks were broken by the Messenians, there running to the assistance of their disordered troops, they hindered by their multitude the Messenians from entirely subduing them. And when the Messenians, being repulsed, again endeavoured to cut off the phalanx of the Acarnanians, their victory was impeded in the same manner as before; for others were ready with their assistance, and repulsed them by their numbers, so that they were obliged, though unwillingly, to yield to the multitude of the Acarnanians. The battle, therefore, remained on equal terms till the evening; and in the night which followed, the Acarnanians, having received assistance from their cities, besieged the Messenians who had retired within their walls. And the Messenians, indeed, were by no means afraid, either that their walls would be taken, or that they should be vanquished by the desertion of their guards; but this was the subject of their affliction, that all their necessary supplies had been exhausted within the eighth month. However, they deluded the Acarnanians from the walls, by telling them that, if the siege were to last for ten years, they should not be in want of provisions; and during the first hours of rest, came secretly out of Oeniadæ, but not without being observed by the Acarnanians.
OF GREECE.

An engagement therefore ensuing, they lost about three hundred of their own forces, and slew a greater number of the enemy. Afterwards the greater part of them made their way through the Acarnanes; and passing through the country of the Ætolians, with whom they were upon amicable terms, arrived safe at Naupactus.

CHAP. XXVI.

FROM this time the Messenians entertained the most violent hatred against the Lacedæmonians; and this hatred shewed itself in the most remarkable degree during the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians. For Naupactus was a very convenient receptacle for the Athenians in their war with the Peloponnesians; and the Messenian slingers from Naupactus, together with the Athenians, slew the Spartans that were oppressed at Sphaeteria. But as the Athenians were vanquished at Ægospotamos, so the Lacedæmonians drove the Messenians from Naupactus, after they had conquered them in a naval engagement. In consequence therefore of this expulsion, some of them migrated to Sicily to their kindred, and to Rhegium; but the greater part of them went to Lybia, and to the Eucperitæ, a people of Lybia. For the Eucperitæ having been injured in war by the Barbarians their neighbours, associated with all that bore a Grecian name. But the Messenians had for their leader, in this expedition, Comon, who was their commander at Sphaeteria.

One year, therefore, prior to the victory of the Thebans in Leuctra, a divine power signified to the Messenians, that they should return to Peloponnesus. For the Messenians report, that the priest of Hercules, near the sea, saw
THE DESCRIPTION

In a dream Hercules, who is called Manticlus, hospitably invited by Jupiter to the mountain Ithome. But Comon, when he was among the Euesperitae, dreamed that he had connection with the dead body of his mother, and that by this means she came to life again. And Comon, indeed, was in hopes of being able to make a descent upon Naupactus, as the Athenians were very powerful by sea. The dream however signified, that Messene would be recovered again. For, not long after, it happened that the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra suffered the misfortune, which was their due from a more ancient period. For an oracle was given to Aristodemus when he reigned over the Messenians, the last verses of which was to this effect: "Act in a proper manner; for Fate now urges these, and now those." The oracle therefore signified, that the Messenian affairs would at that time be badly conducted, but that afterwards Lacedaemonia would in its turn be oppressed by destiny. The Thebans, therefore, being then victors at Leuctra, sent messengers to Italy, Sicily, and the Euesperitae, and to every other place where the Messenians had fled for refuge, desiring them to return to Peloponnese.

The Messenians, indeed, on receiving this message, assembled together with more celerity than could be supposed, through a desire of again Possessing their native country, and in consequence of their eternal hatred of the Lacedaemonians. But Epaminondas was doubtful where it would be proper for them to fix their place of abode, as it did not seem by any means easy to build a city suffiiciently well fortified against the Lacedaemonians, and there did not appear to be any place in Messene adapted to this purpose. For the Messenians were unwilling to fix their residence either
either in Andania, or Oechalia, because in both these places they had been oppressed by the hand of misfortune. As Epaminondas, therefore, was hesitating how to act in this case, they report that an old man, who had very much the appearance of an hierophant, stood before him in the night, and said, "To you, indeed, I give victory in every engagement; and through my means, O Theban, you shall neither be nameless, nor without glory among men. But do you lead back the Messenians to their paternal land and cities; for the anger of the Dioscuri against them is now appeased." And such was his speech to Epaminondas.

But Epiteles, the son of Eschyines, whom the Argives chose for their general, and the restorer of Messene, was commanded in a dream to dig up that part of the earth in Ithome, which was situated between a yew-tree and a myrtle, and take out of a brazen bed-chamber which he would find there, an old woman worn out with her confinement, and almost dead. Epiteles, therefore, as soon as it was day, went to the place which had been described to him in the dream, and dug up a brazen water-pot. This he immediately took to Epaminondas, who, when he had heard the dream, ordered him to remove the cover, and see what it contained. Epiteles, therefore, as soon as he had sacrificed, and prayed to the god who had given the dream, opened the water-pot, and found in it a thin plate rolled up like a book, and in which the mysteries of the mighty goddesses were written. This was the secret which Aristomenes had buried in that place: and they report, that the person who was seen by Epiteles and Epaminondas in a dream, was Caucon, who formerly came from Athens to Andania, in order to deposit certain arcana with Messene the daughter of Triopas.
The wrath of the sons of Tyndareus against the Messenians, which originated prior to the battle at Stenyclerus, took place, as far as I can conjecture, from the following cause: Two youths of Andania, Panormus and Gonippus, who were both beautiful in their persons, and greatly attached to each other by the correspondence of their disposition and pursuits, used to make mutual excursions into Laconia, for the purpose of committing depredations in the Spartan dominions. It so happened, that the Lacedaemonians, who were celebrating a festival in honour of the Dioscuri, were amusing themselves in their camps after the feast with drinking and sport. At this time Gonippus and Panormus, clothed in white garments and purple cloaks, and riding on most beautiful horses, with hats on their heads, and spears in their hands, shewed themselves unexpectedly to the Lacedaemonians. But the Lacedaemonians, as soon as they saw them, revered and prayed to them, supposing them to be the Dioscuri, who were come to visit their sacrifice. The youths, however, as soon as they were mingled among the Spartans, made a great slaughter of them with their spears; and having treated the sacrifice to the Dioscuri with great contempt, returned to Andania. And this, as it appears to me, led the Dioscuri to a hatred of the Messenians. But then, as the dream evinced to Epaminondas, the return of the Messenians to their native country was not contrary to the will of the Dioscuri. The oracles of Bacis, however,
OF GREECE.

however, particularly induced Epaminondas to the coloniza-
tion of the Messenians. For Bacis, who was agitated
with divine fury from the Nymphs, poured forth oracles
for various Grecian cities, and delivered the following
concerning the restoration of the Messenians:

"The splendid flower of Sparta then shall fade;
And all Messene, through the whole of time,
Shall with inhabitants again be fill'd."

I also find, that the manner in which Ira was taken
was predicted by Bacis; and the following is a part of his
predictions:

"Those of Messene tam'd through loud uproar,
And fountains leaping with impetuous streams."

And that they found their mysteries, is asserted by cer-
tain persons of the family of the priests, as may be seen
in their writings. But Epaminondas, as soon as the place,
which is now the city of the Messenians, appeared to him
adapted for the purpose, desired the prophets to learn
whether the gods were willing that this should be the re-
sidence of the Messenians. And when the prophets in-
formed him that the victims were auspicious, he pre-
pared everything necessary for raising a city; ordered
stones to be brought; and took care that men should be
procured who were skilful in cutting out narrow passa-
ges, in building houses and temples, and in surrounding the
city with walls. Afterwards, when every thing was pro-
perly finished (as the Arcadians brought victims to this
place), Epaminondas, and all the Thebans, sacrificed to
Bacchus and Iphimenian Apollo, after the manner esta-
blished by law; the Argives to Argive Juno and Nemean
Jupiter; the Messenians to Jupiter Ithomatas and the Dio-
cutia.
curi; and the priests themselves to the mighty goddesses and Caucon. But they invoked the heroes in common to return and dwell with them, especially Messene the daughter of Triopas; afterwards Eurytus, Aphareus, and their sons; and of the posterity of Hercules, Cretphonos and Aëpytus. But Aristomenes was recalled by all of them in the most eminent degree.

That day, therefore, was spent by them in sacrifices and prayers. But on the following days they raised the wall, and built within it houses and temples. And all this was accompanied with no other music than the Bocotian and Argive pipes; and the melody of Sacadas and Pronomos then first began to be mostly adopted. To the city itself too they gave the name of Messene, and rebuilt other small towns. But the Nauplienses were not ejected from Mothone; and the Aifmai were suffered to remain in their own dominions. For the Messenians called to mind the kindness of these people, in not consenting to war in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians against them. But as to the Nauplienses, the Messenians continually prayed for their prosperity, because they had enabled them by their gifts to return to Peloponnesus. The Messenians, therefore, came to Peloponnesus, and recovered their ancient prerogatives, two hundred and eighty-seven years after the capture of Ira, when Dyscinctus was the Athenian archon, and in the third year of the one hundred and second Olympiad, in which Damon the Thurian was a second time victor. It was not therefore by any means a short time, during which the Platæenses were exiled from their country; nor yet that in which the Delians inhabited Adramyttium, after they were driven from their own lands by the Athenians. And the Orchomenian Minya, indeed,
OF GREECE.

indeed, who, after the battle at Leuctra, were driven by the Thebans from Orchomenus, were again brought back to Boeotia, together with the Platæenses, by Philip the son of Amyntas. But the Thebans, who were deprived of their city by Alexander, were, not many years after, restored to their country by Cassander the son of Antipater. It appears, however, that of the people we have just enumerated, the Platæenses were deprived of their country for the longest time; and yet this time did not exceed the space of two years. But the Messenians were exiled from Peloponnesus for nearly three hundred years; during which time, they neither adopted the manners of foreign nations, nor changed their Doric dialect, but even to the present day have preserved its idiom the most accurately of all the Peloponnesians.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Messenians after their return were at first undisturbed by the Lacedæmonians, because the Lacedæmonians were restrained from any hostile attempts through fear of the Thebans of Meffene, which was now restored, and of the Arcadians who were collected into one city. But as soon as the Phocesian war, which is called the Sacred War, drew the Thebans out of Peloponnesus, then the Lacedæmonians were no longer able to resist the daring confidence which urged them to war on the Messenians. The Messenians, however, in conjunction with the Argives and Arcadians, opposed them, and demanded for this purpose the assistance of the Athenians; but the Athenians declared, that they would by no means enter into the
THE DESCRIPTION

Spartan dominions in conjunction with them in a hostile manner; but that, if the Lacedæmonians began the war upon Messene, they would not then be wanting to give the Messenians assistance. And in the end, the Messenians joined to themselves in the war Philip the son of Amyntas, and king of the Macedonians. This they assign as the reason, why they did partake with the Greeks of that general engagement in Chaeronea; at the same time, that they were very far from ever intending to war upon the Greeks. But Alexander dying, and the Greeks a second time taking up arms against the Macedonians, the Messenians joined with them in the war, as we have already shewn in our account of the Attic affairs.

The Messenians, however, did not fight in conjunction with the Greeks against the Galatae, as they were unwilling to enter into a league with Cleonymus and the Lacedæmonians. But not long after the Messenians took Elis, through the wisdom of their plans, in conjunction with spirited attacks. For the Eleans were from the earliest times the most equitable of all the Peloponnesians; and Philip the son of Amyntas afflicting Greece with the calamities which we have before enumerated, corrupted the principal persons among the Eleans with his gifts; and by this means first caused the Eleans, as they report, to be involved in a civil war. But as soon as this was the case, and the Lacedæmonians had learned the condition of the affairs of the Eleans, they immediately prepared to send them assistance, as their allies; and in consequence of this, were busily employed in forming their troops into order, and dividing them into proper bands.

In the mean time, chosen forces of the Messenians, to the number of a thousand men, armed with Lacedæ-
monian shields, came to Elis; and as soon as the Eleans perceived the Spartan shields, they supposed that some of their allies were come to their assistance, and received the men within the walls. The Messenians, therefore, having gained the town after this manner, banished such of the inhabitants as adhered to the Spartan interest, and delivered the government of the city to those of their own party. The plan, indeed, which the Messenians adopted, is a stratagem of Homer: for, in the Iliad, he represents Patroclus as invested with the arms of Achilles, and says, that the Barbarians thinking Achilles had returned to the fight, broke their ranks and fled. Other stratagems, too, besides this, may be found in Homer; as where two spies, instead of one, are sent from the Greeks in the night to the Trojans; and where a man under the appearance of an exile, but in reality a spy, comes to Troy to explore their secret designs. And besides these, where he represents such of the Trojans, as either through youth or old age were incapable of bearing arms, left in Troy to guard the walls, while those in the vigour of their age, were armed against the Greeks. In the camps of the Greeks, too, he informs us, that such as were wounded retired from the field of battle, and, that they might not be unemployed, armed those whose forces were intire. And such are the universally beneficial examples which may be found in Homer.
BUT not long after the capture of Elis, the Macedonians, and Demetrius the son of Philip, and the grandson of Demetrius, subject Messene to their dominion. And many indeed of the daring undertakings of Perseus against Philip and Demetrius, we have related in our account of the Sicilian affairs. But the manner in which Messene was taken was as follows: Philip laboured under a want of money, to procure which, as it was absolutely necessary for his affairs, he sent Demetrius with some ships to Peloponnesus. Demetrius, therefore, drove into a certain obscure port of the Argives, and from thence, by one of the shortest passages, led an army to Messene. Here placing all the light-armed troops which he then had with him in the front of the army, as he was not ignorant of the road to Ithome, towards morning he ascended the walls, which were situated between the city and the tower of Ithome. As soon as it was day therefore, and the Messenians perceived their danger from the enemy being within their walls, they suspected at first that their city was taken by the Lacedaemonians; so that, in consequence of their ancient hatred of the Spartans, they rushed on the enemy with unbounded fury. But when from their arms, and the sound of their voice, they knew that they were Macedonians, and Demetrius the son of Philip was present, they were seized with a violent dread, as they considered with themselves that they should have to engage with Macedonians, men who had made war their particular study, and had been fortunate in all their undertakings.
At the same time, however, the magnitude of the present danger called forth their courage, enabled them to exert themselves even beyond their strength, and caused them to hope for a prosperous issue of the present event. For they considered, that they had not returned after so long an interval to Peloponnesus without divine assistance. The Messenians, therefore, from the city rushed impetuously on the Macedonians, together with those that guarded the right hand part of the tower. In like manner too the Macedonians, from their courage and skill, defended themselves at first in the most strenuous manner; but afterwards, in consequence of being wearied with their journey, vigorously attacked by the Messenian troops, and assaulted by the very women, who threw upon them tiles and stones, they were compelled to fly without order. And a great part of them, indeed, were hurled headlong from the precipices (for Ithome in this part is remarkably steep); and a few only, throwing away their arms, were saved. But the Messenians, as it appears to me, did not join in council with the Achaians, because, as they had of their own accord affixed the Lacedæmonians in their war with Pyrrhus the son of Alexander, and were in consequence of this kindness at peace with them, they considered that they might excite the ancient hatred of the Lacedæmonians by affixing the council of the Achaians, who were the open enemies of the Spartans.

This too, which is not concealed from me, was doubtless obvious to the Messenians, that though they should not aid the designs of the Achaians, yet the Achaians would of themselves be the enemies of the Lacedæmonians. For in the Achaian consultations, the Argives and Arcadians did not form the smallest part. The Messenians, however,
however, in time, joined themselves to the Achaiai: and not long after, Cleomenes the son of Leonidas, and the grandson of Cleonymus, took Megalopolis, a city of the Arcadians, and made with them a lasting truce. When this city was taken, all the inhabitants that were then within the walls were cut off, but such as fled with Philopoemen the son of Craugis (for those that left Megalopolis are said to have fled in two parties) were received by the Messenians, as well in consequence of their ancient kindness during the time of Aristedemos, as that they might discharge the obligations which they were under to them afterwards, when Messene was restored. Human affairs, indeed, are subject to all possible mutations: for a divine power caused the Messenians to be the favourites in their turn of the Arcadians; and what is still more unlikely, permitted the Messenians to take Sparta. For when they fought with Cleomenes at Sellasia, after the battle, in conjunction with Aratus and the Achaiai, they took Sparta.

The Lacedaemonians, however, being liberated by Cleomenes, the tyrant Machanidas began his reign; and he dying, Nabis possessed the sovereign authority. But as this prince not only seized on human property, but plundered temples themselves, in a short time he collected a prodigious sum of money, and with it furnished an army. When this Nabis seized on Messene, Philopoemen and the Megalopolitans were that very night within its walls, by which means the tyrant was compelled to depart under certain stipulated conditions. But the Achaiai after this revolted from the Messenians, warred upon them with all their forces, and conquered many parts of their dominions. Not content too with these hostilities, they again invaded
invaded Messene during the time of harvest: but Dinocrates, who then presided over the commonwealth, and by the suffrages of the people commanded the army, seizing on the passages into Messene from Arcadia, frustrated the designs of Lycurgas and his army; and meeting with the Messenians and their allies, forced him to retreat. The Messenians, too, conquered and took Philopoemen, who came with a few horse a long time after the army of Lycurgas, and who had not heard whether the Messenians were victors, or the contrary. But how Philopoemen was taken, and how he died, we shall hereafter relate in our account of the Arcadian affairs. Those Messenians, indeed, that occasioned his death were punished on this account; and the Messenians again contributed to the interest of the Achaians. And thus far I have described the various calamities of the Messenians, and how a divine power drove them from their own country, and far from Peloponnese, and again brought them back to their paternal land. It now remains, that my discourse should be directed to the country itself, and the cities which it contains.

C H A P. XXX.

At the present time there is a city called Abia in Messene, which is near the sea, and is about twenty stadia distant from the grove Choerius. They report, that this place was formerly called Ire, and is one of those seven cities which Agamemnon, according to Homer, promised to Achilles. But Hyllus and the Dorians being vanquished in battle by the Achaians, they say,
THE DESCRIPTION

say, that Abia the nurse of Hyllus, the son of Hercules, migrated into Ire, and having fixed his residence in this place, raised a temple to Hercules, under the name of Abia. They add, that Cresphontes afterwards, among other honours which he paid to this woman, changed the name of the city, and called it Abia. In this place there was an illustrious temple of Hercules and Æsculapius. Pharæ too is distant from Abia about eighty stadia; and there is salt-water in the road. Augustus Cæsar ranked the Messenians-in Pharæ, among those of a Laconic name. They likewise report, that Pharis, the son of Mercury and Philodamea the daughter of Danaus, was the builder of this city, and that Pharis had no male offspring, but had a daughter whose name was Telegone. Homer, in the Iliad, relates his descendants in the following order; that Diocles had two sons, Crethon and Ortilochus; and that Diocles himself descended from Ortilochus, the son of Alpheus. He makes no mention however of Telegone; but, if we attend to the relation of the Messenians, she was the mother by Alpheus of Ortilochus.

This too I have heard in Pharæ, that besides these two sons, Diocles had a daughter, whose name was Anticlea; that from her, and Machaon the son of Æsculapius, Nico-machus and Gorgafus descended; that these dwelt at Pharis, and after the death of Diocles obtained the government. They believe even at present, that persons discafed, or mutilated in any part of their body, are healed by these two; and on this account they sacrifice to Nico-machus and Gorgafus in a temple, and consecrate to them sacred gifts. In Pharæ too there is a temple of Fortune, and an ancient statue. But Homer is the first I am acquainted with that mentions Fortune. For in his hymn...
OF GREECE.

425
to Ceres, where he enumerates the daughters of Ocean, and represents them as playing with Proserpine, he ranks Fortune or Tyche also among these daughters, as is evident from the following verses:

"O'er Nyx's beauteous mead I sportive rov'd; These my companions; each a lovely maid! Leucippe, Phaeno, and Eletra fair, Ianthe, Tyche, and with blooming face Octoeca."——-

He does not, however, assert any thing farther concerning her; as, that she is the greatest of the divinities in human affairs, and that she confers on mankind the greatest strength; as he does in the Iliad with respect to Minerva and Enyo, that they are the leaders of warriors; with respect to Diana, that she is dreadful to women in labour; and with respect to Venus, that nuptials are the objects of her care. But Bupalus was very skilful in raising temples, and making the representations of animals; and was the first we know of that made a statue of Fortune for the Smyrnaeans, having a pole on her head, and in one of her hands that which is called by the Greeks the horn of Amalthea. And in this manner did he evince the works of the goddess. But Pindar afterwards exhibited other particulars respecting Fortune, and called her Phereopolis, or the Sustainer of cities.

CHAP. XXXI.

NOT far from Phare there is a grove of Apollo, which is called Carneus, and in it a fountain of water. But Phare is distant from the sea about six stadia. On proceeding from hence to the most inland parts of Messene, at
at about the distance of eighty stadia, you will arrive at the city Thuriatæ. They report, that this city is called by Homer Anthea. But Augustus gave it to the Lacedæmonians in Sparta; for when he warred on Mark Anthony, the Meßenians with the other Greeks adhered to the party of Anthony; but the Lacedæmonians were on the side of Augustus. Hence, Augustus being victor in this war, punished both the Meßenians and others that opposed him, some in a lighter, and others in a more severe degree. But the Thuriatæ, who formerly dwelt on a lofty hill, descended into the plain, and there fixed their place of abode. They did not however entirely leave the upper city; for the ruins of the walls yet remain, and a temple, which is denominated the temple of the Syrian goddesses. A river too, called Aris, flows through the city in the plain. And in the most inland part there is a village called Calamæ, and a place denominated Limnæ; in which last there is a temple of Limnatis Diana: and they report, that Teleclus, when he reigned over the Spartans, met with his death in this place.

On leaving Thuria, and directing your course as it were to Arcadia, you will see the fountains of the river Pamisus, whose waters cure the diseases of children. But on departing from these fountains to the distance of sixty stadia, on the left hand, you will see a city of the Meßenians under Ithome. This city not only comprehends Ithome, but likewise those parts which lie under the mountain Evæ, towards Pamisus. This mountain, from the noise of the Bacchæ, was called Euoe: and they report, that Bacchus himself, and the women that followed him, first made use of the exclamation Euoe in this place. But the wall which surrounds Meßenae is wholly built of stone; and
OF GREECE.

and towers and places of defence are raised upon it wherever it is necessary. The Babylonian walls, indeed, and those that are called Memnonian in Susa, I never saw, nor have I heard from any one that has seen them any particulars about them. But the cities which I have seen fortified with walls, are in Ambryfes, Phocica, Byzantium and Rhodes; yet these are not to be compared with the walls of Messene.

In the forum of the Meffenians there is a statue of Jupiter the Saviour, and a fountain called Arsinoe, from the daughter of Leucippus. Water flows into this from a fountain which they call Clepsydra. There are likewise two temples here, one of Neptune, and the other of Venus; and, which deserves to be particularly mentioned, a statue of the Mother of the Gods, of Parian stone, which was the work of Damaphon. This same Damaphon accurately joined together the statue of Jupiter in Olympia; and he is much honoured by the Eleans. That, too, which the Meffenians call Laphria was made by Damaphon: and they report, that it came to be venerated on the following account: The Diana of the Calydonians (for they particularly venerate this goddess) is called Laphria; and the Meffenians, at the time that they received Naupactus from the Athenians, bordered on the Aetolians. Then, indeed, the name Laphria was alone usurped by the Meffenians, and the Patrenes from among the Achaians. But all cities call Diana Ephesia; and men privately honour this goddess beyond all the divinities. The cause of this, as it appears to me, is the renown of the Amazons, who, according to report, dedicated a statue to the goddess, and built this her most ancient temple. There are likewise three other particulars besides these, which contribute to her
THE DESCRIPTION

her fame; the magnitude of the temple, which surpasses that of any other structure raised by human hands; the flourishing state of the city of the Ephesians; and the splendour of the goddess.

The Messenians also have a temple of Lucina, and a stone statue of this divinity. The temple of the Curetes is near this, in which they sacrifice all animals in a similar manner: for beginning with oxen and goats, they descend to birds, which they cast into the flames. They have likewise a holy temple of Ceres; and statues of the Dioscuri, forcibly taking away the daughters of Leucippus. Indeed I have already related, that there is a dispute between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, concerning the place in which the Dioscuri were born. For the Messenians say, that they were born in their city. But the temple of Æsculapius, among the Messenians, contains the greatest number of statues, and the most worthy of inspection. For the statue of the god is separate from the statues of his offspring; and the statues of Apollo, the Muses, and Hercules, are separate from each other. They have besides these, representations of the city of the Thebans, of Epaminondas the son of Polymnis, of Fortune, and light-bearing Diana. Of these, such as are made of stone are the productions of Damaphon, who is the only artificer among the Messenians that deserves to be mentioned. The statue of Epaminondas is made of iron; and was the work of some other artist, and not of Damaphon. There is also a temple of Messene the daughter of Triopas, and a statue of gold and Parian stone. But there are pictures in the back part of the temple, of all the Messenian kings prior to the military expedition of the Doric forces into Peloponnesus, viz. of Apharcus and his sons. Among those, too, that
OF GREECE.

that were celebrated after the return of the children of Hercules, Creso, Phebus, or Plistus, Neoptolemus, and Antiloctus; for these are honoured beyond all the children of Neoptolemus, both on account of their age, and because they fought in the Trojan war. There is also a painting of Leucippus the brother of Aphiareus, of Hilaria and Phoebe, and together with these of Arsinoe. And besides all these there is a picture of Asclepius, who, according to the Messenians, was the son of Arsinoe, and of his sons Machaon and Podalirius, because these two engaged in the Trojan war. All these pictures were painted by Omphalion, the disciple of Nicias the son of Nicomedes: and, according to some, this Omphalion was the servant of Nicias, and at the same time the object of his love.

C H A P. XXXII.

AGAIN, the place which is called by the Messenians Hierothysion, or the temple of victims, contains the statues of all the gods which are worshipped by the Greeks, and a brazen image of Epaminondas. It contains likewise brazen tripods, which Homer calls defitute of fire. But the statues of Mercury, Hercules, and Theseus, which are in the gymnasion, were made by certain Egyptians: for all the Greeks, and many barbarous nations, have these in their gymnasia, and honour them in their places of wrestling. Among these statues, too, I find Aethidas, who was a man older than myself, and was honoured
honoured by the Meßenians as if he had been an hero, because he was remarkably rich. Some of the Meßenians, however, though they acknowledge that Ἁθιδας was very rich, yet deny that the statue which stands on a pillar is the statue of this Ἁθιδας, but assert, that it is the representation of the ancestor of Ἁθιδας, and who bore the same name. They further add, that this more ancient Ἁθιδας was the general of the Meßenians, when Deme-
trius the son of Philip suddenly and secretly entered Me-
ṣene with an army. In the same gymnasiaum too there is a
monument of Aristomenes, which, however, they say, is empty: and on my enquiring how the bones of Arist-
omenes were brought hither, they informed me, that they were brought to this tomb by the command of the Pythian
deity; and besides this, they explained to me in what manner they sacrificed on his tomb, which is as follows:

The bull which is destined to the sacrifice is bound to a pillar not far from the sepulchre; and as he is fierce and unaccustomed to bonds, he endeavours to make his escape. While, therefore, he is struggling and leaping in order to effect his deliverance, if the pillar is moved by the agitation, the Meßenians consider it as a prosperous omen: but if the pillar stands unmoved, they interpret it as portending some calamity. They farther add, that Aristomenes, after he ceased to rank among men, was present at the battle of Leuctra, assisted the Thebans, and was the principal cause of the great loss which the Lacedæmonians received. I know, indeed, that the Chal-
dæans, and Magi of the Indians, were the first that as-
serted the soul of man was immortal; and this opinion was embraced by some of the Greeks, and particularly by Plato the son of Aríston. And if all men were willing
OF GREECE.

431

to admit this as a truth, it might very readily be believed, that the hatred of Aristomenes towards the Lacedaemonians would last for ever.

Indeed, what I once heard among the Thebans, contains something probable respecting the Messenian affairs, though it does not entirely agree with what the Messenians relate. The Thebans therefore say, that when the battle at Leucòra was just commencing, they sent to consult, among other oracles, that which is given by the divinity in Lebadea. Hence, the oracles are spoken of which were given at Istmus, Ptous, Aba, and Delphos; and they report, that Trophonius spoke in the following hexameter verses:

"Ere at the enemy you hurl your spear,
A trophy raise, and here my shield adorn,
Which Aristomenes th' impetuous, fix'd
Within the temple; for my power shall break
The ranks of shield-defended, hostile men."

After this oracle was given, they say that Epaminondas entreated Xenocrates to send for the shield of Aristomenes, and that he would adorn a trophy with it, in a place where it might be beheld by the Lacedaemonians. Some of the Lacedaemonians, therefore, know that the shield of Aristomenes is fixed in Lebadea, as it has been seen by them when they were at peace with the Messenians; but all of them have heard, that it is fixed in this place. But as soon as the Thebans were victorious, they restored to Trophonius the consecrated gifts. There is also a brazen statue of Aristomenes in the stadium of the Messenians; and not far from the theatre there is a temple of Serapis and Isis.

CHAP.
ON ascending to the top of the mountain Ithome, which is the tower of the Messenians, you will see the fountain Clepsydra. It would be endless, indeed, to enumerate all the people that affirm Jupiter was brought up among them. The Messenians, therefore, among others, lay claim to this honour, and report, that the nurses of Jupiter were Ithome and Neda; and that the river was denominated from Neda, and the mountain from Ithome. They further add, that these Nymphs having received Jupiter, who was secretly taken away by the Curetes through fear of his father Saturn, washed him in this fountain; and that the water was denominated from the theft of the Curetes. But the Messenians every day bring water from this fountain to the temple of Jupiter Ithomatas. The statue of Jupiter in this temple is the work of Ageladas, who made it at first for the Messenians that dwell in Naupactus. An annual priest keeps this at his own house: and the Messenians celebrate anniversaries festivals, which they call Ithomæa. It may also be inferred from the verses of Eumelus, that in former times they instituted musical games: for the following are found among the supplicatory verses of Eumelus to Delos:

"To jove Ithomatas the muse is dear,
Which joys in unpolluted, liberal song."

It appears therefore to me, that Eumelus made these verses, and that he knew the Messenians established musical contests.

Again,
OF GREECE.

Again, on proceeding from Arcadia to the great city, you will see in the gates a Mercury, the production of Attic art: for the figure of the Athenian Hermes is quadrangular; and other cities have learned this mode of representing Mercury from them. But the river Balyra is about thirty stadia distant from the gates; and they report, that the river was thus denominated, because Thamyris, who was blind, left his lyre in it. They add, that Thamyris was the son of Philammon, and the nymph Argiope who dwelt in Parnassus; that, when she was pregnant, she migrated to Odrysæ, because Philammon was not willing to marry her; and that from this circumstance, Thamyris came to be called Odryse and Thracea. Two other rivers flow into this, Leucasia and Amphitus. After you have passed over these, there is a plain called Stenyclerus: and they say that there was a hero whose name was Stenyclerus. Opposite to this plain there is a grove, which was formerly called Oechalia, but at present Carnassius, and which is remarkably full of cypress trees. This grove contains a statue of Apollo Carnæus, of Mercury carrying a ram, and of Proserpine the daughter of Ceres, who is called the holy virgin. Near this last statue water flows out of a fountain. The ceremonies, however, belonging to the great goddesses (for their mysteries are performed in Carnassium) I shall pass over in silence, on account of their arcane nature: for these mysteries are next to the Eleusinian for their venerable sanctity. But I am not restrained by a dream from informing the reader, that the brazen urn which was found by an Argive general, contains the bones of Eurytus the son of Melaneus.

The river Charadrus too flows near Carnassium: and as you proceed on the left hand, at the distance of about

Vol. L  Ff  eight
eight stadia, you will see the ruins of Andania. Indeed, that the name of this city was derived from a woman called Andania, is acknowledged by the interpreters; but I cannot tell from what parents she descended, or to whom she was married. On leaving Andania, and directing your course as if to Cyparissh, you will arrive at a small town called Eletra, through which a river of the same name, and another of the name of Coeus, flow. Perhaps the first of these names may be referred either to Eletra, the father of Atlas, and the second to Coeus the father of Latona; or perhaps they were assumed from the heroic natives, Eletra and Coeus. But on departing from Eletra, you will see near a fountain called Achaia the ruins of the city Dorian. According to Homer, Thamyris lost his sight in this city, for boasting that he surpassed in singing the Muses themselves. But Prodicus Phocænsis (if he is the author of the verses on Minyas) writes, that Thamyris suffers in Hades for his arrogance towards the Muses. It appears however to me, that Thamyris lost his eyes through disease: and the same misfortune afterwards befell Homer, who, nevertheless, did not sink under his calamity, nor desist from poetical composition as long as he lived. But Thamyris was vanquished by his misfortune, and entirely neglected through it his poetical talents.

CHAP. XXXIV.

From Messene, under the mouth of the river Pamisus, there is a road of eighty stadia in length. But Pamisus flows through the plowed land pure and limpid, and ships may sail through it from the sea to the distance of about ten
ten stadia. Marine fishes too run into this river, especially during the vernal season of the year; and they are found to do the same in the Rhine and Meander. But they swim in the greatest abundance in the river Achelous, in that part where it pours itself into the islands Echinades. The fish however which run into Pamisus very much differ in their form from those which are found in pure water, but at the same time they are not of a muddy nature, like those of the other rivers we have mentioned. But chubs, as they are fishes that delight in mud, abound in more muddy rivers. The Grecian rivers, indeed, do not produce fishes destructive to man like the Indus, the Egyptian Nile, the Rhine, Ister, Euphrates, and Phasis; for these nourish savage animals equal to the greatest devourers of men; but, in form, they are like the Glanides which dwell in Hermus and Meander, though their colour is blacker and their strength greater. But Indus and the Nile breed crocodiles: and the Nile produces river-horses, which are not less destructive to mankind than crocodiles. There is nothing, however, to dread in the fish of the Grecian rivers: for the savage dogs which swim into the Lous through Thespis do not belong to the river, but come hither from the sea.

The city Corone too is on the left hand of Pamisus, is situated near the sea, and is under the mountain Temathia. Along this way there is a place by the sea, which they consider as sacred to Ino: for ascending in this part from the sea, they say, that she was considered as a goddess, and that she was called Leucothea instead of Ino. Proceeding not far from hence, you will see the river Bias pouring itself into the sea. It is reported, that this name was given to it from Bias the son of Amythaon. But the
fountain of Platanisthion is at the distance of about twenty stadia from this road; and the water flows from a broad plane-tree. This plane-tree is hollow within like a cavern, but the breadth of the tree is but small, and the water which is fit for drinking descends to Corone. This city was formerly called Æpos; but when the Messenians were restored to Peloponnesus by the Thebans, they report, that Epimelides, who was sent to build the city, called it Coronea, because he himself was born in Coronea, a Boeotian city. The Messenians, however, did not at first call the city properly, and the depravation of the name incrusted with time. Another report likewise is circulated, that when the Messenians were digging in order to lay the foundations of the wall, they found a brazen crow. There are temples too in this place; one of Diana Paidotrophos, or the nurse of youth, another of Bacchus, and a third of Æsculapius. And the statues indeed of Æsculapius and Bacchus are made of stone; but the statue of Jupiter in the forum is of brass. There is also a brazen statue of Minerva in the tower. This statue stands in the open air, and holds a crow in its hand.

I have also seen the sepulchre of Epimelides; but I cannot tell why they call the port, the port of the Achaians. But on leaving Corone, at about the distance of eighty stadia, you will see a temple of Apollo near the sea, which is much honoured by the inhabitants: for, according to the Messenians, it is the most ancient of all their temples; and the god himself, whom they call Corynthus Apollo, heals diseases. The statue of this Apollo is made of wood; but the statue of the Apollo who is called Argus, is made of brass, and is said to have been dedicated
OF GREECE.

437

dedicated by those that failed in the ship Argo. The Colonides, too, border on the city of the Coronæi. The inhabitants of this place deny that they are Messenians, but assert, that they were brought hither from the Attic land by Colænus. They add, that Colænus, in consequence of the admonition of an oracle, followed a lark as his guide to this place; and that, in process of time, they assumed the Doric dialect and manners. The city Colonides is situated on an eminence at a small distance from the sea. But the Asinæi, who at first bordered on the Lycontæ, dwelt about Parnassus. They were then called Dryopes, which name they preferred after their return to Peloponnesus, and which they derived from Dryops by whom they were colonized. But in the third generation after this, during the reign of Phylas, the Dryopes were vanquished in battle by Hercules, and devoted to Apollo in Delphos. However, by the command of the same god they were led back by Hercules to Peloponnesus, and at first inhabited Asine, which is near Hermione; but being expelled from thence by the Argives, they dwelt in Messenia, which was given to them by the Lacedæmonians.

The Messenians, indeed, when in the course of time they returned to Peloponnesus, did not not subvert the city of these people. But the Asinæi acknowledge that they were vanquished by Hercules, and that their city in Parnassus was taken; but they deny that they were led captive to Apollo. On the contrary, they assert, that as soon as their walls were taken by Hercules, they left the city, and fled to the summits of Parnassus: and that afterwards passing over in their ships to Peloponnesus, they became the suppliants of Eurytheus, who, on account of his hatred to Hercules, gave them Asine in Argolis. But
THE DESCRIPTION

the name of Aïnœi alone of all the race of the Dryopes, is at present venerable, having in this respect nothing similar to the Stryenses in Eubea. For the Stryenses belonged at first to the Dryopes, who did not engage in the war against Hercules, as they dwelt beyond the walls of the city. The Stryenses, however, treat any one with contempt who calls them Dryopes: and this is the case with the Delphi when they are called Phoecenses. On the contrary, the Aïnœi are pleased in the highest degree when they are called Dryopes; and this is evinced by the most holy of their temples, which are constructed in memorial of those which they formerly possessed in Parnassus. For their temple of Apollo is built after this manner, and the temple of Dryops with its ancient statue. They celebrate too every year the mysteries of Dryops; and assert, that he was the son of Apollo. This city is situated near the sea (as was the case formerly with Aïne in Argolis), and is about forty stadia distant from Colopiana. A place too called Acriras, is at the same distance from Aïne. But Acriras extends itself to the sea, and there is a desert island before it, which is called Theganussa. After Acriras there is a port called Phoenicus, and near it is the island Oenussa.

C H A P. XXXV.

BUT Mothone, before an army was collected against Troy, and during the time of the Trojan war, was called Pedafus. Afterwards, however, as the Mothonesians report, it was called after the daughter of Oeneus. For, say they, Oeneus, who was the son of Porthaon, after the capture of Troy dwelt in Peloponnesus, and had a daughter from
from the harlot Mothone. It appears to me, however, that the place was denominated from the rock Mothon, as it is this which makes the port; for being concealed under the sea, and leaving a more contracted passage for ships, it at the same time affords them a defence by not suffering them to be injured by the raging billows from the profundities of the sea. But we have already shewn, in the preceding part of this description, that the Lacedæmonians gave Mothone to the Naupliensæ, who were expelled from their country for adhering to the Spartan interest, when Damocratidas reigned in Argos; and that they received no injury from the return of the Messenians. But it appears to me, that the Naupliensæ belonged to the more ancient Egyptians, and that failing together with Danaus to Argolis, three ages afterwards, they were colonized by Nauplius the son of Amyzon, and that the colony was called Nauplia from its founder. The emperor Trajan, too, permitted the Mothonæans to dwell in the city which bears their name, with the possession of their freedom, and the use of their own laws.

Prior to this period, however, the following misfortune alone befell the Mothonæans, of all the Messenians that dwell near the sea. The affairs of the Thespontians were in a ruinous condition, through the want of a person endowed with supreme authority; for Deidamia the daughter of Pyrrhus died without children; and as she was dying, she committed the administration of affairs to the people. But Pyrrhus the father of Deidamia was the son of Ptolomey, the grandson of Alexander, and the great grandson of the more ancient Pyrrhus. The particulars, however, respecting Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, we have already related in our account of the Athenian affairs. Procles the Carthaginian
THE DESCRIPTION

thaginian evinces, that this Pyrrhus was indeed inferior to Alexander the son of Philip, both in the advantages of fortune, and the splendour of his actions; but that he was superior to him in the disposition of his horse and foot, and in the invention of warlike stratagems. The vulgar of the Eperotes, as soon as they were freed from the restraint of government, began to be insolent in many respects, and despised the injunctions of the magistrates. In consequence of this anarchy, they were suddenly oppressed by the Illyrians that dwell near the Ionian sea: for we do not know of any democracy, except that of the Athenians, that ever increased in strength and renown. The Athenians, indeed, under this government obtained great reputation: for in their native sagacity they surpassed the rest of the Greeks, and observe their laws with the most scrupulous exactness.

But the Illyrians, as soon as they had tasted the sweets of dominion, as they were a people perpetually desirous of increasing their empire, built ships, made depredations, just as it happened, and drove to the port of the Monochoeans under the pretext of friendship, and sent certain persons into the city, as if to fetch wine for their ships. When, therefore, wine was brought to them by a few of the inhabitants, they paid the price it was estimated at by the Monochoeans, and the Monochoeans in their turn bought some of the merchandize of the Illyrians. On the following day, when a greater number descended to the port, the desire of gain was so increased, that both men and women in numerous bodies came to the ships to sell wine, and to buy things of the Barbarians: but then the Illyrians with daring impudence forcibly seized many of the men and women, placed them in their ships,
ships, sailed with their booty through the Ionian sea, and almost left the city of the Mothoneans desolate.

In Mothone there is a temple of Minerva Anemotis. They report, that the statue of the goddess was dedicated by Diomed, who also gave her this name. For this country was once greatly injured through winds more violent than usual; but they say, that in consequence of Diomed praying to Minerva, they were never afterwards afflicted with a similar calamity. There is also a temple of Diana here; and water in a well, which is mixed with pitch, and resembles Cyzicenian ointment. Water indeed is capable of assuming every colour and smell; but the most azure of all the water I ever beheld is that in Thermopylas, not indeed all the water, but only that which flows into the swimming-places, and which the Inhabitants call the earthen-pots of the women. The country of the Hebrews, too, not far from the city Ioppa, affords a yellow water, which is perfectly similar to the colour of blood. This water is near the sea; and they report, that Perseus when he slew the whale to which the daughter of Cepheus was exposed, washed himself from the blood in this fountain.

I have also seen black water in Atrya flowing from fountains. But there are hot baths in Atrya, which is opposite to Lesbos, and in that part of it which is called Atarneus. This place was given to the Chians by the Medes, as a reward for delivering up to them a suppliant Lydian of the name of Pactyas. The Romans too above the city, and beyond the river Anius, exhibit water of a white colour. Whoever descends into this water, finds it at first so cold that it strikes him with horror, but after he has been in it for a short time, it grows hot, like boiling water: and
THE DESCRIPTION

and these waters, which are both admirable to the sight, and salubrious to those that drink them, I have myself seen, and know to be such as I have described them. I know, indeed, of other waters, but as they are less wonderful, I omit to mention them. But it is by no means a very wonderful circumstance, to find water which is salt and bitter. There are likewise two different fountains, one in the plains of Cardias which are called White, and are near the village Dascylus, the water of which is hot, and is sweeter to drink than milk; but the other is mentioned by Herodotus, as a fountain of bitter water, which runs into the river Hypanis. Is there any reason, therefore, why we should not admit the truth of the above relation, since even at present, in Dioscuria, a city near the Tyrhenean sea, there is a water so hot, that in the course of a few years, it melts the leaden pipes through which it flows.

CHAP. XXXVI.

There is a road from Mothon to the promontory Coryphasium, which is about one hundred stadia in length. In this promontory Pylos is situated, which was built by Pylus the son of Cleon, who brought into it the Leleges from Megaris. His government, however, was but of short duration; for he was expelled by Peleus and the Pelaigii, who came from Iolcos. In consequence of this, departing to the neighbouring lands, he took possession of Pylos in Elea. But Neleus during his reign raised Pylos to such a degree of dignity, that Homer, in the Iliad, calls the city from him Nelea. In this place there is a temple of Minerva, who is called Coryphasia, and a house
house which is said to be that of Neleus. There is a picture of Neleus in this house; and within the city his tomb is to be seen. The tomb, too, which is at a small distance from Pylos, is said to be that of Thrasymed. Within the city there is a cavern, in which they report the oxen of Neleus, and before him of Neleus, were kept. These oxen were of the Thessalian kind, and belonged to the flock of Iphiclus the father of Proteus. They were demanded too by Neleus, as a nuptial gift from the suitors of his daughter; and Melampus, in order to gratify his brother Bias, came for the sake of these into Thessaly, bound Iphiclus, one of the shepherds, and received the oxen as a reward for the prophetic answers which he gave to the interrogations of Iphiclus. But the wealth, which at that time they were studious of acquiring, consisted in collecting herds of horses and oxen. Thus not only Neleus desired the oxen of Iphiclus, but Eurystheus also obtained permission of Hercules to drive away the herd of oxen belonging to Geryon, when he found that there were oxen of a beautiful species in Iberia.

It appears, too, that Eryx, who then reigned in Sicily, was so desirous of possessing the oxen driven from Erythea, that when he wrestled with Hercules, the oxen of Hercules were on one side proposed as a reward to the victor, and the kingdom of Eryx on the other side. Homer likewise relates in the Iliad, that Iphidamas the son of Antenor gave first of all among the nuptial presents, a hundred oxen to his father-in-law. All which confirms what I have said, that men of that time particularly delighted in oxen. But it appears to me, that the oxen of Neleus fed at a considerable distance from Pylos: for almost
THE DESCRIPTION

almost all the Pylian land is very sandy, and therefore is not sufficiently adapted to the pasturage of cattle. Homer confirms my opinion when he makes mention of Nestor; for he always calls him the king of sandy Pylos. The island Sphacteria too projects before the port of Pylos, just in the same manner as Rhenea before the harbour of the Delians. It appears likewise, that places, which were before obscure and unknown, through the revolution of human affairs, have afterwards risen to fame. For Caphareus a promontory of Euboea became ennobled, through Agamemnon with the Greeks being driven hither by a storm, as they were returning from Troy. And Phyttalia, a small island before Salamis, is only known from its being the place in which the Medes were almost entirely destroyed. In a similar manner, the destruction of the Lacedaemonians at Sphacteria, rendered the island universally known. The Athenians also have dedicated a brazen statue of Victory in their tower, as a memorial of the battle at Sphacteria. But as you come to Cyprisidia from Pylos, there is a fountain in the suburbs near the sea. They report, that this fountain sprung out of the earth in consequence of Bacchus striking the ground with his thyrus; and on this account they call the fountain Dionysa. There is also in Cyprisidia a temple of Apollo, and of Minerva who is called Cyprisidia. But in Aulon there is a temple and statue of Nicapunius Aulemis; and near this the river Neda flows, between the borders of the Melitniens and Elanes.
THE

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE,

BY

PAUSANIAS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES,

IN WHICH MUCH OF THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE GREEKS IS UNFOLDED
FROM A THEORY WHICH HAS BEEN FOR MANY AGES UNKNOWN.

ILLUSTRATED

WITH MAPS AND VIEWS.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE AUGMENTATIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Vista jacet Pietas.——Ovid.

£ LONDON:
RICHARD PRIESTLEY, HIGH HOLBORN.

MDCCCXXXIV.
1715, March 22.
Warren Berens.

Vol. II

Book V Prior Eliacs - h. 1
VI Posterior Eliacs - h. 76
VII Schariaes - h. 147
VIII Arcadios - h. 225
THE DESCRIPTION OF GREECE.

BOOK V.
PRIOR ELIACS.

CHAPTER I.

Such of the Greeks as divide Peloponnesus into five parts only, acknowledge it is necessary that the Eleans and Arcadians must belong to that part which is possessed by the Arcadians; that the second must be assigned to the Achaians; and that the three remaining parts must be distributed among the Dorienses. But the nations which dwell in Peloponnesus are the native Arcadians and Achaians. Of these, the Achaians were expelled their country by the Dorienses, yet were not driven beyond Peloponnesus: but the Ionians, after they were expelled, inhabited that part of Greece which was formerly called Ægialus, but is now denominated from the Achaians. The Arcadians, however, from the first to the present time have possessed their own dominions; but the other parts have been inhabited by strangers. For the Corinthians of the present day are the most recent of all that dwell in Peloponnesus; and the period during which they have possessed this land, from a

VOL. II.
THE DESCRIPTION

Roman emperor to the present day, is two hundred and seventeen years. The Dryopes, too, and Dorienses came, the former from Parnassus, and the latter from beyond Peloponnesus. We also know, that the Eleans came into this part from Calydon and the rest of Ætolia; the particulars of whose antiquity are as follow:

Æthlius, as they report, first reigned in this land. They say, that he was the son of Jupiter and Protopenia the daughter of Deucalion; that Endymion was the offspring of Æthlius; and that he was beloved by the Moon, and had by the goddess fifty daughters. But those who speak more probably, assert, that Endymion married Asterodia, and that he had by her three sons, Pæon, Epeus, and Ætolus, and one daughter, Eurycyde. But according to some, his wife was the daughter of Itonus, and the grand-daughter of Amphictyon; but, according to others, she was the daughter of Hyperippe, and the grand-daughter of Areas. Endymion proposed to his children a contest in the Olympic race for his kingdom; and Epeus was victor, and obtained it. Hence those over whom he reigned were at first called Epei. But of his brothers they report, that one of them remained with Endymion; but that Pæon, grieving that he had been vanquished, fled to a considerable distance; and that the country above the river Axius was from him denominated Pæonia. With respect to the death of Endymion, the Heracleotæ, who dwell near Miletus, do not agree, in their account of it, with the Eleans. For the Eleans show the tomb of Endymion: but the Heracleotæ say, that he migrated to the mountain Latmus; and, indeed, as a proof of this, there is an adytum of Endymion in this mountain.

Epeus, from Anaxirhoe, the daughter of Coronus, whom he married, had a daughter, Hyrmine, but had not by her any male offspring. During his reign, it happened that Ænomaus, the son of Alxion (or, according to the poets and the vulgar, of Mars), who then reigned about Pissa, was
expelled from his kingdom by Pelops, the son of Lydus, who came thither from Asia. But Pelops, after the death of Æanomaus, obtained Pisa, and added Olympia, which bordered on Pisa, and was under the government of Epeus, to his own dominions. The Eleans report, that this Pelops first built a temple to Mercury in Peloponnesus, and sacrificed to the god, in order to appease him for his having put Myrtillus to death. But Ætolus, who reigned after Epeus, was obliged to fly from Peloponnesus, because the sons of Apis called him to account for an involuntary murder which he had committed. For Ætolus slew Apis, the son of Jason, and who was born in Pallantium, an Arcadian town, by running against him with his chariot in the games which are called Azani. From Ætolus, therefore, the son of Endymion, those who dwell about Achelous are called Ætolians, because Ætolus fled to this part of the continent. But Eleus, who was the son of Euryeye, the daughter of Endymion, and (if it may be believed) whose father was Neptune, reigned over the Epeans: and the present inhabitants, instead of being called Epeans, are denominated from this Eleus. And Augeas was the son of Eleus.

But those that speak magnificently concerning this Augeas, say, that he was not the son of Eleus, but of Helios, or the Sun. This Augeas had such a quantity of oxen and goats, that the greater part of the land was in an uncultivated state, through the abundance of dung with which it was covered. Hercules, therefore, was persuaded to purify the land from the dung, whether he was to receive a part of Elea for his reward, or was to have some other compensation. Augeas, however, refused to pay Hercules for his undertaking, because he perceived that he accomplished it rather by art than labour. The eldest son of this Augeas, whose name was Phyleus, was ejected by his father, because he used to tell him that he had acted unjustly by a man by whom he had been benefited. This Augeas took care to fortify every place.
THE DESCRIPTION

in case Hercules should lead an army against Elis; and, besides this, entered into an alliance with Amarynceus and the sons of Actor. Amarynceus was a man skilful in warlike concerns: and his father was one Pyttius, a Thessalian, and who came from Thessaly to Elea. Augeas joined this Amarynceus with him in the government: and Actor and his sons, who were natives, were the associates of his reign. For Actor was the son of Phorbas, who was the son of Lapithas; and his mother was Hyrmine, the daughter of Epeus. This Actor, too, built a city in Elea, which was called, from him, Hyrmina.

CHAPTER II.

Hercules, therefore, warred upon Augeas, but did not exhibit any splendid actions in this expedition: for the associates of Hercules were always repulsed through the boldness of the sons of Actor, who were then in the vigour of their age. But when the Corinthians announced the Isthmian games, and the sons of Actor came to behold them, Hercules, by stratagem, slew them in Cleone. However, as the author of their death was unknown, Molione, the wife of Actor, made diligent search after the murderer of her sons; and as soon as she learnt who it was, the Eleans demanded of the Argives justice on the person by whom they were slain; for Hercules then dwelt in Tyrintha. But when the Argives denied their request, they tried to persuade the Corinthians to forbid every person that bore an Argolic name, on account of the violated league, from celebrating the Isthmian games. Failing, however, in this design, Molione is said to have fixed dreadful curses on such of her citizens as should be unwilling to refrain from the Isthmian games: and, even at present, the Eleans so religiously observe the
imprecations of Molione, that those among them who exercise their bodies in contests similar to the Isthmian, yet never celebrate the Isthmian games.

But there are two different accounts respecting this affair. For, according to some, Cypselus, who tyrannised over the Corinthians, dedicated a golden statue to Jupiter in Olympia, and Cypselus dying before his name was inscribed in the gift, the Corinthians requested of the Eleans that they would permit them to inscribe the name of their city in it. To this, however, the Eleans would not consent; and the Corinthians, enraged at their refusal, forbade them from coming to the Isthmian games. But, if this were the case, how is it to be accounted for that the Corinthians partook of the games in Olympia at the very time when they would not permit the Eleans to join in the Isthmian games? According to others, therefore, Prolaus, who was a man of illustrious rank among the Eleans, and whose wife was Lysippe, had two sons by her, Philanthus and Lampus. These his sons, when they came to the Isthmian games (for they were pancratiasts among young men), before they engaged in the contest, were either strangled by their adversaries, or slain in some other manner: and hence the imprecations of Lysippe on the occasion, prevented the Eleans from coming to the Isthmian games. The following circumstance, however, shows the futility of this relation: There is a statue in Olympia of Timon, the Elean, who was victor in those five Grecian contests which are called quinquentium; and an elegy, which mentions how many crowns he won. The same inscription, too, indicates the reason why he did not partake of the Isthmian victory. This elegy is as follows:

"The youth, from conqu'ring in Sisyphian land,
The dreadful curse of Molione restrain'd."

And thus much may suffice concerning this affair.
CHAPTER III.

Hercules, however, afterwards took and plundered Elis, having collected an army of Thebans, Argives, and Arcadians. But the Pylians, that were at that time in Elea, and the Pissei, assisted the Eleans. And Hercules, indeed, took vengeance on the Pylians; but the following Delphic oracle prevented him from warring on the Pissei. "The country Pisa is the object of my care; and I hold Pytho in the hollow of my hand." This oracle was the safety of the Pisseans. But Hercules gave Elea to Phyleus, being induced to this rather by shame than any voluntary impulse. He also gave to the same person all the captives, and committed to him the punishment of Augeas. At this time the Elean women, in consequence of their country becoming desolate, while they were in the vigour of their age, are said to have prayed to Minerva that they might become pregnant as soon as they had any connexion with men. Their prayer was granted; and they built a temple to Minerva, under the appellation of the Mother. The place, too, in which this first connexion between the men and women happened, is called Bady; and this is the country name of the river which runs through this place. But Phyleus, as soon as he had properly settled the Elean affairs, again returned to Dulichium; and Augeas ended his days, worn out with old age: after which, Agasthenes, the other son of Augeas, together with Amphimachus and Thalpius, assumed the reins of government. For the sons of Actor having married the two daughters of Dexamenes, king of the Olenians, Amphimachus was the offspring of one of them from Theronice, and Thalpius was the son of Eurytus from Therophone.

However, neither Amaryncius, nor Diros, the son of
OF GREECE.

Amarynceus, lived a private life; and this is evinced by Homer, in his catalogue of the Eleans. For he says, that their whole fleet consisted of forty ships, the half of which was commanded by Amphimachus and Thelpius; and, of the remaining twenty, Diores, the son of Amarynceus, led ten, and Polyxenus, the son of Agasthenes, the other ten. But Amphimachus was the offspring of Polyxenus, after his return from Troy. And as it appears to me, Polyxenus gave the boy this name from the friendship which he contracted with Amphimachus, the son of Cteatus, who died in Troy. Eleus was the son of this Amphimachus; and while Eleus reigned in Elis, the Dorienses, with the sons of Aristomachus, having collected together an army; attempted to return into Peloponnesus. An oracle, too, was given to the kings, commanding them in this expedition to follow a three-eyed leader. And, as they were doubting what could be the meaning of the oracle, they met with a man driving a mule which had lost one of its eyes. Upon this, Cresphontes acutely conjectured, that the oracle referred to this man; and the Dorienses accordingly entered into an association with him. This man, however, persuaded them to pass over into Peloponnesus by sea, and not endeavour to make their way through the Isthmus with an army of foot soldiers. He therefore led their fleet from Naupactus to Molycrus. This man was Oxylus, and was the offspring of Hamon, the son of Thoas. But Thoas himself, in conjunction with the sons of Atreus, overturned the kingdom of Priam. The Heraclides, too, were in other respects allied to the Ætolian kings, and particularly because Andromon and Hercules begot Thoas and Hyllus from their own sisters. But Oxylus fled from Ætolia, because, in playing with a quoit, he involuntarily slew with it a man, who, according to some, was Thermius, the brother of Oxylus; but, according to others, Alcidocus the son of Scopius.
CHAPTER IV.

The following circumstance, likewise, is reported of Oxylus. He suspected that the children of Aristomachus, as they knew that Elea was a fertile and well cultivated land, would not be willing to give it him; and, on this account, he led the Dorienses through the realms of Arcadia, and not through Elea. And Dius, indeed, did not yield to the desires of Oxylus, who endeavoured to obtain the kingdom of the Eleans without arms; but provoked him, by giving it as his opinion, that they should not endanger themselves by drawing out all their forces, but that they should choose out of each army one soldier for a single combat. This opinion pleased both parties; and on one side Degmenus, the Elean, was chosen for this purpose, who was an archer; and on the other the Ætolian Pyraechmes, who was a slinger. In this contest Pyraechmes was the victor, and Oxylus obtained the government. Oxylus, therefore, suffered the ancient Epeans to possess their own dominions, and joined with them the Ætolians, having equitably distributed the land between them. Besides this, he sacrificed to Jupiter, preserved the ancient honours which were given to the other heroes, and ordered that they should perform funeral sacrifices to Augeas, in that manner which is even observed at present.

It is said, too, that he called together the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, and persuaded them to fix their residence in the city; and that he rendered Elis both larger and more prosperous, by the multitude of its inhabitants, and other particulars which contribute to the felicity of a country. An oracle, likewise, was given to him from Delphos, commanding him to associate to himself one of the race of Pelops. Oxylus, therefore, earnestly inquired after one of
this description; and at length found Agorius, the son of Damosius, the grandson of Penthilus, and the great grandson of Orestes, whom he received from Helice, an Achaian city, together with no great band of Achaians. They report, that Pieria was the wife of Oxylus, concerning whom, however, no particulars are mentioned. They say, too, that Ætolus and Laias were the sons of Oxylus; and that Ætolus dying first, his parents buried him in a tomb which they raised in the gate leading to Olympia and the temple of Jupiter. But they buried him in this place in consequence of an oracle, which commanded them to bury him neither within nor yet without the city. The governor of the gymnasion, even at present, performs funeral sacrifices to Ætolus every year. After Oxylus, Laias obtained the government: yet I never could find that any of his posterity reigned; and therefore I shall designedly pass them by, as it is not proper that my discourse should descend to private persons.

In after times, Iphitus, who derived his origin from Oxylus, but who was contemporary with Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian legislator, established games in Olympia, restored the Olympian public pomp, which is called Pane-gyris, and the times of vacation, all which had been for some time neglected. The cause of this neglect I shall explain when I relate the particulars pertaining to Olympia. But Iphitus, as Greece was then remarkably torn in pieces by intestine seditions and pestilence, thought that they ought to consult the Delphic Apollo about the means of being freed from the evils with which they were oppressed. The god, therefore, answered them, that it was proper Iphitus and the Eleans should restore the Olympic games. Iphitus also persuaded the Eleans to sacrifice to Hercules, though, before this, they considered Hercules as their enemy. But the inscription which is in Olympia asserts, that Iphitus was the son of Hæmon; though the greater part of the
Greeks say, that he was the son of Praxionidas, and not of Hæmon.

The ancient writings, too, of the Eleans refer Iphitus to a father of the same name. But the Eleans partook of the Trojan war, and fought against the Medes when they made an irruption into Greece. And that I may pass over how often they fought with the Piseans and Arcadians, while they were restoring the Olympic games, they unwillingly, in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, warred on the Athenians; and not long after, together with the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, opposed the Lacedæmonians. When Agis, too, entered their country with an army, through the perfidy of Xenias, the Eleans vanquished him near Olympia, and, putting the Lacedæmonians to flight, drove them from the inclosure of the temple: and, in an after period, a cessation of arms took place, on those conditions which I formerly mentioned in my account of the Lacedæmonian affairs. But Philip, the son of Amyntas, being unwilling to abstain from Greece, the Eleans, who were disturbed by intestine divisions, united with the Macedonians as their associates in war; yet they could not be brought to oppose the Greeks in Chaeronea. They assisted Philip, however, in his incursions upon the Lacedæmonians, on account of their ancient hatred to that people. But, on the death of Alexander, they warred, in conjunction with the other Greeks, on Antipater and the Macedonians.

CHAPTER V.

In a following period, Aristotimus, the son of Damaretus, and the grandson of Etymon, reigned in Elea, being assisted in obtaining the empire by Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, and king of the Macedonians. Aristotimus, however, when
he had reigned six months, was deprived of the royal authority by Chilon, Hellanicus, Lampis, and Cylon. And when he fled in a suppliant manner to the altar of Jupiter the Saviour, Celon slew him with his own hand. Such, then, were the warlike affairs of the Eleans, which we have cursorily run over, in a manner sufficient for our present purpose. The fine flax which is produced in Elea is a very proper subject of admiration; for it is not to be found in any other part of Greece. And this also is wonderful, that horses bring forth from asses in places beyond the boundaries of Elea, but not within Elea; which circumstance, they say, originated from a certain execration. But the fine flax within Elea is not inferior in tenacity to that of the Hebrews, but it is less yellow. On leaving the Elean land you will arrive at a place near the sea, which is called Samocon: and above this, on the right hand, there is a place called Triphylia, which contains the city Lepreos. The Lepreates are now willing to form a part of the Arcadians, though it appears that formerly they were subject to the Eleans; and such of them as conquered in the Olympic games, the cryer announced to be Eleans from Lepreos. Aristophanes likewise asserts, that Lepreos is a town of the Eleans.

But there is a road to Lepreos from Samiceus, as you leave the river Anigrus on the left hand: another from Olympia; and a third from Elis. The longest of these is about one day's journey. They report, that the city was denominatated from Lepreus, its builder, who was the son of Pyrges. It is also said, that Lepreus contended with Hercules in eating; that both of them slew an ox at the same time, and dressed it; and that Lepreus, showing himself to be in no respect inferior to Hercules in eating, had the boldness, after this, to challenge Hercules to a contest with arms. They add, that Lepreus was slain by Hercules in this contest, and that he was buried in the dominions of the Phygaleans; though the Phygaleans cannot tell in what place he was buried. I
have heard, too, the origin of the town referred to Leprea, the daughter of Pyrges. And there are some who say, that the first inhabitants were infested with the leprosy, and that from this calamity the city derived its name. The Lepreatz, too, relate, that there was in their city a temple of Leuccean Jupiter, a tomb of Lycurgus, the son of Aleus, of other illustrious persons, and of Caucon. Upon the tomb of this last there was a statue holding a lyre. At present, however, there is neither any monument nor temple remaining, except a temple of Ceres, and this is built from crude tiles, and contains no statue. But not far from the city Lepreatz there is a fountain called Arene, which was so denominated, as they report, from the wife of Aphareus.

On directing your course again after this towards Samicus, and going through the town, you will see the river Anigrus pouring itself into the sea. The stream of this river is often very much agitated by violent winds. For the sand of the sea, which is brought into it, is collected in a heap at its mouth, and obstructs its passage. When, therefore, the sand becomes wet, both from the sea and the river, it is dangerous for cattle, and still more so for men, to enter into the river. But the Anigrus descends from Lapitha, a mountain of Arcadia, and immediately from its very fountains sends forth water of a very stinking smell. Before this river received into itself another river called Acidas, it is manifest that it did not breed fishes; but after its streams were mingled with those of Acidas, the fishes, which together with the water of Acidas fall into the Anigrus, became not fit to eat, though before their descent they were very good food. That the ancient name, however, of Acidas was Jarmanus I cannot by any means prove, but I have heard it asserted by an Ephesian.

With respect to the unusually filthy smell of the water, I am inclined to believe, that it arises from the earth through which the water ascends; just as from this cause, the water
above Ionia is so filthy, that the very vapour of it is destructive to mankind. Some of the Greeks assert that Chiron, and others that the Centaur Polenor, being wounded with an arrow by Hercules, fled and washed his wound in the water of this river; and that the foul smell of the Anigrus arose from the poisoned gore of the Hydra. But, according to others, it was produced from Melampus, the son of Amythaon, casting into this river the purifying materials, through which he had been freed from madness by the daughters of Proetus. In Samicus, too, not far from the river, there is a cavern, which is called the cavern of the Anigridan nympha. Whoever is troubled with scurf, either white or black, and enters into this river, if he first prays in a proper manner to the Nymphs, then vows a certain sacrifice, and afterwards wipes the diseased parts of his body, will leave his disgraceful malady in the water, and quit the river healthy, and with his skin uniformly clear.

CHAPTER VI.

Having passed over the river of Anigrus, and proceeding along the straight road to Olympia, you will see at no great distance, on the right hand, an elevated place, and above Samicus the city Samia. They report, that Samicus was used as a place of defence against the Arcadians by Poly sperma the Etolian. But with respect to the ruins of Arene, neither the Messenians nor Eleans appear to me to assert any thing clear; for their conjectures about them are widely different from each other. Those, however, appear to me to speak the most probably, who think that, in the ancient heroic times, Samicus was called Arene. Their opinion, too, is supported by the following verses of Homer in the Iliad:
THE DESCRIPTION

"The river Minyas, near Arene's plain,
Impetuous rolls his waters to the main."

These ruins are very near Anigrus: and it is doubtful whether Arene has not been called Samicus. The Arcadians, indeed, confess, that Minycius was the ancient name of the river Anigrus. But any one may easily be persuaded, that the maritime parts of Neda form the boundaries of the Eleans and Messenians, from the descent of the Heraclidae to Peloponnnesus. After leaving Anigrus, and proceeding to a greater distance through that part of the country which is mostly covered with sand, and has certain rustic pitch trees, you will see on the left hand the ruins of Scillus. This Scillus was one of the cities in Triphyly; and during the war between the Pisaneans and Eleans, the Scilluntii followed the Pisaneans, and openly quarrelled with the Eleans, on which account their kingdom was afterwards subverted by the Eleans.

The Lacedæmonians, however, afterwards took Scillus from the Eleans, and gave it to Xenophon the son of Gryllus, who was at that time exiled from Athens. This Xenophon was accused by the Athenians of uniting with Cyrus, who was most inimical to the Athenian people, against the king of the Persians, who was well affected towards them. For when Cyrus was at Sardis, he assisted with money Lyssander the son of Aristocrates, and the Lacedæmonians in fitting out their fleet. For this, therefore, Xenophon was banished. But Xenophon, while he resided in Scillus, planted a grove, and built a temple to Diana Ephesia. Scillus affords wild beasts for hunting, and among these boars and stags. The river Selinus, too, flows through the Sciluntian plains. But the Elean historians affirm, that Scillus was again possessed by the Eleans, and that Xenophon, because he had received this country from the Lacedæmonians, was called to account in the Olympic assembly, but that obtaining his pardon from the Eleans, he
OF GREECE.

dwelt unmolested in Scillus. Indeed, not far from the temple of Diana a tomb is to be seen, and a statue of Pentelic stone on the tomb, which the inhabitants say is the statue of Xenophon.

But in the road which leads to Olympia, before you pass over the river Alpheus, and as you come from Scillus, you will see a mountain steep with lofty rocks. This mountain is called Tyseus: and it is a law with the Eleans, that those women that have secretly betaken themselves to the Olympic games, or have at all passed over the Alpheus on forbidden days, shall be hurled from this rock. They report, however, that no woman except one Callipatisa was ever found to transgress the law. This woman is called by some Phereice: and they say, that, after the death of her husband, she disguised herself like a man skilled in gymnastic exercises, and went to the Olympic games. Here she engaged with the son of Pisdorus, by whom she was vanquished; and afterwards leaping over the inclosure allotted for the gymnastics, she uncovered, through the leap, a part of her body. This circumstance discovered that she was a woman; but she was pardoned by the judges, in consequence of the reverence which they paid to her father, brothers, and son, all of whom had been victors in the Olympic games. After this a law was enacted, that those who contended in the gymnastic exercises should be naked.

CHAPTER VII.

When you have arrived at Olympia, you will see the river Alpheus flowing with copious and sweet streams, owing to other rivers, and those the most noble, pouring their waters into it. For the Helissus, which flows through Megalopolis, runs into the Alpheus; and Brentheates from the
country of the Megalopolitans. But near Gortyna, where
there is a temple of Æsculapius, the river Gortynius flows.
As you go, too, from the Melenenses, you will see the river
Buphagus between Megalopolis and Heraïs; from the Cli-
torienses, Ladon; and from the mountain Erymanthus,
a river of the same name with the mountain. And all these
rivers, indeed, descend from Arcadia into the Alpheus.
The river Cladæus, too, coming from the Eleans, mingles it-
self with the Alpheus. The fountains, however, of Alpheus,
are not among the Eleans, but in Arcadia. It is said of this
river, that it was formerly a man of this name, who was very
much addicted to hunting; that he was beloved by Arethusa,
who was herself a huntress, but that she refused to marry
him, and passed over to an island called Ortygia, near Sy-
racuse, where she was changed into a fountain; and that
Alpheus, on account of his love, was changed into a river.
And such are the fabulous reports respecting Alpheus and
Arethusa. There is no reason, however, why we should
disbelieve, that this river, passing through the sea, is min-
gled with the fountain at Syracuse, since this is asserted by
the Delphic Apollo. For when the god ordered Archias the
Corinthian to establish a colony in Syracuse, he thus speaks:
“A certain island called Ortygia, is situated in the dark sea,
above Trinacria, where the mouth of Alpheus pours its
streams, and mingles itself with the fountains of Arethusa,
which sends forth refreshing gales.”

From the water of Alpheus, therefore, mingling itself
with that of Arethusa, I am persuaded the fable respecting
the love of Alpheus originated. Such, indeed, of the Greeks
or Ægyptians as have travelled to Æthiopia above Syene,
or to Meroë, a city of the Æthiopians, relate that the
Nile, entering into a certain marsh, and gliding through
this no otherwise than if it was a continent, flows afterwards
through lower Æthiopia into Egypt, till it arrives at Pharos
and the sea which it contains. But in the land of the Hebrews, I have seen the river Jordan passing through the lake called Tiber, and afterwards pouring itself into another lake which is denominated the dead sea, and in which it becomes dissolved. This dead sea possesses properties contrary to those of every other water: for living bodies swim in it, though they are not naturally adapted to swim, but dead bodies sink to its bottom. On this account the lake is destitute of fish; as they betake themselves from manifest danger to water adapted to their nature. There is a river, too, in Ionia similar to the Alpheus, the fountains of which are in the mountain Mycale: but this river, having passed through the sea which lies between, rises again in Banchidae, near the port called Panormus. And such are the circumstances relative to particulars of this kind.

With respect to the Olympic games, such of the Eleans as preserve in their memory the most ancient events, say, that Saturn first obtained the government of Heaven, and that those men who are called the golden race, raised a temple to him in Olympia. That afterwards, when Jupiter was born, his mother Rhea committed him to the care of the Dactyli Idaei, who are also called the Curetes; and that they came from Ida, a mountain in Crete, their names being Hercules, Peomeus, Epimedes, Iasius, and Idas. That Hercules, who was the eldest of them, proposed the contest of the race to his brothers, and crowned the conqueror with the leaves of the wild olive-tree. They farther add, that the Curetes had a great quantity of these leaves, because their beds were composed of them; and that this tree was brought by Hercules from the Hyperboreans to Greece. But that there are men who dwelt above the wind Boreas, Olen the Lycian first asserted in a hymn which he made on Achaia; in which he says, that Achaia came from the Hyperboreans to Delos. Melanopus the Cumæan, after Olen, sings in an ode on Opis and Hecaerge, that these two formerly came
from the Hyperboreans to Achaia and Delos. For Aristeas
the Proconnesian merely mentions the Hyperboreans, though
perhaps he might have known much more concerning them
from the Issedonians, whom he says in his verses he visited.
The glory, therefore, of having first established the Olympic
games, is given to the Idaean Hercules, who also gave them
the name of Olympic. On this account, too, they are celebrated
every fifth year, because the brothers were five in number.
According to some, Jupiter wrestled with Saturn in this
place for dominion: but, according to others, Jupiter insti-
tuted these games, in consequence of having dethroned Sa-
turn and vanquished the Titans. Some assert, that Apollo
once outran Mercury in the course, and vanquished Mars
in boxing, and that on this account the music of the Py-
thian pipe was introduced in the dance of the quinquertium;
the verses which are sung to the pipe being sacred to Apollo,
and Apollo having bore away the first prize in the Olympic
games.

CHAPTER VIII.

Fifty years after the deluge of Deucalion (as they re-
port), Clymenus the son of Cardis, who derived his origin
from the Idaean Hercules, coming from Crete, established
games in Olympia, and both to the other Curetes and to his
ancestor Hercules dedicated an altar, giving to Hercules the
apellation of the Adjutor. Endymion the son of Aethlius
deprived this Clymenus of the kingdom, and afterwards
proposed to his sons in Olympia the contest of the race for
its possession. But Pelops, who was posterior to Endymion
by one age, established games to Jupiter Olympus, the most
memorable of all his predecessors. The sons of Pelops,
however, being expelled from Elis, and dispersed through
every other part of Peloponnesus, Amythaon the son of Cretheus, and the cousin of Endymion (for they say, that Aethelius was the son of Eolus, which is an appellation of Jupiter), restored the Olympic games. After him, Pelias and Neleus renewed them in common. They were established by Augeas, and Hercules the son of Amphitrion, who took Elis. But of all those whom Hercules crowned in this place for the victory which they obtained, the first is Iolaus, who rode on the horses of Hercules. Indeed, to contend with the horses of other persons is a very ancient custom: for Homer, in the funeral games of Patroclus, represents Menelaus as using Aethe, one of the horses of Agamemnon, with one of his own. But Iolaus, besides this, was the charioteer of Hercules; and Iolaus conquered in the chariot-race, but Iasius Arcas in that of the single or saddle-horse.

Of the sons of Tyndareus, too, one was victor in the course, and the other with the cestus. It is also said, that Hercules himself was victor in wrestling, and in the pancratium. But after Oxylus (for he established these games) the Olympic games were neglected till the time of Iphitus; and in consequence of his renewing them, the ancient games were entirely forgotten. However, the Eleans gradually returned to the recollection of them, and whatever they remembered was added to the renovated games. But the truth of this is evinced from hence: from that time in which the Olympiads began to be remembered in a continued series, the first contest was that of the race, in which the Elean Corcebus was victorious. There is not, however, any statue of Corcebus in Olympia, but his tomb is in the borders of the Eleans. Afterwards, in the fourteenth Olympiad, the twofold course was instituted, in which Hypenus Piseus was victor, and was crowned with wild olive-leaves: but in the following Olympiad, Acanthus. In the eighteenth Olympiad the quinquertia and wrestling were revived, in the
former of which Lampis was victor, and in the latter Eurybates, both of whom were Lacedaemonians. But in the twenty-third Olympiad, the contest of the caestus was instituted, in which Onomastus the Smyrnaean was victor; who was at that time on a journey to the council of the Ionians. After this, in the twenty-fifth Olympiad, the complete horse-race was established; and the Theban Pagondas conquered in the chariot-race. But in the eighth Olympiad from this, they instituted the pancratium, and the contest with a single horse. And Crauxidas, indeed, the Cranonian, was victorious with the horse, but Lygdamis the Syracusan vanquished his adversaries in the pancratium. Of this Lygdamis there is a monument near the stone- quarries. But I have not been able to obtain sufficient evidence, that this Lygdamis was equal in the size of his body to the Theban Hercules, though this is asserted by the Syracusans.

The Eleans, too, instituted games for boys, not from remembrance of ancient games of this kind, but from their own conceptions of their propriety. And the contest of the race and wrestling were instituted in the thirty-seventh Olympiad, in the former of which the Elean Polynices was victor, and in the latter the Lacedaemonian Hippotheus. But in the forty-first Olympiad, boys contended with the caestus, in which Philitas the Sybarite was victorious. The course of the heavy-armed soldiers was celebrated with great applause in the sixty-fifth Olympiad; and this contest appears to me to have been instituted for the sake of warlike exercise. But of those that run with shields, Demaratus Herseenses was the first that conquered. The course with two horses, which is called Sunoris, was established in the ninety-third Olympiad; and in this Evagoras the Elean was victor. In the ninety-ninth Olympiad they contended with chariots drawn by colts; and the crown of victory in this course was given to the Lacedaemonian Sybariades. The course with two mules joined together was afterwards established; and the
race with a single mule. And in the contest with two mules, Belistiche, a woman from a part of Macedonia near the sea, was victorious; but in that with a single mule, Tlepolemus the Lycian. Tlepolemus, too, conquered in the one hundred and thirty-first Olympiad, but Belistiche in the third Olympiad prior to this. After this, in the one hundred and forty-fifth Olympiad, the paneratium was instituted for boys, in which the Æolian Phædimus, from the city Troas, was victorious.

CHAPTER IX.

There are also some games in Olympia, which the Eleans, in consequence of having altered their opinion, do not any longer celebrate. For the quinquertium of the boys was instituted in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, and the Lacedæmonian Eutelidas was victor in this contest, and received the olive crown; but afterwards the Eleans did not think proper that boys should any longer engage in the quinquertium. With respect to the course with the chariot and walking-horse, the former of these was instituted in the seventieth Olympiad, and the latter in the Olympiad which followed this. Both of these, however, they laid aside in the eighty-fourth Olympiad, and forbade the celebration of them in future. But when these games were first established, Thersius the Thessalian conquered in the chariot-race, and Pataechus Achæus of the city Dyma, in the course with the walking-horse. In the contest with the walking-horse they used mares, from which the riders, when they arrived at the extremity of the course, leaping off, and each catching hold of the bridle belonging to his own mare, ran along with the mares: and this is performed even at present by those who are called anabatai or climbers. But there is this difference between the course with the walking-horse and the anabatai,
that the latter use peculiar ensigns and male horses. But the race with the chariot is neither an ancient invention, nor attended with graceful execution, and the Eleans, who cannot endure this animal the horse, have execrated the breeding it in their country. On this account, in the chariot-race they yoke two mules together instead of horses.

The order of celebrating these games at present is as follows: Having sacrificed victims to the god, they first engage in the quinquertium and the course, and afterwards in the contest with horses; for such is the mode which was established in the seventy-seventh Olympiad, as, prior to this, horses and men contended on the same day. Then the Pancratiastae make their appearance at night; for they cannot be called in seasonable time, because the day is nearly consumed with the horse races and quinquertium. Among the Pancratiastae, too, the Athenian Callias bore away the palm of victory. And in after times they took care that neither the quinquertium, nor the contest with horses, should be an obstacle to the pancratium. As to what pertains to the presidents of the games, the same things were not established formerly respecting them as at present: for Iphitus alone presided over the games which he instituted; and after Iphitus, the posterity of Oxylus adopted the same mode. In the fiftieth Olympiad, the care of the games was committed to two men out of the city of the Eleans; and this custom of selecting two persons for this purpose was preserved for many years afterwards. In the twenty-fifth Olympiad after this, nine judges, whom they call Hellanodicae, were created. Three of these presided over the course with horses; the same number over the quinquertium; and the rest over the other games. But in the second Olympiad after this, a tenth president was added; and in the one hundred and third Olympiad the Eleans were divided into twelve tribes; and one judge of the games was appointed out of each tribe. However, the Eleans suffering through the war with the
Arcadians, and losing a part of their country, and all the
towns which the land taken from them contained, they were
contracted into eight tribes in the one hundred and fourth
Olympiad; and in consequence of this Hellanodices were in-
stituted equal in number to the eight tribes. But in the
one hundred and eighth Olympiad, the number of the judges
was increased to ten; and this number remains at present.

CHAPTER X.

There are many things, indeed, in Greece which call
forth admiration both when seen and related; but the Eleus-
sinian mysteries and the Olympic games must be particularly
admirable to such as are endued with divine solicitude about
religious concerns. But the sacred grove of Jupiter, by
a perversion of name, was formerly called Altis. And, in-
deed, Pindar, in his ode on a certain Olympic conqueror,
calls the place Altis. The Eleans dedicated the temple and
statue to Jupiter, from the spoils which they took from the
Pisæans and other neighbouring people, when they van-
quished them in battle, and plundered Pisa. But that the
statue was made by Phidias, is evident from the following
inscription at the foot of Jupiter; Phidias the Athenian,
the son of Charmidas, made me. The temple is built
after the Doric manner; and the inclosure is a circle of
pillars. It is built, too, of Parus, a stone which that country
produces. With respect to its altitude, from the bottom area
to the eagles, which sustain the roof, there is a distance of
sixty-eight feet; its breadth is ninety-five feet; and its
length two hundred and thirty. Its architect was Libon,
a native of the place; and the roof does not consist of tiles,
but of marble from the Pentelican stone-quarries, cut in
the shape of tiles. This invention they ascribe to a Naxian
the son of Byzas; and they say, that there are statues of
him at Naxos with this inscription:
THE DESCRIPTION

"In Naxos born, and from Latona sprung,
A skilful operator, Byzas' son,
I first taught how to fashion tiles from stone."

This Byzas flourished at the time in which Alyattes reigned in Lydia, and Astyages the son of Cyaxares over the Medes. But at the extremity of the roof in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, a brazen kettle hangs from each side: and in the middle of the roof there is a golden Victory; and beneath her a golden shield, in which the head of the Gorgon Medusa is sculptured. The following inscription, too, is in the shield, in which the persons by whom, and the reason for which it was dedicated, are unfolded:

"Th' Athenians, Argives, and Ionians tamed,
Tanagras' sons this golden bowl have placed
A sacred gift, of all their spoils the tenth,
For vict'ry with their friends the Spartans gain'd."

This battle I have mentioned in my account of the Attic affairs, and in that part in which I related the particulars respecting the sepulchres of the Athenians. In the same temple, too, of Olympian Jupiter, to the zone which spreads itself round above the pillars, golden shields are fixed, twenty-one in number, which were dedicated by the Roman general Mummius, after he had vanquished the Achaians in battle, taken Corinth, and expelled from their country the Corinthians that bore a Doric name. In the front part of the top of the temple, the equestrian contest of Pelops against Oenomaus is represented; and each seems preparing himself for the course. But on the right hand of the statue of Jupiter, which nearly stands about the middle of the summit, there is a statue of Oenomaus with a helmet on his head: and near him you may perceive his wife Sterope, who was one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilus the charioteer of Oenomaus is seated before the horses. The horses, too, are four in number: and after Myrtilus there are two men whose names are not mentioned, but
OF GREECE.

they appear to be those to whom Oenomaus committed the care of his horses. Near the top of the temple the river Cladeus is represented; for this river is honoured by the Eleans next to Alpheus. On the left hand of the statue of Jupiter, Pelops and Hippodamia are represented, together with the charioteer of Pelops, the horses, two men, and the grooms of Pelops. In this part the top of the temple contracts itself, and contains a representation of the river Alpheus. And the Troezenians report, that the name of the charioteer of Pelops was Sphaerus; but the historians of the Olympian affairs say, that his name was Cillas.

Whatever, therefore, the front part of the summit contains, is the work of Paconius, who was born at Mende, a Thracian town; but all that is in the back part is the work of Alcamenes, a man who lived in the time of Phidias, and was the next to him in the art of making statues. Within the summit the Lapithæ are represented fighting with the Centaurs at the marriage of Pirithous. In the middle part is Pirithous: and near him you may see Eurystheus forcibly taking away the wife of Pirithous, and Cæneus assisting Pirithous. In another part Theseus is seen revenging himself on the Centaurs with an ax: and there are two Centaurs, one of whom carries away a virgin, and the other a boy in the flower of his youth. It appears to me that Alcamenes made these, having learnt, from the poems of Homer, that Pirithous was the son of Jupiter, and knowing that Theseus was the fourth descendant from Pelops. In this temple, too, many of the labours of Hercules are represented: for above the doors you may see the hunting of the Erymanthian boar; what is reported concerning Diomed of Thrace; and the transactions of Hercules in Erythea against Geryon. Besides these, Hercules is represented as about to take upon himself the burden of Atlas; and is seen purifying the land of the Eleans from dung. But above the back part of the doors, he is repre-
THE DESCRIPTION

sentenced taking away the girdle of Amazon; and whatever is related about the stag and the Gnosian bull, the Lerncean hydra, the Stymphalian birds, and the Nemean lion, is there expressed. On entering, too, within the brazen doors, you will see, on the right hand, before a pillar, Iphitus receiving a crown from a woman of the name of Ecechiria, as the elegy upon her shows. Within the temple there are pillars which sustain porches at a considerable height from the ground. Through these there is a passage to the statues of Jupiter, and they afford a winding entrance to the roof of the temple.

CHAPTER XI.

But the god sits on a throne of ivory and gold, and is adorned with a crown on his head, made in imitation of a branch of the wild olive-tree. In his right hand he holds a Victory, which is also made of ivory and gold, and has a fillet and crown on its head. His left hand wields a sceptre of beautiful workmanship, and in the composition of which all metals are blended together. The bird which sits on his sceptre is an eagle. The sandals of the god, and his robe, are of gold; and in the latter of these, various animals, and of flowers the lily, are represented. The throne itself is variegated with gold and precious stones, with ebony and ivory; and is adorned with pictures of animals and statues. It contains, too, four Victories, each of which is represented dancing at the foot of the throne. There are also two other Victories at the extremities of his feet. Before his feet the Theban youth are seen, forced away by Sphinxes; and under the Sphinxes, Apollo and Diana are piercing with their arrows the children of Niobe. Between his feet, which decline from the throne, there are four rulers of a foot in length, each of which reaches from one foot to the other.
OF GREECE.

In the rule which first presents itself to the view on entering in a straight direction, there are seven statues, which remain entire even at present; for the cause by which the eighth of them was abolished is unknown. These statues are imitations of ancient contests; for in the age in which Phidias lived, the games of the boys were not established. Of these statues, that which is represented binding his hair with a fillet, is, they say, like Pantarees, an Elean youth who was enamoured with Phidias. And this same Pantarees obtained the victory in the Olympic games, in the eighty-sixth Olympiad.

In the other rules a band of warriors are represented fighting with Hercules against the Amazons. The number of the forces on each side is twenty-nine: and Theseus is seen among those that fight on the side of Hercules. This throne, too, is not alone supported by feet, but pillars equal in magnitude to the feet stand between the feet of the god. It is, however, impossible to penetrate under the throne, and behold what it contains, in the same manner as within that of Apollo at Amyclae; for in order to prevent the spectators from approaching nearer, certain inclosures are raised after the manner of walls. Of these inclosures, that part which is opposite to the gates is only painted of an azure colour, but the other parts contain pictures painted by Panæus. Among these there is Atlas sustaining Heaven and Earth; and Hercules stands by him, in the attitude of one willing to receive the burden from Atlas. There are Theseus, too, Pirithous, Greece, and Salamis holding in her hand the ornaments which are usually added to the extremities of ships. Besides these, the contest of Hercules with the Nemean lion; the base conduct of Ajax towards Cassandra; Hippodamia the daughter of Oenomaus with her mother; Prometheus yet detained in fetters, and Hercules beholding him: for it is said of Hercules, that he slew the eagle which tormented Prometheus in Caucasus, and
freed Prometheus from his bonds. The last things which are represented in the picture are Penthesilea dying, and Achilles supporting her; and the Hesperides, with the apples which are said to have been committed to their care. Panænus, the painter of these, was the brother of Phidias, who also painted for the Athenians, in their porch, the battle at Marathon.

For the highest parts of the throne, above the head of the statue, Phidias made on one side three Graces, and on the other as many Hours: for, according to poets, the Hours are the daughters of Jupiter. And Homer, in the Iliad, not only mentions the Hours, but says, that Heaven is committed to their care, as to certain guardians of a royal abode. In the base, which is under the feet of Jupiter, and which they call Thranion, or the support of the feet, there are golden lions, and a representation of the battle of Theseus against the Amazons, which was the first engagement of the Athenians against foreign nations. But in that base which supports the throne and the mountain, other ornaments are placed about Jupiter. For here you may behold, in gold, Apollo ascending into his chariot; Jupiter and Juno, and one of the Graces; after which follows Hermes, and after Hermes, Vesta. After Vesta, too, you may perceive Love receiving Venus rising out of the sea, and the goddess Persuasion crowning her. In the same picture, likewise, Apollo, together with Diana, Minerva, and Hercules, are represented. Near the end of the base you may perceive Amphitrite and Neptune, and the Moon driving, as it appears to me, a horse; though some assert, that the goddess is drawn by a mule, and not by a horse. There is also a report, that the animal by which she is drawn is a stupid mule.

I know, too, that some have described the measure, in length and breadth, of the Olympian Jupiter; but I cannot praise these measurers, because the measure which they de-
OF GREECE.

liver may be easily confuted by the testimony of the eyes. They report, indeed, that the god himself evinced his approbation of the art of Phidias; for, as soon as the statue was finished, Phidias prayed to Jupiter, and entreated him to signify if the work was pleasing to his divinity; and immediately after he had prayed, they say, that part of the pavement was struck with lightning, where even at present a brazen urn is to be seen, with a covering upon it. But that part of the pavement which is before the statue is covered with black, and not with white stone. This black pavement is circularly inclosed with a fountain of Parian marble, which is the repository of oil. For the statue of Jupiter is rubbed over with oil, in order to prevent the ivory from suffering any injury through the marshy nature of the grove. On the contrary, in the tower of the Athenians, water and not oil is found to be useful to the statue of Minerva, who is called the virgin. For as the tower is in a very squalid condition, through its great height, the statue, which is made of ivory, requires to be sprinkled over with water. But when I was in Epidaurus, and inquired why neither water nor oil was used for cleansing the statue of Æsculapius, I was informed, by those about the temple, that the statue of the god, and the throne on which it stands, are placed over a well.

CHAPTER XII.

Such as are of opinion that the prominences from the mouth of the elephant are teeth, and not horns, should look at the Celtic elk, and the Æthiopian bulls; for the male elks have horns over their eye-brows, but the female have no horns; and the Æthiopian bulls have horns growing out of their nostrils. Is it, therefore, a very wonderful circumstance, that horns should grow out of the mouth of
an animal? To this, also, we may add, that the elephant is an animal which, at certain periods, sheds its horns, and new ones afterwards spring up in the place of the old; and this circumstance happens to stags and goats, as well as to elephants. But teeth do not, in any adult animal, grow again after they have fallen out. If, therefore, these prominent parts in the elephant were teeth, and not horns, how could they grow again when lost? Besides, teeth will not yield to fire; but the horns of oxen and elephants can be so softened by fire, that they can be changed from a round into a flat figure, or be made to assume any other shape. To which we may add, that, in river-horses and boars, the lower jaw-bone has certain prominent parts; and we see that horns grow out of their jaw-bones. It may, therefore, be confidently affirmed, that those parts in an elephant which commence upwards through the temples, and afterwards issue externally, are horns. This I write, not from report, but in consequence of having seen an elephant’s skull in the temple of Diana in Campania. This temple is distant from Capua about thirty stadia: and Capua is the metropolis of Campania.

But the elephant is different from other animals, both in the growth of its horns, and the size and form of its body. The Greeks, too, appear to me to have been magnificent in their reverence of the gods, and not sparing of their possessions, from this circumstance, that they took care to procure ivory from India and Æthiopia for the statues of their gods. But in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, king Antiochus dedicated a woollen veil, adorned with Assyrian weaving, and the purple of the Phœnicians. The same person, too, gave the golden Ægis, which is to be seen above the theatre at Athens, and, besides this, the Gorgon, which the same place contains. The veil in the temple is not raised towards the roof, like that in the temple of Ephesian Diana, but is let down by ropes on the pavement. But among the gifts which are placed either within or in the vestibule of
OF GREECE.

the temple, there is a throne of Arimus, king of the Etruscii, who was the first of the Barbarians that sent a gift to the Jupiter in Olympia. There are also brazen horses, which Cynisca dedicated as marks of a victory in the Olympic games. These horses are not so large as real ones, and they are placed in that part of the vestibule which is on the right hand as you enter. In this place, too, there is a brazen tripod, upon which, before the table is laid, crowns are placed for conquerors. With respect to the statues of the Roman emperors, that of Adrian was dedicated by the Achaian cities, and that of Trajan by all the Greeks. This last emperor added the Getæ, a people above Thrace, to the Roman dominions, and warred on Osroes, the grandson of Arsaces, and king of the Parthians.

But among the works with which Trajan adorned the city, the most magnificent are the baths, which bear his name; a circular theatre of great magnitude; an hippodromus of two stadia in length; and a Roman forum, which deserves to be inspected for its ornament, and especially for its brazen roof. Among other particulars belonging to this forum, there are two statues in the round parts of the building, one of Augustus Caesar, of amber; the other of Nicomedus, king of Bithynia, of ivory. From this king the greatest city in Bithynia derived its name, which before this was called Astacus. It is said, too, to have been built by Zypoetes, a Thracian, as may be conjectured from his name. The amber, from which the statue of Augustus is made, is casually found among the sands of the river Eridanus. It is found, too, very rarely, and is much esteemed. Otherwise amber is gold mingled with silver. But in the temple of Olympian Jupiter there are crowns, which Nero dedicated: of these, the third in order imitates the leaves of the wild olive-tree; the fourth, the leaves of the oak. In this temple, too, there are twenty-five brazen shields, which are carried by those that contend armed in the course. Other pillars,
too, are placed there, and that which contains the oath given by the Athenians, Argives, and Mantinenses, to assist the Eleans in war for one hundred years.

CHAPTER XIII.

Within Altis, in Olympia, there is a grove sacred to Pelops, which was once honoured; for, among the Eleans, Pelops is as much reverenced above the other heroes in Olympia, as Jupiter above the other gods. On the right hand, therefore, of the entrance to the temple, and towards the north, is this sacred grove, which is called Pelopium. It is distant from the temple a space sufficient to admit statues and other ornaments; and extends from the middle of the temple to its back parts. It is also inclosed with a bulwark of stones, and contains trees and statues. The entrance, too, into this grove is from the west. Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, is said to have dedicated this to Pelops, from whom he was the fourth descendant. The same Hercules, too, is reported to have sacrificed to Pelops, at that ditch where, even at present, the magistrates every year sacrifice to him a black ram. Of this victim no portion is given to the priest; but the neck alone is given to the wood-carrier. This wood-carrier is one of the domestics of Jupiter; and his employment consists in supplying wood for sacrifice, for a certain price, either for cities at large, or private persons. This wood, however, is not procured from any other tree than that of the white poplar. And if any person, whether an Elean or a stranger, eats of the flesh of the victim sacred to Pelops, it is not lawful for him to enter the temple of Jupiter. The same manner of sacrifice is adopted at Pergamus, which is above Caicus. For here, those that sacrifice
to Telephus are not permitted to ascend into the temple of 
Æsculapius till they have washed themselves.

The following circumstance, too, is reported of Pelops: When the war against Troy became so extended, the prophets told the Greeks, that the city could not be taken till they brought away with them the arrows of Hercules, and the bones of Pelops. Hence, they say, Philoctetes was called into the camps; and of the bones of Pelops, they brought the shoulder-blade from Pisa. But as the Greeks were returning home, they were shipwrecked near Eubœa, and the ship that carried the bones of Pelops was lost in the storm. Many years after this, and after Troy was taken, Demarmenus, an Eretriensian fisherman, having thrown his net into the sea, drew up the bone of Pelops, and wondering at its magnitude, concealed it in the sand. At last he came to Delphos, and inquired whose bone it was, and what he should do with it. But then, through the providential interposition of divinity, certain persons were present, whom the Eleans had sent to inquire by what means they might be freed from the pestilence with which they were afflicted. The Pythian deity, therefore, gave them for answer, an injunction to preserve the bones of Pelops, and ordered Demarmenus to give to the Eleans what he had found. Demarmenus, therefore, on complying with the oracle, both received other gifts from the Eleans, and the care of the bone was committed to him and his posterity. This bone of Pelops is not to be found at present, on account, as it appears to me, of its having been buried very deep in the ground, and wasted away through length of time and the washing of the sea.

Evident tokens, indeed, even exist at present of Tantalus, and Pelops having brought a colony into Greece. For there is a port called after the name of Tantalus, and a sepulchre of him by no means obscure: and there is a throne of Pelops on the summit of the mountain Sipylos, above the temple of
the mother Plastene. But when you have passed over the river Hermus, you will see in the town Temnis a statue of Venus, made from a female myrtle. This statue was dedicated by Pelops, both for the purpose of worshipping the goddess, and obtaining Hippodamia in marriage. The altar, too, of Olympian Jupiter is at an equal distance from the grove of Pelops and the temple of Juno, and is placed in the front of both. According to some, it was raised by the Idaean Hercules; but according to others, by certain heroes, natives of the country, two ages after Hercules. This altar was made from the ashes collected from the burnt thighs of the victims, like the altar in Pergamus. The altar, too, of the Samian Juno is raised from ashes; and is not, in any respect, more elegant than those altars in the Attic region, which the Athenians call temporary. But the base of the Olympic altar, which they call Prothysis, or the first station of sacrifice, takes up a circumference of one hundred and twenty-five feet; and the ambit of each of the parts above the prothysis is thirty-two feet. The whole height of the altar is twenty-two feet. With respect to the victims, they are led to the base of the altar, and there sacrificed after the manner of the country. The thighs are burnt on the top of the altar; and there are stone steps on each of its sides, which lead to the prothysis; but steps of ashes lead from the prothysis to the top of the altar.

Indeed, both virgins and other women, when they come to Olympia, are not restrained from ascending to the prothysis; but men alone are permitted to ascend from this part to the top of the altar. But both strangers and the Eleans every day sacrifice to Jupiter, without any public pomp. Every year, however, on the nineteenth of the month Elaphius, or March, the prophets carry the ashes from the Prytaneum, and having washed them in the river Alpheus, scatter them over the altar. But it is impossible for any other river except the Alpheus to turn the ashes
OF GREECE.

into mud; and on this account the Alpheus is considered as the most friendly of all rivers to Olympian Jupiter. There is also an altar in the Didymæ of the Milesians, which was raised, as the Milesians report, by the Theban Hercules from the blood of victims. In after times, however, the blood of victims was not sufficient to raise altars of a considerable magnitude.

CHAPTER XIV.

But the altar in Olympia exhibits, likewise, the following wonderful circumstance. Kites, though they are naturally very rapacious birds, offer no violence to those that sacrifice in Olympia. And if it ever happens that a kite seizes the entrails or a part of the flesh, it is considered as an ill omen to the person that sacrifices. They say, also, that when Hercules, the son of Alcmene, sacrificed in Olympia, he was very much disturbed with flies. In consequence of this, either from his own invention, or through the admonition of some other person, he sacrificed to Jupiter Apomyius, or the expeller of flies: and hence the flies fled beyond the Alpheus.

The Eleans, too, are said from this to sacrifice to Jupiter Apomyius, as to one who drove away flies from Olympia. But the Eleans do not think it proper to use any other wood in sacrifice than that of the white poplar. And it appears to me, that they principally honour this tree, because Hercules first brought it from Thesprotia into Greece. I am also of opinion, that Hercules, when he sacrificed to Jupiter in Olympia, burnt the thighs of the victims with white poplar. This wood, too, was found by Hercules in Thesprotia, near the river Acheron: and they say, that this is the reason why the poplar is called by Homer Acheroides. There always, indeed, have been, and even now there are
rivers adapted to the production of grass and trees. Thus the banks of the Mæander are particularly favourable to the growth of tamarisks; the Boeotian Asopus naturally produces bulrushes of a great magnitude; and the Persean tree alone rejoices in the waters of the Nile. It is by no means, therefore, wonderful, that the white poplar should grow first of all by the side of the river Acheron; and the black poplar on the banks of the Celtic Eridanus, and in the country of the Gauls.

Let us, however (neglecting any farther account of the great altar), direct our discourse to all the altars in Olympia, that we may relate the order of them, and what divinities the Eleans think proper to sacrifice to upon them. They first of all, then, sacrifice to Vesta; in the next place to Olympian Jupiter, and these two altars are within the temple; in the third place, to Mercury; in the fourth place, to Minerva; in the fifth place, to Diana; and, in the sixth place, to Ergane. The posterity of Phidias, who are called Phædryntæ, and who are, by the Eleans, entrusted with the care of purifying the statue of Jupiter from adventitious filth, sacrifice to Ergane before they begin to give a bright polish to the statue. There is also another altar of Minerva, near the temple; and after it of Diana, which is in a quadrangular form, and has a gradual elevation. After these altars, which we have enumerated, they sacrifice upon one altar to Alpheus and Diana. The reason of this is evinced by Pindar, in one of his odes, and is mentioned by us, in our account of the Letrinean affairs. Not far from this altar there is another altar, raised to Alpheus; and near it, one to Vulcan. This altar of Vulcan is called, by some of the Eleans, the altar of Martial Jupiter. The same persons, too, report, that CEnomatus sacrificed on this altar to Martial Jupiter, as often as he proposed the contest with horses to the suitors of his daughter Hippodamia.

After this, there is an altar to Hercules, under the ap-
pellation of Parastates, or the helper; and to his brothers, Epimedes, Idas, Pæoneus, and Jasus. I know, too, that the altar of Idas is called by others that of Acesidas. But in that place which contains the foundations of the house of Ænomaus, there are two altars of Jupiter; one to Jupiter Herceus, which was dedicated by Ænomaus; and the other to Jupiter Ceranius, which, as I conjecture, was afterwards placed by Ænomaus, when his house was burnt by lightning. The particulars of the great altar, which is called that of Olympian Jupiter, we have related above: and near this is the altar of the unknown gods. After this, there is an altar of Jupiter, the purifier, and of Victory; and, again, of Jupiter, who is called terrestrial. There are, also, altars of all the gods, together with an altar of Juno, under the appellation of Olympia, which is raised from ashes. They report, that this altar was dedicated by Clymenus. After this, there is an altar of Apollo and Mercury in common, because, according to the Greeks, Mercury invented the lyre, and Apollo the harp. The altars of Concord, Minerva, and the Mother of the Gods, succeed to these.

Likewise, near the entrance of the stadium, there are two altars: one of these they call the altar of Mercury Enagonius, or the athletic, and the other of Opportunity. I know that there is a hymn of Chius to Opportunity, in which he says, that this god is the youngest son of Jupiter. But near the treasury of the Sicyonians there is an altar either of the Curetes, or of Hercules, the son of Alcmene; for it is ascribed to each of these. In that part which is called Gaius there is an altar of Earth, which is raised from ashes. And in former times they report, that there was an oracle of Earth in this place. But in that part which they call Stomium, or the gate, there is an altar of Themis. The altar of Jupiter Catebatas, or the descender, is inclosed on all sides; and is near the great altar, which is raised from ashes. Let the reader, however, be careful to remember
that I have not enumerated the altars in the order in which they stand, but according to the order observed by the Eleans in sacrificing upon them. Near the grove, too, of Pelops, there is an altar in common to Bacchus and the Graces; and between these there are two altars, one to the Muses, and the other to the Nymphs.

CHAPTER XV.

There is a building beyond Altis, which is called the workshop of Phidias; and in this place Phidias fashioned every part of the statue of Jupiter. In this building, too, there is an altar of all the gods in common. This altar, as you turn back again to Altis, is opposite to the Leonidæum. But the Leonidæum is a building beyond the inclosure of the temple. Near this there is a passage to Altis, through which alone the pomp of the sacred festivals passes; and the entrance, on this account, is called Pompic. This building, the Leonidæum, was the sacred gift of one Leonidas, a native of the place; and, at present, is the residence of those Romans that govern Greece. Agyia, too, is situated between the Pompic road and the Leonidæum; for the Eleans signify by this name the same as the Athenians by Stenopos, or a narrow passage. In Altis, too, beyond the Leonidæum, as you turn to the left hand, you will see an altar of Venus, and after it an altar of the Hours. Behind the temple, and principally on the right hand, there is a wild olive-tree, which they call Callistephanos, or bound with a beautiful crown. Crowns are made from this for those that are victors in the Olympic games. Near this wild olive-tree there is an altar sacred to the Nymphs; and these Nymphs they call Callistephanoi.

Within Altis, too, there is an altar of Diana Forensis, or
of Greece.

the judicial; and this is on the right hand of the Leonidæum. There is also an altar to Despoina, or the mistress. The particulars respecting this goddess I have unfolded in my account of the Arcadian affairs. After this, there is an altar of Jupiter Forensis: and before that place which they call Proedria, or the prerogative seat, there is an altar of Pythian Apollo, and after it of Bacchus. They report, that this last altar is neither ancient, nor raised by any other than private persons. As you go, too, to that place from which the horses start, there is an altar with this inscription: Moirageta, or the leader of the Parcae. It is evident, therefore, that this is an appellation of Jupiter, who both knows what the Parcae give, and what they do not destine to mankind. An oblong figure is near the altar of the Parcae. After this, there is an altar of Mercury, and next to it there are two altars of Jupiter the most high. In the place from whence the horses start, in the middle part, and in the open air, there are altars of equestrian Neptune and equestrian Juno: and near the pillar there is an altar of the Dioscuri. In the first entrance, too, of that place which they call Embolos, or the beak of a ship, there is an altar of equestrian Mars, and another of equestrian Minerva. After you have entered within the Embolos, there are altars of Good Fortune, of Pan, and Venus. But in the most inward part of the Embolos, there is an altar of the Nymphs whom they call Acmenai, or flourishing.

On returning from that porch which the Eleans call Agaptos, from the name of the architect, you will see, on the right hand, an altar of Diana. And on again entering Altis, through the Pempic way, you will see, behind the temple of Juno, the river Cladæus, and altars of Diana. After these, there is an altar of Apollo; a fourth altar, which is that of Diana Coccoca; and a fifth, of Apollo Thermios. What this name signifies is not difficult to conjecture, since the same word is usurped in the Attic tongue.
THE DESCRIPTION

But why they call Diana Coccola, I have not been able to learn. There is a building here, before that edifice which they call Theocaleon. In a corner of this building there is an altar of Pan. The Eleans, too, have their Prytaneum within Altis, which is built near that passage which is beyond the gymnasium. In this gymnasium courses are celebrated, and the Athlete exercise themselves in wrestling. Before the vestibule of the Prytaneum there is an altar of rustic Diana; and in the Prytaneum itself, when you have entered that building which contains the Vestal hearth, you will see an altar of Pan on the right hand of the entrance. The Vestal hearth here is raised from ashes, and a fire is kept burning on it, without ceasing, day and night. From this hearth they carry ashes to the altar of Olympian Jupiter, as I have before observed; and the ashes brought from this hearth afford by no means the smallest contribution to the magnitude of the altar of Jupiter.

Every month the Eleans sacrifice on all the altars we have enumerated, after the ancient manner: for they sacrifice with frankincense, and wheat mingled with honey. They place, too, on these altars olive branches, and use wine for a libation. They do not, however, think it proper to make a libation with wine to the Nymphs, nor to the goddesses called Despoinai, nor when they sacrifice on the common altar of all the gods. Such things, too, as are proper for the sacrifice every month, are taken care of by the Theecolos, or minister of the gods; likewise by the prophets, those that preside over the libations, the interpreter of the sacrifices, the person that plays on the pipe, and the wood-carrier. I do not, however, think it proper to insert, in the present history, an account of what they say during their libations in the Prytaneum, and of what hymns they sing. But they do not only make libations to the Grecian divinities, but to those that are worshipped in Libya, to Ammonian Juno, and Parammon, which is an appellation
of Mercury. They appear, too, to have used, from a most ancient period, the oracle in Libya; and there are even yet altars in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which were dedicated by the Eleans. Upon these altars it is signified in writing about what the Eleans consulted, what answers they received, and the names of the men that came from the temple to Elis. But the Eleans also make libations to the heroes and their wives; as well to those that are honoured in Elea, as those that are reverenced by the Ætolians. The verses, too, which they sing in the Prytaneum are composed in the Doric tongue; but they cannot tell by whom they were composed. The Eleans likewise have a banqueting place within the Prytaneum, opposite to that building which contains the Vestal hearth: and in this banqueting place they feast the conquerors in the Olympic games.

CHAPTER XVI.

It now remains that we should speak about the temple of Juno, and whatever it contains worthy of relation. It is said, by the Eleans, that the Scilluntii, who belong to one of the cities in Triphylia, raised the temple nearly eight years after Oxylus reigned over the Eleans. The temple is built after the Doric fashion, and is on all sides surrounded with pillars. In the back part of the temple one of these pillars is made of oak: and the temple itself is sixty feet long. They cannot, however, tell who was its architect. Sixteen women, too, every fifth year weave a veil for Juno, and establish Junonian games. In these games virgins contend in the course, who are distributed into classes, according to their age. For the youngest run in the first place; after these, those that are next to them in age; and last of all
oldest of the virgins. But they run in the following manner: Their hair is dishevelled; their garments extend no lower than a little above the knee; and their right shoulder is uncovered as far as to their breast. They are permitted to contend in the Olympic stadium, but the sixth part of it nearly is taken away for the convenience of their course. Those that conquer are crowned with olive leaves, and receive a part of the ox which was sacrificed to Juno. They are likewise permitted to dedicate pictures of themselves. Sixteen women preside over these games, and these are attended by the same number of servants. They refer, too, the contests of these virgins to ancient institutions. For they report that Hippodamia, in order to show her gratitude to Juno for the nuptials of Pelops, instituted these games, and collected together sixteen women for this purpose.

They farther relate, that Chloris, the daughter of Amphion, who was the only survivor of the family, obtained the victory, and that one of her male relations conquered in conjunction with her. With respect to the children of Niobe, whatever I knew concerning them I unfolded in my account of the Argive affairs. And as to what pertains to the sixteen women, the following circumstance is reported about them, in addition to what I have already related. When Demophon reigned in Pisa, the Eleans suffered many and great calamities. After his death, an opportunity was afforded the Eleans of equitably contending with the Pissei about the injuries which they had received from them. It was, therefore, agreed upon by the Eleans at that time, that, as there were sixteen cities in Elea, a woman should be chosen out of each to determine the dispute between them and the Pissei; and that this woman should be one that surpassed the rest in age, dignity, and renown. Sixteen women, therefore, being chosen out of as many cities in Elis, decided the difference between the Eleans and Pissei.
OF GREECE.

The same women, too, were afterwards intrusted with the care of the Junonian games, and were assigned the employment of weaving the veil of Juno.

Besides this, these sixteen women instituted two choirs, one of which they call the choir of Physoea, and the other of Hippodamia. They say, that Physoea came from a place in Elis, which is called the hollow; that she dwelt in a part of Elis called Orthia; that she had a son by Bacchus, whose name was Narceus; and that Narceus, as soon as he had arrived at years of maturity, warred on his neighbours, became very powerful, and built a temple to Minerva, under the appellation of Narceae. They farther add, that honoures were first paid to Bacchus by this Narceus. Among other honours, too, which are paid to Physoea, another-choir, besides that of the sixteen women, receives from her its appellation. The Eleans likewise preserve the number of the women, viz. sixteen, though they do not select them from the like number of cities: for as they are distributed into eight tribes, they choose two women out of each tribe. However, neither the sixteen women, nor the judges of the Elean contests, exercise any part of their function till they have purified themselves with a piacular hog, and lustral water from the fountain Piera. This fountain is in the plains which lead from Olympia to Elis. And such are the circumstances relative to particulars of this kind.

CHAPTER XVII.

In the temple of Juno there is a statue of Jupiter; and the image of Juno sits on a throne, but that of Jupiter stands near it, having a beard, and being armed with an helmet. The artifice of these statues is rude. But the statues of the Seasons, which are next to these, and which
are seated on thrones, were made by Emilus Ægineta. The statue of Themis, which follows these (for she is the mother of the Seasons) was made by Doryclidas the Lacedæmonian, who was the disciple of Dipoenus and Scyllis. But the Hesperides, who are five in number, were made by Theocles the Lacedæmonian, who is said to have been the son of Hesygelus, and the disciple of the same Dipoenus and Scyllis. The statue of Minerva, with a helmet on her head, and holding a spear and shield, is said to have been the work of the Lacedæmonian Medon. It is farther reported, that he was the brother of Doryclidas, and had the same masters. The statues of Ceres, Proserpine, Apollo, and Diana, stand opposite to each other. But that of Apollo is directly opposed to Diana. In this temple, too, there are statues of Latona, Fortune, Bacchus, and a winged Victory. I have not been able to learn who were the artists of these; but they appear to me to be very ancient. And all those that I have hitherto mentioned are made of ivory and gold.

In after times other statues were dedicated in the temple of Juno, viz. a Mercury of stone, carrying an infant Bacchus, the work of Praxiteles; and a brazen Venus the work of the Sicyanon Cleon. Antiphanes was the master of this Cleon; and Antiphanes was instructed in his art by Pericleles, who was the disciple of the Argive Polyclitus. A naked boy of gold sits at the feet of Venus; and this was the work of the Carthaginian Boethus. The following, likewise, were brought hither from a building called Philippeum; Eurydice the wife of Philip, and a chest; the former of which is made of ivory and gold, and the latter of cedar. But of the animals upon the chest, some are made of ivory, some of gold, and some of cedar. Cypselus the tyrant of Corinth, as soon as he was born, was concealed in this chest by his mother, on account of the Bacchidæ diligently searching for him, in order to put him to death. And his posterity afterwards, who were called Cypselidæ,
OF GREECE.

dedicated this chest in Olympia, on account of the preservation of Cypselus. But at that time the Corinthians called chests, Cypselai: and from hence, they say, the boy came to be called Cypselus. The inscriptions, too, which are seen on the chest, are for the most part written in ancient characters. And of these characters some are straight, but others are in that shape which the Greeks call Boustronhedon, from the bending of oxen when plowing. But they are bent as follows: From the end of one verse another follows in a retrograde order, just as in the course of the repeated stadium. There are, likewise, other inscriptions on the same chest, which are written in winding characters difficult to be understood.

If you begin to examine this chest from the bottom parts, you will first of all see Ænomaus pursuing Pelops, who is carrying away Hippodamia. Each is carried by two horses, but the horses of Pelops are winged. After these, the house of Amphiaraut is represented, and a certain old woman bearing in her arms the infant Amphilocus. Eriphyle stands before the house with a necklace; and by the side of her, her daughters Eurydice and Demonassa, and her son Alcmæon naked, are represented. But the poet Asius in his verses says, that Alcmene was the daughter of Amphiaraut and Eriphyle. Baton, too, the charioteer of Amphiaraut is here represented, holding in one hand the horses' reins, and in the other a lance. Amphiaraut himself is seen standing with one of his feet in the chariot, and with a drawn sword in his hand turning to his wife Eriphyle, and scarcely able, through the violence of his rage, to refrain from slaying her. After the house of Amphiaraut, you may see the funeral games in honour of Pelias; Hercules sitting on a throne, and his wife standing behind him, who, as the inscription signifies, is playing, not on Grecian but Phrygian pipes. Pisus Perieres is represented driving a chariot
THE DESCRIPTION

drawn by two horses, and Asterion the son of Cometas, who is said to have been of those that sailed in the Argo.

You may, likewise, see Pollux and Admetus; and after these Euphemus, who, according to the poets, was the son of Neptune, and the companion of Jason in the Colchian expedition. Euphemus is represented as victor in the chariot race. Admetus and Mopsus the son of Ampyx descend to the caestus, and a piper stands between them playing on his pipe, in the same manner as they play at present in the dance of the quinquertium. Jason and Peleus equally contend in wrestling. Eurybotas hurls the quoit, though it is uncertain who this Eurybotas is that was renowned for this art. Melanion, Neitheus, Phalareus, contend in the race: and the fourth among this group is Argius, and the fifth Iphiclus, to whom, having conquered, Acastus offers the crown of victory. This Iphiclus was the father of Protesilaus who engaged in the war against Troy. Tripods, too, are placed as rewards for the victors. After these follow the daughters of Pelias; but the name of one of them only, Alcestis, is mentioned. But Iolaus, as one willing to partake of the labours of Hercules, bears away the prize of the four-yoked car. And this is the last contest in the games in honour of Pelias. After these you may see Minerva standing by Hercules, who is piercing with his arrows the hydra in the river Amymone. The name of Hercules, indeed, is not mentioned, but it is obvious that it is no other, both from the work in which he is engaged, and his figure. Phineus the Thracian, too, is among these, and the sons of Boreas driving away from him the Harpies.
CHAPTER XVIII.

On the other side of the chest, beginning from the left hand, you will see a woman holding a white boy, who is asleep, in her right hand; but in her left hand a black boy, who is likewise asleep, and whose feet are distorted. The inscriptions signify, though you might infer without them, that these boys are Death and Sleep, and that the woman who is their nurse is Night. But that beautiful woman who drags along a woman of a deformed aspect, and with one of her hands strangles her, and with the other strikes her with a rod, represents Justice punishing Injustice. And the two women that pound mortars with pestles are supposed to have been skilful in medicine; for there is no inscription which might inform us who they were. However, who the woman is that stands by a man, is evinced by the following hexameter verses:

Idea, Marpessa famed for beauteous feet,
Whom once Apollo ravish'd from his arms,
Led from the temple willingly away.

The man that stands near her has a robe on, and in his right hand holds a cup, and in his left a necklace. Alcmena, too, is represented receiving these from him. It is asserted by the Greeks, that Jupiter, assuming the appearance of Amphitryon, had connexion with Alcmena. After these you may see Menelaus, who has a coat of mail on, with a drawn sword in his hand, rushing on Helen as if he meant to slay her, Ilium being taken. Medea, too, is seen sitting on a throne, and on her right hand Jason, and on her left Venus. There is, likewise, the following epigram respecting them:

Jason, so Venus bids, Medea weds.

After this, the Muses are represented singing, and Apollo
began the song. Upon them, too, there is the following epigram:

Latona's son, perhaps, the darting king
Apollo, this; and see the beauteous choir
Of Muses gracefully around him stand,
Whose tuneful song the god himself begins.

In the next place Atlas is seen sustaining, according to the fable, heaven and earth, and holding in his hand the Hesperian apples of gold. But who the man is that with a sword is coming to Atlas, is not, indeed, evinced by the writing, but it is evident to every one that it is Hercules. On these there is the following epigram:

Atlas, who props the heaven, his apples leaves.

Mars, too, in armour, leads away Venus; and the inscription is Enyalios. Thetis is represented as a virgin. Peleus lays hold of her, and a snake from the hand of Thetis is rushing on Peleus. The winged sisters of Medusa follow Perseus, who is flying; but the name of Perseus alone is inscribed. In the third part of the chest, you may see the image of a military expedition, which consists for the most part of foot soldiers: and some cavalry are seen in two yoked cars. The armies seem partly ready to engage, and partly knowing and embracing one another. The relations of historians concerning them vary: for, according to some, they are the Ætolians led by Oxylus drawn up against the ancient Eleans, who, as soon as they met together, from a recollection of their ancient origin, evinced their mutual benevolence. But, according to others, they are the Pylians and Arcadians on the point of engaging, near the city Phyrgalea and the river Jardanus. This, indeed, which is asserted by some, can by no means be admitted; that the great grandfather of Cypselus, being a Corinthian, and obtaining the possession of this chest, willingly omitted inscribing on it the national affairs of the Corinthians, but
OF GRÉECE.

readily represented on the chest the affairs of foreign countries, though they were not of the most illustrious kind. It appears, however, to me, that the origin of Cypselus and his ancestors, in the sixth descent, was from Gonussa the daughter of Sicyon, and that Melas the son of Antassus was one of their ancestors: but that this Melas, and the army that followed him (as I have before observed in my account of the Corinthian affairs,) were not permitted by Aletes to dwell in the same city with him, because an oracle of Apollo had rendered him dubious of their fidelity. However, as Melas endeavoured by the most flattering attention to procure the favour of Aletes, and when he was repulsed addressed him again in a suppliant manner—Aletes at length willingly granted him his request. This military expedition, therefore, we may reasonably infer, is that which is represented on the chest.

CHAPTER XIX.

On the fourth part of the chest, on the left hand, Boreas is represented forcibly taking away Orithyia; and the tails of snakes serve him instead of feet. Here, too, you may see the contest of Hercules with Geryon, who is three bodies joined in one; Theseus holding a lyre, and Ariadne standing near him, extending a crown. Besides these, there is Achilles fighting with Memnon, and their mothers are standing by them. Melanion, too, is represented, and Atalanta is near him holding a young mule. Discord, who is represented of a most deformed shape, stands between Hector and Ajax, who have challenged each other to a single contest. In imitation of this, Calyphon the Samian painted, in the temple of Ephesian Diana, Discord raising the battle at the ships of the Greeks. The Dioscuri, too, are represented on this chest. One of these is without a beard, and Helen

VOL. II.
stands between them. Æthra, likewise, the daughter of Pittheus, is present, and is represented prostrate on the pavement at the feet of Helen in a black robe. One hexameter verse, with the addition of one word, is inscribed under them:

The sons of Tyndarus from Athens brought
Helen and Æthra.

Iphidamas, too, the son of Antenor, is represented lying on the ground: and Coon fights for him against Agamemnon. Fear is seen in the shield of Agamemnon, with the head of a lion; and there is the following epigram on the dead body of Iphidamas:

Iphidamas, for whom once Coon fought.

But in the shield of Agamemnon:

The fear of mortals, Agamemnon holds.

After these, you may see Mercury leading Paris the son of Priam, to give his opinion concerning the beauty of the three goddesses: and the following epigram upon them:

To Paris’ judgment Mercury exposed
Juno, Minerva, and the queen of love.

I do not, however, know why they have represented Diana with wings upon her shoulders; and why she holds a female leopard in her right hand, and a lion in her left. Ajax, too, is represented dragging Cassandra from the statue of Minerva; and upon this there is the following inscription:

The Locrian Ajax once Cassandra seized,
And forceful drew her from Minerva’s fane.

From among the children of Oedipus, too, you may see Eteocles assaulting Polynices, who has fallen on his knees. And behind Polynices a woman stands, whose teeth, and the crooked nails of whose fingers, are more savage than those of any wild beast. The inscription signifies that she is one
of the Parcae; and that Polynices, indeed, fell by the decree of Destiny, but that Eteocles died with justice. You may likewise see a bearded Bacchus lying in a cavern, holding a golden bowl, and clothed with a garment which reaches to his feet. He is surrounded with vine trees, with apples, and pomegranates.

But the highest part of the chest (for there are five parts) affords no inscriptions, but you may conjecture the significance of what it contains. You may see, therefore, in a cavern, a woman asleep on a bed with a man; and it appears that these two are Ulysses and Circe, as may be inferred from the number of the servants before the cavern, and the employments they are engaged in. For the servants are four in number, and they are employed agreeable to Homer's description of them. In the next place, a Centaur presents himself to the view, whose hinder feet are those of a horse, and his front feet of a man. After this you may see two horses yoked together, and women standing on them. The horses have golden wings, and a man gives arms to one of the women. And these appear to refer to the death of Patroclus: for the women on the horses are the Nereides, and Thetis receives arms from Vulcan. This may be inferred from the man that gives the arms being lame, and a female servant following him with a pair of tongs in her hand. It is said, too, of this Centaur, that he is Chiron, who being liberated by death from converse with mankind, and admitted to an association with the gods, endeavoured to ease Achilles of his grief. In the next place you may see two virgins riding on mules, one of which is represented holding the reins of her mule, and the other has a veil on her head. They are of opinion, that this is Nausicaa the daughter of Alcinous, going with her maid servant to wash her garments. But the man that shoots his arrows at the Centaurs, some of whom he slays, is evidently Hercules; and this is one of the achievements of Hercules. With respect to the
THE DESCRIPTION

artist by whom the chest was made, I could never learn who he was: and some other, perhaps, composed the inscriptions which are on it. I have, however, a great suspicion that it was made by the Corinthian Eumelus, both from contrasting it with his other works, and especially from the verses which he composed on Delos.

CHAPTER XX.

There are other gifts, too, in this place besides the chest. And in the first place there is a bed of no great magnitude, for the most part adorned with ivory; a quoit of Iphitus; and a table on which crowns are placed for conquerors. The bed, indeed, they report to have been the plaything of Hippodamia; but the quoit of Iphitus was used by the Eleans for the purpose of announcing a respite to the Olympic games. This proclamation is written in proper order, but the letters are circularly disposed about the quoit. The table is made of ivory and gold; and is said to be the work of Colotes, who derived his origin from Hercules. But those that have made more diligent inquiry about artificers, say that he was a Parian, and the disciple of Pasiteles, who was a self-taught artist. On this table Juno, Jupiter, the Mother of the Gods, Mercury, Apollo, and Diana, are represented. On the back part there is the disposition of the games. On one of the sides you may see Æsculapius, and, of his daughters, Hygia: there is likewise Mars, and together with him the representation of a battle. But in the other side you may see Pluto and Bacchus, Proserpine and two Nymphs, one of which holds a sphere in her hand, and the other a key. For a key belongs to Pluto; and Hades is said to be shut so fast by him, that no one can return from thence. It is by no means proper, likewise, that I
OF GREECE.

should omit what Aristarchus the Olympic historian relates. He says, then, that in his time, when the Eleans were repairing the roof of the temple of Juno, between the polished part of the roof, and that which supports the tiles, the dead body of a wounded man in armour was found. It appears to me, that this man having engaged in fight with Altis against the Lacedaemonians, when the Eleans in order to defend themselves ascended to the temples of the gods, and every place of eminence, then died, fighting in this place; and that his dead body remained so long entire, because, being concealed in those retreats, it could neither receive any injury from hot vapours in summer, nor from cold in winter. Aristarchus farther adds, that the dead body was carried out of Altis, and buried with the arms.

The pillar, too, which the Eleans call the pillar of Ænomaus, presents itself to the view near the temple of Jupiter, after you have left the great altar. But there are four pillars on the left hand, and a roof upon them. These pillars support a wooden beam, which is in a ruinous condition through age, and is begirt with iron chains. But the single pillar is said to have stood in the house of Ænomaus, and to have been the only thing that remained when the house was burnt by lightning. A brazen table before this pillar has the following inscription:

The only pillar, passenger, am I
Of those remaining that adorned the house
Of Ænomaus: but illustrious now,
With chains encircled, near Jove's fane I stand,
Nor fear the desolating rage of fire.

The following circumstance, too, happened in my time. A certain Roman senator was conqueror in the Olympic games. In consequence of this, being willing to leave as a monument of his victory a brazen statue with an inscription, he ordered a ditch to be dug for this purpose, as near as
possible to the pillar of Oenomaus. Those who were employed in this business, found, in digging, fragments of shields, brildes, and iron rings, which I myself saw while they were digging up. A certain temple, too, of great magnitude, and Doric workmanship, which they call Metroon, or the temple of the Mother of the Gods, preserves its ancient name even at present, but does not contain any image of the goddess. There are, however, to be seen in it statues of the Roman emperors. This Metroon is in Altis; and together with it a round building which they call Philippion. On the top of this building there is a brazen poppy, which serves as a bond to the beams. This edifice is situated near the extremity of Altis on the left hand of the Prytaneum, is raised from bricks, and is surrounded with pillars. Philip ordered this to be built after the slaughter which he had made of the Greeks at Chaeronea. And in this building the statues are to be seen of Philip and Alexander, and, together with them, of Amyntas the father of Philip. These, as also the statues of Olympias and Eurydice, were made by Leochares of ivory and gold.

CHAPTER XXI.

The order of my discourse now requires, that I should give an account of the statues and sacred gifts; at the same time that it is proper to assign a separate relation to each. For in the Athenian tower the statues, and whatever else it contains, are all equally dedicated to the gods: but in Altis some things are placed there in honour of a divine nature; but it likewise contains the statues, as symbols of renown, of those that conquered in the Olympic games. Of these statues, however, we shall afterwards make mention: at present, let us relate the particulars of the most illustrious
OF GREECE.

statues, or those which are dedicated to the gods. As you go, then, to the stadium, after leaving the Metron, you will see on the left hand, near the boundaries of the mountain Cronius, a stone fountain near the mountain, with steps by which you may ascend the fountain. Near it there are brazen statues of Jupiter, which were made with the money taken as a fine from those that had acted fraudulently in the games. These statues are called by the natives Zanes. Six of them were at first erected in the ninety-eighth Olympiad. For Eupolus the Thessalian having bribed with money Agetor the Arcadian, and Prytanis the Cyzicenian, who came to contend in boxing, and besides these Phormio the Halicarnassin, who had conquered in the Olympiad prior to this; in consequence of this, as it was the first time that injustice had taken place in the games, and the contending parties had been bribed, both Eupolus and those that received his money were degraded by the Eleans.

Two of these statues were made by Cleon the Sicyonian; but I cannot tell who made the other four. On leaving the third and fourth of these statues, you will see elegies inscribed on the rest. The first of these elegies signifies, that victory in the Olympic games is not to be obtained by money, but by swiftness of foot, and strength of body. The inscription on the next statue informs us why it was erected, viz. that divinity might be honoured, the piety of the Eleans evinced, and such of the Athlete as acted unlawfully terrified. With respect to the two remaining statues, the inscription on one of them both celebrates the Eleans in other respects, and particularly for their punishing the pugilists; but that on the other signifies that statues serve as documents to all Greece, that no one ought to bribe his competitors, in order to obtain victory in the Olympic games. They report that, after Eupolus, the Athenian Calippus bribed his antagonists in the quinquertium; and this happened in the one hundred and twelfth Olympiad. But in consequence of Cal-
lippus and his antagonists being heavily fined by the Eleans, the Athenians sent Hyperides to the Eleans, in order to persuade them to take off the fine. They would not, however, be persuaded; and the Athenians so much despised the Eleans for refusing to comply with their request, that they would not pay the fine, though they were prohibited from celebrating the games, till the Delphic deity, on their consulting him about some particular affair, told them he should give them no answer, till they had paid the fine to the Eleans.

The Athenians, therefore, having sent the money, six statues of Jupiter were made with it, and elegies were inscribed on them, not less severe than those made upon Eupolus. The first inscription signifies, that by the command of the oracle, which approved the fine laid by the Eleans on the fraudulent victors in the quinquerium, these statues were erected. There is the same inscription on the second and third statue. The fourth signifies that victory in the Olympic games should be obtained by virtue, and not by wealth. The fifth shows on what account the statues were placed. The sixth mentions the oracle given to the Athenians by the Delphic Apollo. After these, follow two statues erected in memorial of two men that were fined for bribery in wrestling; but who they were is unknown, as well to the Elean historians as to me. There are inscriptions, too, on these statues. And one of these asserts, that the Rhodians dedicated this statue, from the money collected for injustice, to Olympian Jupiter, in wrestling: but the other, that this statue was erected from the fine levied on those who bore away the prize, in wrestling, through bribery. The Elean historians say, that all the other statues were erected when Eudelus, in the one hundred and seventy-eighth Olympiad, received money from Philostratus the Rhodian. I find, however, that this report is contradicted by the inscriptions of the Eleans respecting the Olympic
victories. For in these it is asserted, that Straton, the
Alexandrian, in the one hundred and seventy-eighth Olymp-
piad, was in one day crowned in the pancratium, and in
wrestling.

Alexander, indeed, the son of Philip, built Alexandria,
near the Canobic mouth of the Nile. It is also said, that
prior to this there was a small Ægyptian city in this place,
which was called Rhacotis. In the age prior to Straton,
three men, and as many after him, were crowned in the
pancratium, and in wrestling. From among the former, the
first was an Elean, from that part of Greece which is beyond
Ænus; the second was Aristomenes, the Rhodian; and the
third was Protophanes, from the Magneset at Lethæus.
But of the latter, Marion, who was of the same city with
Straton, Aristeas Stratonicensis (formerly both the region
and city was called Chrysoritis), and, lastly, Nicostratus, who
came from the maritime town Cilicia, though he had nothing
in common with the Cilicians except the name. This Ni-
costratus, who was by no means of an obscure family, was
taken away by robbers from Prymnnessus, a Phrygian city,
and sold to an uncertain person at Ægea. Some time after
this, he dreamt that a lion’s whelp lay on the ground under
the bed upon which he slept. And Nicostratus, indeed, as
soon as he arrived at the vigour of manhood, was often vic-
torious in the pancratium, and in wrestling, in the Olympic
games. Afterwards, among others that were fined by the
Eleans, was an Alexandrian pugilist, in the two hundred
and eighteenth Olympiad, whose name was Apollonius; but
his surname (for it is the custom of the Alexandrians to have
surnames) was Rhantis. This man was the first of the
Ægyptians that was condemned by the Eleans, not, indeed,
for either giving or receiving money, but for another kind of
improper conduct in the games, viz. for not coming at the
proper time. Nor was his pretext admitted, that he was
detained by contrary winds in the islands of the Cyclades;
for Heraclides, who was himself an Alexandrian, proved his plea to be false, and evinced that he was then employed in collecting money from the games in Ionia. The Eleans, therefore, expelled Apollonius from the games, and every other person that did not attend them at the time prescribed by the laws: but to Heraclides they gave a crown untouched by the dust.

Apollonius, however, who was provided with a leather thong as a pugilist, when he saw this, rushed on Heraclides as he was taking the crown, and pursued him as he fled to the presidents of the games. But for this rashness a severe punishment ensued. There are, likewise, two other statues, the work of the present times. For in the two hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad certain pugilists were detected employing bribery for the Olympic victory, for which they were fined; and statues of Jupiter were made from the money, one of which stands on the left hand, and the other on the right hand of the entrance to the stadium. The name of one of these pugilists was Didas, and of the other, who was bribed, Garapammon; and both of them belonged to that Egyptian tribe which is called Arsinoites. It is, indeed, a wonderful circumstance, that strangers, without any regard to Olympian Jupiter, should either have received or given money on account of the contest; but it is still more wonderful that the Eleans should have been guilty of the same fraudulent conduct. For in the one hundred and ninety-second Olympiad, Damonius is said to have dared to act in this manner towards the Eleans, by bribing the son of Sosander, the Smyrnaean, to yield the victory to his son Polycertor. The judges, however, being indignant at this conduct, fined the parents of the contending parties, as they were the persons that had acted unjustly. From this fine two statues were erected, one in the gymnasium of the Eleans, and the other before the porch in Altis, which is called Various, from the pictures with which the walls were formerly
OF GREECE.

adorned. There are, also, those that call this place the porch of Echo, because the voice of a man is reverberated in it seven times, and often more than this. A statue, too, is erected to Jupiter, from a fine of the Alexandrian panкратiast Serapion. They report, that he was fined for timidity, because, in the first after the two hundredth Olympiad, he was so terrified at his antagonists, that, the day before the commencement of the pancratium, he abandoned the place. They add, that he was the only person, whether Ἑgyptian or any other, that was ever fined for fear. And such are the statues which I have found erected, and such the causes of their fabrication.

CHAPTER XXII.

There are, besides these, other statues of Jupiter, which have been dedicated partly at public and partly at private cost. But there is an altar in Altis, near the entrance which leads to the stadium. The Eleans do not sacrifice upon this altar to any of the gods; but trumpeters and criers contend upon it after the ancient manner. Near this altar there is a brazen foundation, and upon it a statue of Jupiter, about six cubits in altitude, and with thunder in each of his hands. This was dedicated by Cynæthaenses. But the youthful Jupiter, with a chain about his neck, was dedicated by Phliasius Cleolas. Near the building, too, which they call Hippodamium, there is a foundation of stone, in the form of a semicircle, and upon it a statue of Jupiter, and statues of Thetis and Aurora, supplicating Jupiter for their children. These are in the middle of the basis. But in one of its extremities Achilles stands, and in the other Memnon: and they are represented in the attitude of enemies. In like manner a Barbarian stands opposite to a Greek, viz. Helenus to Ulysses, because each of these, in
his own army, was the most renowned for wisdom. Paris, likewise, through ancient hatred, is opposed to Menelaus; Æneas to Diomed; and Deiphobus to Ajax Telamon. These were the works of Lycius, the son of Myron, and were dedicated by the Apolloniææ, that live near the Ionian sea. And the following elegy, written in ancient characters, is to be seen at the feet of Jupiter:

The city Apollonia, which the god
With unshorn locks, the bright Apollo, raised
Near the Ionian sea, these gifts devotes.
For those that once Abantis' boundaries seized
From Thronium brought the tenth of all their spoil.

But the region which is called Abantis, and the city Thronium, which it contains, formed a part of the Threspotian Epirus, near the mountains Ceraunii. For the Greeks being dispersed on their return from Troy, the Locrians, from Thronium, near the river Boagrius, and the Abantes, from Eubœa, were carried in eight ships to the mountains Ceraunii. Here, fixing their residence, they inhabited Thronium, and called as much of the country as was distributed in common, by the name of Abantis: but afterwards they were expelled from this country, through being vanquished in war by their neighbours the Apolloniææ. They report, that Apollonia was colonised from Coryæra, and that the Corinthians partook of these spoils.

On proceeding to a little distance from hence, you will see a statue of Jupiter, turned towards the east, holding in one of his hands an eagle, and in the other thunder. He has, likewise, a crown on his head of vernal flowers. This was the gift of the Metapontines, and the work of Aristonous Æginetæs. I am equally ignorant who was the master of this Aristonous, and at what time he flourished. The Phliasians, too, have dedicated a Jupiter, the daughters of Asopus, and Asopus himself. These statues are disposed in the following manner: Nemea is the first of the sisters;
OF GREECE.

and after her Jupiter is seen laying hold on Ægina. Arpinna stands near Ægina, with whom Mars, according to the report of the Eleans and Phliasians, was connected, and by whom he had Ænomaus, that reigned in Pisa. After her, Corecyra stands; then Thebe; and, last of all, Asopus. Neptune, too, is said to have been connected with Corecyra: and Pindar, in his odes, relates other things of this kind of Jupiter and Thebe. The Leontines, indeed, raised a statue of Jupiter from private and not from public cost; and the magnitude of this statue is seven cubits. In its left hand there is an eagle, and in its right hand thunder, according to the description of poets. These Leontines, too, dedicated Hippogoras, Phrynon, and Ænusidemus. But it appears to me, that this Ænusidemus was not the same with the person of this name that reigned over the Leontines.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Having passed beyond the road which leads to the place of consultation, or the Bouleuterion, you will see a Jupiter without any inscription: and as you turn again towards the north, you will see another statue of Jupiter. This statue looks to the east, and was dedicated by the Grecians that at Platea fought against Mardonius and the Medes. On the right hand of the basis the names of those cities are inscribed that partook of this enterprise. Of these the Lacedæmonians are the first; after these, the Athenians; the third and fourth are the Corinthians and Siconians; the fifth are the Æginetae; after these, the Megarenses and Epidaurians; and of the Arcadians the Tegeæ and Orchomenians. In the next place, the Phliasians, Træzenians, and Hermionenses succeed: but of the Argives, the Tirynthians; of the Boeotians, the Plateæenses alone; and of the
THE DESCRIPTION

Argives, the Mycenaei. Of the islands, the Chii and the Milesii are mentioned; and of the Thesprotian continent, the Ambraciota, together with the Tenii and Lepreatae. The Lepreatae, indeed, were the only persons that came from Triphylly; but from Ἐγίον and the Cyclades, not only the Tenii came, but the Naxii and Cynthii. From Εὔβοια, the Styrenses came; and after these, the Eleans, Potidæae, and Anactorii; and last of all, the Chalcidenses that dwell near the Euripus.

Of these cities, the following are at present extinct: Μυσεμε and Tiryntha were subverted by the Argives, after the Greeks had conquered the Medes: but the Ambraciota and Anactorii were brought by Augustus Caesar to Nicopolis, to the promontory Actium. The Potidæae, who had been twice driven from their country, the first time by Philip, the son of Amyntas, and afterwards by the Athenians, were reinstated by Cassander; and the city which was formerly called Potidæa was denominated, from its founder, Cassandria. But the statue in Olympia, which was dedicated by the Greeks in common, was made by Anaxagoras Εγινητα; though he is not mentioned by the Platenaenian historians. Before this statue of Jupiter there is a brazen pillar, in which the league between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, for thirty years, is inscribed. The Athenians made this league, after they had again conquered Εὐβοια, in the third year of that Olympiad in which Crison Himeraeus conquered in the stadium. In this league, too, it is mentioned, that the peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians did not extend to the city of the Argives, but that the Argives might, if they pleased, enter into a private confederacy with the Athenians.

There is also another statue of Jupiter, near the car of Cleothenes, of which we shall make mention hereafter. This statue was dedicated by the Megarenses, and was made by the brothers Thylacus and Onethus, and their
sons; though I am perfectly ignorant of the age, country, and masters of these artists. Near the chariot of Gelon there is an ancient Jupiter holding a sceptre. They say, that this was the gift of the Hyblææ. But the Hyblææ were two cities in Sicily, one of which, Gereatis, was surnamed Galeotis; but the other was called, as it was, in reality, the Greater. These cities, even at present, retain their names: but one of them, in Catanensis, is entirely desolate; and the other, Gereatis, has a temple, in which divine honours are paid to the goddess Hyblææ. I am of opinion, that the statue in Olympia was brought thither from this people: for Philistus, the son of Archomenides, says, that they were interpreters of prodigies and dreams, and were the most pious of all the Barbarians in Sicily. But near the sacred gift of the Hyblææ there is a braseum basis, and upon it a statue of Jupiter. I conjecture, that the altitude of this statue is about eighteen feet: and the following inscription upon it informs us by whom it was dedicated to the god, and who were the artists that made it:

This statue as the tenth of cities won,
Of many won, by war’s rapacious hand,
Here the Clitorii dedicate to Jove.
Ariston and Telestas brothers were
Of Sparta’s realms, and with conspiring art
The statue in its due proportions framed.

But I am of opinion, that these Laconians were not known to the whole of Greece: for otherwise the Eleans would be able to give some particular account of them, and the Lacedæmonians still more so, because they were Spartans.
CHAPTER XXIV.

After this, there is an altar of Jupiter Laocetas, and Neptune Laocetas: and near this altar there is a Jupiter on a brazen basis, which was the gift of the Corinthian people, and the work of a certain artist, Musus. But as you go from the Bouleuterion to the great temple, you will see a statue of Jupiter, on the left hand, crowned, as it were, with flowers, and holding thunder in his right hand. This was the work of the Theban Ascarus, who was taught by a Sicyonian. They say, that it was dedicated by the Thessalians because they had subdued the Phocenses, and was one of the Phocensian spoils. This was not the war which is called sacred; for it took place before Xerxes and the Medes passed over into Greece. Not far from hence there is a statue of Jupiter, which the inscription evinces the Psophidians dedicated, in consequence of having obtained the victory in an engagement. But on the right hand of the great temple there is a statue of Jupiter, towards the east, of twelve feet in altitude; which, they say, was dedicated by the Lacedæmonians when they a second time attacked the rebellious Messenians. There is also the following elegy upon it:

Saturnian Jove Olympian, deign t'accept
This beauteous statue, and the Spartans bless.

I know, however, of no Roman, whether a private person or a patrician, prior to L. Mummius, who dedicated any thing in a Grecian temple. But Mummius, from the spoils of the Achaians, dedicated a brazen statue of Jupiter in Olympia. This statue stands on the left hand of the gift of the Lacedæmonians, and near the first pillar of the temple. But the statue of Jupiter in Altis, which is the greatest of
all the statues, was dedicated by the Eleans, in consequence of the war against the Arcadians, and is in altitude twenty-seven feet. Near the temple of Pelops, too, there is a pillar of no great altitude, and upon it a small statue of Jupiter, extending one of his hands. Opposite to this there are other statues in a continued series; and among these there are statues of Jupiter and Ganymedes. Homer, indeed, relates that Ganymedes, being taken away by Jupiter, became his cup-bearer, and that horses were given for him to his father Tros. This was dedicated by Gnothis the Thessalian, but was made by Aristocles the disciple and son of Cleætas. There is also another Jupiter without a beard, among the gifts of Smicythus. But who this Smicythus was, who were his ancestors, and on what account he dedicated many gifts in Olympia, I shall hereafter relate.

On proceeding from this statue to a small distance, in a straight direction, you will see another beardless statue of Jupiter. This was dedicated by the Elaītæ, who, leaving Caicus, first took possession of Æolis in the maritime coast. After this again there is another statue of Jupiter; and the inscription on it signifies, that the Cnidian, the inhabitants of Cherronesus, dedicated it from the spoils of the enemy. On one side of Jupiter, too, they have placed Pelops, and on the other, the river Alpheus. Indeed, the greatest part of the city of the Cnidian is built in the Carian continent, and contains many things which are in the most eminent degree worthy of inspection. But that which is called Cherronesus, is an island in the continent, to which you may pass over by a bridge. From this place gifts were sent to Jupiter in Olympia; just as the inhabitants of that Ephesian city which is called Cercusus, dedicated a statue in the common name of the Ephesians. Near the wall, too, of Altis, there is a Jupiter turned towards the west, without any inscription. It is said, that this was dedicated by Mummius out of the Achaian spoils. But in the Bouleuterion there is a statue of
Jupiter, which is the most calculated of all statues whatever to excite terror in the unjust. The surname of this statue is Orkios, or the god of oaths; and it has thunder in each of its hands.

It is usual with the Athlete, their parents, brothers, and masters of the gymnasion, to swear upon the testicles of a boar, that they will not act unjustly in any thing belonging to the Olympic games. But the Athlete, in addition to this, swear that they have employed ten successive months in preparing themselves for the games. Those, too, who are to pass sentence either on the youth or the colts that contend in the games, swear that they will not be influenced in their decision by gifts, and that they will preserve in secret the motives that determined their decisions. I did not, however, remember to inquire what use was made of the boar, after the oath of the Athlete. I know, indeed, that it is established among the more ancient institutions, that the victims upon which oaths have been made, shall be employed for the purposes of human food; and is by no means in the least degree evinced by Homer; for he says, that the boar, upon the severed parts of which Agamemnon swore that he had not touched Briseis, was thrown into the sea by the herald Talthybius.

"With that, his weapon deep inflicts the wound;  
The bleeding savage tumbles to the ground;  
The sacred herald rolls the victim slain  
(A feast for fish) into the foaming main."

So that rites of this kind are to be considered as ancient.—But before the feet of Jupiter Orkios there is a brazen table, in which elegies are written, with a view of striking terror into those that swear. And such is the accurate number of the statues of Jupiter within Altis. For the offering near the great temple was dedicated by a certain Corinthian (not one of the ancient Corinthians, but of those
whom Caesar colonized). And this gift is Alexander the son of Philip, assimilated to Jupiter.

CHAPTER XXV.

Let us now give an account of those statues which are not resemblances of Jupiter. For those statues which are not erected out of reverence to a divine nature, but out of respect to men, we shall give an account of, when we discourse about the Athlete. When the Messenians who dwell near the strait between Sicily and Italy, sent, according to the ancient custom which they observe every year, a choir to Rhegium, consisting of thirty-five boys, and together with these the master of the choir, and a harper, for the purpose of celebrating a certain festival of the Rhegians, it happened that the ship which carried them sunk, and all that were on board perished. For this strait is the most stormy of every sea, owing to the winds which agitate its waves from the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas. And even when the violence of the winds is allayed, the motion of the influent and refluent sea is so vehement, and the air above the sea is so infected with the fetid smell of the fishes collected in great abundance in the strait, that to the shipwrecked no hope of safety remains. If, indeed, Ulysses had been shipwrecked in the Sicilian strait, it is not credible that he could have arrived at Italy by any other means than divine assistance, which is benignly exerted at all times, and at length gives ease to the oppressed.

The Messenians were greatly afflicted at this loss of the young men, and, among other honours which they paid them, erected to their memory brazen statues in Olympia, and, together with these, statues of the master of the choir, and the harper. The ancient inscription signifies, that these were dedicated by the Messenians that dwell in the strait.
But in after times, Hippias, who was esteemed for his wisdom by the Greeks, composed elegies for these statues, which were made by the Elean Callon. In that promontory, too, in Sicily, which is called Pachynum, and which looks towards Africa and the south, is the city Motye, which is inhabited by Africans and Phœnicians. These barbarians in Motye were subdued by the Agrigentines, who, from the spoils of their victory, placed brazen boys in Olympia, extending their right hands, and in the attitude of praying to the god. These are placed near the wall of Altis, and are, I conjecture, the works of Calamis, as they are generally reported to be. But the Sicilian nations are as follow: The Sicani, Siculi, and Phrygians; the two first of which came thither from Italy, but the Phrygians from Scamander and Troy. The Phœnicians and Libyans, joining in one common military expedition, came into the island, and formed colonies of Carthaginians. And such are the barbarous nations which inhabit Sicily. But of the Greeks, the Dorians, and Ionians, the Phocenses, and no great part of those that bear an Attic name.

In the same wall of Altis, there are both the offerings of the Agrigentines, and two naked statues of Hercules, of a puerile age; one of which is represented piercing with arrows the Nemean lion. This Hercules with the lion was dedicated by Hippotion the Tarentine, and was made by Nicodamus; but the other statue was dedicated by Anaxippus Mendæus, and was brought hither by the Eleans; as prior to this it was placed at the extremity of that road which leads from Elis to Olympia, and is called Sacred. The Achaian nation in common, too, dedicated those statues which are represented as just beginning to engage in single contests, from a challenge of Hector: and these stand armed with spears and shields, near the great temple. Opposite to these Nestor stands on another base, casting the lot of each in a helmet. And those that are al-
lotted to fight with Hector, are eight in number: for the
ninth of them, which is the statue of Ulysses, is said to have
been taken away by Nero, and brought to Rome. Of these
eight, too, the statue of Agamemnon alone has the name
inscribed, the letters of which proceed in an inverse order,
from the right hand to the left. He who bears a cock in
his shield is Idomeneus, the grandson of Minos, and who de-
cscended from Pasiphae the daughter of the Sun. They say
that this bird is sacred to the Sun, and that it announces
by its crowing the rising of that luminary. The following
epigram is inscribed in the basis:

"The Achaïans, who from godlike Pelops sprung,
These statues dedicated once to Jove."

And in the shield of Idomeneus the name of the artist is
inscribed:

"His father Micon, in Ægina born,
Onatas, for his numerous works renown'd,
Of admirable skill, this statue made."

Not far from this gift of the Achaïans, there is a Her-
cules fighting with an Amazon on horseback for a girdle.
This was dedicated by Evagoras Zancleus, and was made
by Cydonates Aristocles. This Aristocles may be ranked
among the most ancient artists; nor can any one give a clear
account of the age in which he lived. It is, however,
evident, that he was born before the name Messene was
given to Zancle, which name it bears at present. The
Thasians, too, who originated from Tyre and the other
parts of Phœnicia, and who sailed with Thasus the son of
Agenor in search of Europa, dedicated a brazen Hercules in
Olympia upon a brazen basis. The magnitude of this statue
is ten cubits, and it holds in its right hand a club, and in its
left a bow. I have likewise heard, that the Thasians for-
merly venerated the same Hercules as the Tyrians, but
that afterwards, when they were mingled with the Greeks, they were of opinion, that they ought to reverence Hercules the son of Amphitryon. The following lines are inscribed on the gift of the Thasians:

"Onatas, who to Micon owed his birth,
   And in Ægina dwelt, this statue framed."

With respect to this Onatas Ægineta, who made these statues, we think that he was not second to any of those renowned artists that were instructed by Daedalus, or tutored in the workshop at Attica.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of those Dorian Messenians, such as formerly possessed Naupactus, which they received from the Athenians, dedicated in Olympia a statue of Victory on a pillar. This was the work of the Paeonian Mendaus; and, as it appears to me, was made from the spoils of the Acarnanes and Æniadæ. But the Messenians themselves say, that it was dedicated by them, on account of the victory which they obtained in the island Sphacteria in conjunction with the Athenians, and that they did not inscribe the name of their city on the statue through fear of the Lacedæmonians. They farther add, that the Æniadæ and Acarnanes could not have been influenced by any such fear, if the statue had been dedicated by them. I find, too, many gifts here of Smicythus, among which the following present themselves to the view, after the statue of the Elean Iphitus, and of Eccehira crowning Iphitus, viz. Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, all which were made by the Argive Glaucus. But near the great temple, and on the left side, the same Smicythus dedicated a Proserpine, Venus, Ganymedes, and Diana; of the poets, Homer and Hesiod; and of the gods again, Æsculapius and Hygia. Among the
gifts, too, of Smicythus there is a statue of Agon, or the divinity of contests, holding a rope-dancer’s weights. There weights are of a semicircular form, but are rather oblong than exactly round; and they are so constructed that the fingers may pass through them, just as through the thongs of shields.

Near the statue of Agon there is a Bacchus, a Thracian Orpheus, and that statue of Jupiter which we not long since mentioned. These are the works of the Argive Dionysius. Smicythus, too, is said to have dedicated other things, which Nero took away. The masters of these artists Dionysius and Glaucus are not known; but the age in which they lived may be collected from that of Smicythus, who dedicated these in Olympia. For Herodotus writes, that this Smicythus was at first the servant of Anaxilas, who reigned over the Rheginenses; that afterwards he came to be his treasurer; and that, on the death of Anaxilas, he migrated to Tegea. The inscriptions, too, on the gifts, signify that the country of Smicythus was Chœrus; and that the Greeks gave him Rhegium for his habitation, and that part of Messene which is near the strait. They likewise report, that he placed the epigrams in Tegea, but the gifts which we have enumerated, in Olympia, from a vow which he made for the safety of his son, when he was in a consumption. But near the greater gifts of Smicythus, which were made by Glaucus, there is a statue of Minerva armed with a helmet and ægis. This was made by Nicodamus the Mænalian, and was dedicated by the Eleans. Near Minerva there is a statue of Victory. This was dedicated by the Mantinenses after a war which is not mentioned in the epigram. This statue is without wings, and is said to have been made by Calamis, in imitation of that ancient statue at Athens which is called Apteræ, or without wings.

But near the lesser gifts of Smicythus, which were
made by Dionysius, of the labours of Hercules, his conquest of the Nemean lion and hydra, his dragging Cerberus up to the light, and his slaying the boar near the river Erymanthus, are represented. All these were dedicated by the Heracleotae, after they had subdued the barbarous nations that bordered on their dominions. These Heracleotae dwell near the Euxine Pontus, and are a colony of the Megarensians and Tanagraeans. Opposite to these gifts there are other offerings in a continued series, turned towards the west, and near the grove which is sacred to Pelops.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Among these, too, you may behold the offerings of Phormis Mænalius. This man, passing from Mænalus to Sicily, to the army of Gelon the son of Dinomenes, and to Hiero the brother of Gelon, accomplished many illustrious achievements, and, in consequence of this, arrived at such a great degree of felicity, that he was both able to dedicate these offerings in Olympia, and others to Apollo at Delphos. His gifts in Olympia are two horses and two charioteers. Each charioteer stands by the side of his own horse: and one of these horses was made by the Argive Dionysius, and the other by Simon Ægineta. On the side of the former of these horses, too, there is an epigram, the first part of which is not in verse; for it runs thus:

"Phormis Æras Mænalius, a Syracusan now, these gifts devotes."

This is the horse which, according to the Eleans, possesses the power of raising in horses the hippomanes, or a mad desire of coition. This, as well as other particulars belonging to the horse, took place through the art of a magician, in order to render the horse by this means an object of admiration.
OF GREECE.

The horse, both in its size and shape, is inferior to many horses which are dedicated within Altis, and is rendered still more deformed by having its tail cut off. Horses desire a connexion with this image, not only in spring, but every day in the year; for breaking their bridles, or running from their drivers, they rush into Altis, and attack this horse in a much more furious manner than if it was the most beautiful mare, and one that they were acquainted with. Their hoofs, indeed, slip from the sides of the image; but they do not cease neighing vehemently, and leaping furiously on the figure, till they are drawn away by the whip, or some other violent means; for till these methods are applied, it is impossible to free them from the brass.

In Lydia, too, I myself saw another prodigy, which is different, indeed, from the horse of Phormis, but yet not free from the art of magicians. For the Lydians, who are called Persic, have temples in the cities Hierocæarea and Hypapa. In each of these temples there is a cell, and in the cell an altar with ashes upon it: but the colour of these ashes is different from that of others. A magician entering into this cell, and placing dry wood on the altar, first of all veils his head with a tiara, and afterwards invokes a certain divinity, by an incantation barbaric, and perfectly unknown to the Greeks. This incantation he performs from a book; and when it is finished, all the wood on the altar becomes necessarily enkindled without fire, and emits a very splendid flame. But to return from this digression: among these offerings there is a statue of Phormis himself, fighting hand to hand with an enemy, after this with another, and then again with a third enemy. There is an inscription upon these, signifying, that the soldier who is fighting with Phormis is Mænalius; and that it was dedicated by the Syracusean Ly cortas. But it is evident that this Lycortas dedicated the statue through his friendship for Phormis. By the Greeks,
however, the offerings of Lycortas are called the gifts of Phormis. But the Mercury carrying a ram under his arm, with a helmet on his head, and clothed with a robe and cloak, is not one of the gifts of Phormis; for it was dedicated to Jupiter by the Arcadian Pheneatæ. The inscription on it indicates that it was made by Onatas Åegineta, and Calliteles. But it appears to me, that Calliteles was either the disciple or the son of Onatas.

Not far from the gift of the Pheneatæ there is another statue of Mercury, with a caduceus. The inscription on it signifies, that it was dedicated by Glaukas the Rheginensian, and that its artist was Callon the Elean. But of the two brazen oxen, one of them was dedicated by the Corcyraei, and the other by the Eretrientes. They were made by the Eretriensian Philesius. But why the Corcyraei dedicated one ox in Olympia, and one at Delphos, I shall show in my description of the Phocensian affairs. What I have heard concerning the ox in Olympia is this: a little boy, once sitting under this ox, and playing in a stooping posture, raised his head on a sudden, and struck it so violently against the brass, that he died not many days after from the wound. The Eleans, upon this, as the ox was guilty of shedding blood, consulted about expelling it from Altis; but the Delphic deity admonished them, that they should expiate the ox, according to those rites which the Greeks employed for involuntary slaughter. Under the plane-trees, too, in Elis, and about the middle of the enclosure, there is a brazen trophy: and the inscription on the shield which is fixed there, signifies that the Eleans raised it in consequence of the Lacedæmonians being vanquished. It was in this battle that the man fell, whom I mentioned as being found in armour on the top of the temple of Juno. But the gift of the Mendæans in Thrace, has the appearance of a man that contended in the quinquentium. This statue is placed near the
Elean Anauchis, and holds in its hands rope-dancer's weights. The following lines, too, are inscribed on one of its thighs:

"Here the Medæi captured Sipte's spoils
To Jove, the sovereign of the gods, devote."

It appears that Sipte was a fortified city of Thrace. But the Medæi are Grecians from Ionia; and they dwell on this side the sea which is near the city Anus.
BOOK VI.

POSTERIOR ELIACS.

CHAPTER I.

The order of discourse requires that I should now make mention of the contending horses, and of the noble and vulgar Athletæ, as I have discussed what relates to the votive offerings in Elis. Indeed, there are not statues of all that conquered in the Olympic games, but only of those that gave specimens of illustrious skill in the contests. Those conquerors, therefore, that are without statues, together with such others as are renowned for their actions, but have no statues, I shall pass over in silence. For it is not my intention to give a catalogue only of all the Athletæ that have conquered in the Olympic games, but a description of the other offerings and statues which Elis contains. Nor yet shall I give an account of all the statues that are to be seen here; as I well know that some of those that contended, received the crown of victory, rather by an unexpected good fortune than strenuous exertions. I shall only, therefore, make mention of such as either by their own deserts have obtained renown, or have rose to eminence through the opinions of others.

On the right hand then of the temple of Juno, there is an image of a wrestler, who was an Elean, and who was Symmachus, the son of Æschylus. Near this statue there is one of Neolaidas, the son of Proxenus, who came from Phenus in Arcadia, and obtained the victory in boxing with boys. After him follows Archidamus the son of Xenias,
OF GREECE.

who was victor in wrestling with boys, and was an Elean. The statues which I have just enumerated were made by Alyppus the Sicyonian, who was the disciple of the Argive Naucydes. But the epigram upon Cleogenes evinces that he was the son of Silenus, and a native of this place. They report, that he conquered in vaulting with one of his own horses. Near Cleogenes there is a statue of Dinolochus, of Pyrrhus, and Troilus, the son of Alcinous; all whom were Eleans, though they were not all victorious in the same contest. For Pyrrhus both acted as judge of the games, and conquered in the horse-race; but Troilus was victorious in the perfect chariot-race, and in the car drawn by colts.—He conquered, too, in the one hundred and second Olympiad. But from this time the Eleans made a law, that no judge of the games should contend in the horse-race. This statue was made by Lysippus. But the mother of Dinolochus dreamt that she closely embraced her son who was crowned. In consequence of this dream, Dinolochus vigorously employed himself in gymnastic exercises, and at length out-ran the boys his competitors. His statue was made by Cleon the Sicyonian.

With respect to Cynisca, the daughter of Archidamus, her pedigree, and her Olympic victories, all these I have related in my account of the Lacedaemonian kings. In Olympia, too, near the statue of Troilus, there is a stone fountain, and upon it a chariot with horses, and a charioteer, together with a statue of Cynisca made by Apelles, and some inscriptions upon her. Some Lacedaemonians, who conquered in the horse-race, succeed in a following order. The first of these is Anaxander, who was declared victor in the chariot-race: and the inscription signifies, that the grandfather of Anaxander was crowned before him in the quinquerrium. This statue resembles one praying to a divinity. After this follows Polyclees, who was surnamed Polychalcus, who was crowned in the course with four horses, and who holds a fillet in his
THE DESCRIPTION

hand. Near him there are two boys, one of which holds a hoop, and the other requests of him the fillet. This Polycles, as the inscription upon him evinces, conquered in the equestrian contest, in the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games.

CHAPTER II.

The statue of the Pancratiast, which is next to this, was made by Lysippus. This man was the first that bore away the victory from other Acarnanians in the pancratium. His name was Xenarges, and he was the son of Philandridas. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, after the irruption of the Medes into Greece, excelled all the Greeks in the art of rearing horses. For, exclusive of those whom I have mentioned above, the following Spartan horse-rearers are placed after the image of the athletic Acarnan, viz. Xenarges, Lycinus, Arcesilaus, and Lichas the son of Arcesilaus. And Xenarges, indeed, conquered in the Delphic, Argolic, and Corinthiac games. But Lycinus having brought colts to Olympia, and afterwards not approving one of them, applied himself to the care of adult horses, and through them was victorious. This Lycinus dedicated two statues in Olympia, which were made by the Athenian Myron. But Arcesilaus, the father of Lycas, obtained two Olympic victories: and as to Lycas, the Lacedæmonians at that time not being permitted to contend in the games, he instituted a chariot-race in the name of the Theban people, and with his own hand bound the head of the victorious charioteer with a fillet; for which action he was punished with flagellation by the judges of the games. Indeed, it was through this Lycas that the Lacedæmonians, led by their king Agis, warred on the Eleans, and fought with them within Altis. But when the war was finished, Lycas erected a statue in this
place. The writings of the Eleans, however, assert, that the palm of victory was not given to Lycas, but to the Theban people.

Near the statue of Lycas there is a statue of Thrasybulus an Elean prophet, of the family of the Iamidæ, who prophesied for the Mantinenses against the Lacedæmonians, and king Agis the son of Eudamidas; concerning which circumstance, I shall speak more largely in my account of the Arcadian affairs. An eft creeps on the right shoulder of the prophet; and near him lies a dog cut in two, and having his liver exposed to view. Divination has been established by mankind from remote antiquity, from kids, lambs, and calves. The Cyprians were the first that added a hog: but dogs have never been used by any nations for the purposes of divination. It appears, therefore, that Thrasybulus established a peculiar kind of divination from the entrails of dogs. But the prophets that are called Iamidæ sprung from Iamus, who, according to Pindar, was the son of Apollo, and was instructed by him in the divining art. Near the statue of Thrasybulus there is a statue of Timosthenes the Elean, who conquered boys in the stadium: and after this there is a statue of Antipater the Milesian, the son of Clinopatrus, who vanquished boys in boxing. Certain Syracusans, who brought a sacrifice from Dionysius to Olympia, having bribed the father of Antipater, persuaded him to renounce his Syracusan son. But Antipater himself rejecting the gifts of the tyrant, asserted, that he was a Milesian, and testifies, in the inscription of his image, that he was the first of the Ionians that dedicated his own statue in Olympia. This statue was made by Polycletus: but Eutychides the Sicyonian, the disciple of Lysippus, made the statue of Timosthenes. This Eutychides, too, made for the Syrians who inhabit Orontes a statue of Fortune, who is greatly honoured by the inhabitants of this place.

But in Altis, near the statue of Timosthenes, there is
THE DESCRIPTION

a statue of Timon, and of Ægypus the son of Timon, as yet a youth, and sitting on a horse, at which age he conquered with the vaulting horse. But Timon was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race. The statues of these two were made by Dædalus the Sicyonian, who also made for the Eleans in Altis a trophy of their Lacedaemonian victory. There is also a statue of a Samian pugilist, with an inscription which signifies that it was dedicated by Mecon, the master of the gymnastic exercises, and that the Samians are the best of the Ionians, both in athletic and naval contests. But the inscription signifies nothing concerning the pugilist himself. There is a statue, too, here of Damiscus, which was dedicated by the Messenians. This Damiscus, when he was twelve years old, was declared victor in the Olympic games. This, however, appears to me remarkably admirable, that the same fortune deprived the Messenians of Peloponnesus, and of the Olympic games. For after they were driven from Peloponnesus, no one of the Messenians conquered in these games, either from Naupactus or Sicily, except Leon-tiscus and Symmachus, who were inhabitants of the strait; though the Sicilians contend, that these were not Messenians, but belonged to the ancient Zancleans. But the fortune respecting the Olympic games returned with the Messenians to Peloponnesus; for in the year following their restoration, when the Eleans celebrated the Olympic games, this Damiscus vanquished boys in the stadium. And after this he was five times victorious in the Nemean and Isthmian games.

CHAPTER III.

Near Damiscus there is a statue of a man I am un-acquainted with; for his name is not in the inscription. It was, however, dedicated by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who calls himself in the inscription a Macedonian, and at the
same time king of Egypt. There is an inscription, too, on Chæreas the Sicyonian pugilist, which signifies that he was victorious when a boy, and that his father was Chærenont. It also informs us, that the statue was made by Asterion the son of Æschylus. After Chæreas there is a statue of Sophius a Messenian boy, and an Elean of the name of Stomius. The former of these vanquished boys in the course; but the latter was once victor in the Olympic quinquertium, and thrice in the Nemean games. The inscription, too, upon Stomius farther signifies, that he led the Elean horse; that having vanquished the enemy he erected a trophy; and that having challenged the general of the enemy's army to a single combat, he slew him. The Eleans report, that he came from Sicyon, and ruled over the Sicyonians; but that they led an army against Sicyon, through their friendship to the Thebans; and that they were assisted in this expedition by the Boeotians. It appears, therefore, that the Eleans and Thebans led an army against Sicyon, after the misfortune of the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra.

After these follows the statue of Labax the son of Euphron, who was a pugilist from the Lepreus of the Eleans. Next to this there is a statue of Aristodemus the son of Thrasis, who was a wrestler, and who was twice victorious in the Pythian games. This statue was made by Patrocles the disciple and son of the Sicyonian Dædalus. But the statue of Hippon the Elean pugilist, who is represented vanquishing boys, was made by the Sicyonian Democritus, who is referred to a fifth master, the Attic Critias. For the Corcyrenian Ptolichus was instructed by Critias; Amphion was the disciple of Ptolichus; and Pison the Calaurean was instructed by Amphion, and Democritus by Pison. There is also a statue of Cratinus of Ægira, an Achaian city, who was both the most beautiful of all of his time, and excelled in the art of wrestling. This Cratinus having vanquished
boys in wrestling, was so much honoured by the Eleans, that they suffered his statue to stand next to that of the master of the games. His statue was made by the Sicyonian Cantharus, whose father was Alexis, and master Eutychides. But Daedalus the Sicyonian framed the statue of the Elean Eupolemus. The inscription on this statue signifies, that Eupolemus conquered in the Olympic stadium, and that he was twice victorious in the Pythian, and once in the Nemean quinquertium.

It is also said of Eupolemus, that two of the three judges that presided over the course gave him the palm of victory, and that the third crowned Leon Ambracota: but that Leon, in consequence of the two judges having given the crown to Eupolemus, accused them before the Olympic council of having been corrupted by the money of Eupolemus. The Achaians, too, erected a statue to Oibotas, agreeable to the mandate of the Delphic Apollo, in the eighty-sixth Olympiad: but Oibotas conquered in the stadium in the sixth Olympiad. How then could Oibotas fight with the Greeks at Plataeae (which is asserted by some), when Mardonius and the Medes were vanquished at Plataeae, in the seventieth Olympiad? It is, therefore, necessary that I should relate what is reported by the Greeks, but there is no necessity that I should believe it to be true. The other particulars relating to Oibotas, I shall mention in my account of the Achaian affairs. But Nicodamus made the statue of Antiochus; and Antiochus was of Lepreum. In the Olympic pancratium he conquered once, and in the Isthmian and Nemean games twice in the same contest. For the Lepreatae were not deterred from celebrating the Isthmian games, in the same manner as the Eleans were, at the time of Hysmon the Elean. Near Antiochus there is a statue of this Hysmon, who, when he contended in the quinquertium, was twice victor; once in the Olympic, and once in the Nemean games. But it is evident that he, as
OF GREECE.

well as other Eleans, was excluded the Isthmian games. This Hysmon, when he was but a boy, is said to have applied himself to the quinquertium, to have cured by this means a weakness of the nerves with which he was afflicted, and to have received afterwards many illustrious crowns in this contest. His statue was made by Cleon, and holds in its hands ancient rope-dancers' weights.

After Hysmon there is a statue of a boy, that was a wrestler. His name was Nicostratus: and he was the son of Xenoclidas, and came from Hersea an Arcadian city. Pantias made this statue, who was the disciple in the seventh degree of Aristocles the Sicyonian. But Dicon the son of Callibrotus was five times victorious in the Pythian course, three times in the Isthmian, and four times in the Nemean; and in the Olympic games he was once victorious in the contest with boys, and twice in that with men. In Olympia, too, there are as many statues erected to him as he obtained victories. When he was a boy he was proclaimed a Caulonian, as indeed he was; but when he was a man, being corrupted by presents, he caused himself to be proclaimed a Syracusan. This Caulonia is a colony which was brought into Italy by the Achaians: and the leader of this colony was Typhon Ægiensis. But Pyrrhus the son of Æaecides and the Tarentines warring on the Romans, many Italian cities were depopulated, some by Pyrrhus, and some by the Romans. Among these was Caulonia, which was captured and rendered desolate by the Campanians, who formed the greatest part of the Roman auxiliaries. Near the statue of this Dicon there is a statue of Xenophon the son of Menephylus; and who was a pancratiast from Ægium in Achaia. There is likewise a statue of the Ephesian Pyrilampes, who was victor in the Dolichos, or chariot race of twelve, or twenty-four stadia. The former of these statues was made by Olympus, the latter by the artist Py-
rilampes, who was not a Sicyonian, but born at Messene in Ithome.

But the Samians dedicated the statue of the Spartan Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, in Olympia, with two inscriptions on it, the first of which is as follows:

Here in high-reigning Jove's illustrious fane,
The Samians publicly this gift devote.

This inscription therefore informs us by whom the statue was dedicated: but the next is in praise of Lysander:

Lysander! virtue's honours are thy own,
Immortal since thy country's grown through thee,
And Aristocritus to glory raised.

It is evident, therefore, that the Samians and other Ionians, according to the Ionian proverb, whitened two walls out of the same earthen pot. For when Alcibiades had the Athenian fleet in readiness about Ionia, the greater part of the Ionians paid their court to him; and in consequence of this, the Samians erected a brazen statue to his honour in the temple of Juno. But when the Athenian ships were taken at Ægospotamos, the Samians erected a statue of Lysander in Olympia. The Ephesians also dedicated, in the temple of Diana, the statues of Lysander, Eteonicus, Pharax, and other Spartans, men with whom the Greeks were very little acquainted. Upon things, however, taking a different turn, and the Lacedæmonians being vanquished in a naval battle by Conon, who commanded the Athenian fleet at Cnidus and the mountain Dorion, the Ionians were so changed that they dedicated a brazen image of Conon, and one of Timotheus, in the temple of Juno at Samos; and in like manner at Ephesus in the temple of the Ephesian goddess. Indeed, this has ever been the case with all nations as well as the Ionians, that they have paid sedulous attention to those that surpassed others in riches and power.
CHAPTER IV.

After Lysander there is a statue of an Ephesian pugilist, who conquered in the contest with boys, and whose name was Athenæus. Near this there is a statue of the Sicyan Sostratus, the pancratiast, and whose surname was Achrochersites. This name was given to him, because he used to seize the extremities of his adversaries' hands with great violence, and continue his grasp till he perceived they would yield from the vehemence of the pain. He was twelve times victorious, partly in the Nemean, and partly in the Isthmian games; twice in the Pythian, and thrice in the Olympic games. But the Eleans, in their commentaries, do not mention the one hundred and fourth Olympiad, in which Sostratus obtained his first victory, because they did not institute the games at this period, but the Piseans and Arcadians instead of them. Near Sostratus there is a statue of Leontiscus the Sicilian pancratiast, who dwelt at Messene in the strait. He was crowned by the Amphictyons and Eleans; and he is said to have vanquished his adversaries in wrestling, in the same manner as Sostratus in the pancratium; for he did not throw them to the ground by struggling with them in a strenuous manner, but fraudulently gained the victory by vehemently grasping their fingers. Pythagoras Rheginus made his statue, an artist, who, if it could be ever said of any one, was certainly a good statuary. They report, that he was the disciple of Clearchus Rheginus, who was the pupil of Euchirus. This Euchirus was a Corinthian, and was instructed in his art by Sydras, and the Spartan Chartas.

But the boy, whose head is bound with a fillet, must not be passed over by us, for the sake of Phidias and his skill in making statues; as we do not know of any other person whose image was made by Phidias. The Elean Satyrus,
too, whose father was Lysianax, and who was of the race of
the Iamidæ, was five times victorious in Nemea in boxing,
twice in the Pythian, and twice in the Olympic games. His
statue was made by the Athenian Silanian. But Polyeses,
another Athenian statuary, who was the disciple of the
Athenian Stadicus, made the statue of the pancratiaist
Amyntas, who was an Ephesian youth, and the son of Hel-
panicus. Chilon Achaeus Patrensis was twice victorious in
wrestling in the Olympic games, once at Delphos, four times
in the Isthmian, and thrice in the Nemean games. He was
buried at the public expense of the Achaians, and died in
battle. The truth of my account is confirmed by the fol-
lowing inscription in Olympia:

Chilon alone, with men in wrestling, twice
The Olympian and the Pythian crown obtain'd:
The third he gained in Nemea, but the fourth
In Isthmus bordering on the sounding main:
In Patrae he was born, in battle slain,
And by the Achaians for his worth inter'r'd.

And thus much is evinced by the inscription. But if we
may collect the war in which he fell from the age of Ly-
sippus, who made his statue, it must either have been that
at Chæronea with all the Achaians, or, through his virtue
and courage, he alone of the Achaians must have opposed
Antipater and the Macedonians at Lamia in Thessaly.

After Chilon there are two statues in a following order;
one of Molpion, who, by the inscription, is said to have
been crowned by the Eleans; upon the other there is no in-
scription; but it is said to be the statue of Aristotle the
Stagirite, and to have been erected either by a disciple of
his, or by some soldier; as Aristotle was much honoured by
Antipater, and prior to this by Alexander. But Sodamas
from Assos in Troy, situated under mount Ida, was the first
of the Æolians, in this place, that conquered boys in the
Olympic stadium. Near Sodamas there is a statue of Ar-
OF GREECE.

chidamus king of the Lacedæmonians, and son of Agesilaus. Before this Archidamus, I do not find that the Lacedæmonians erected any statue out of their dominions. But it appears to me, that they sent a statue of Archidamus to Olympia, both on account of his merit, and the manner of his death: for he fell among the Barbarians, and was the only king of the Spartans that was deprived of the honour of a tomb. These particulars, however, I have more copiously discussed in my account of the Spartan affairs. Euanthes, too, the Cyzicenian pugilist, conquered once in the Olympic games in contending with men; but with boys in the Nemean and Isthmian games. Near Euanthes there is a man who applied himself to the care of horses, a chariot, and a virgin ascending into the chariot. The name of the man was Lampus; and his country was the most recent of the Macedonian cities, and which was called after the name of Philip the son of Amyntas. But the statue of the boy Cyniscus, who was a pugilist from Mantinea, was made by Polycletus. And Ergoteles the son of Philanor, who conquered twice in the dolichos in Olympia, and twice in the Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games, was not from the first an Himeraean, as the inscription upon him asserts, but a Cretan from Gnossus; from whence being banished by a sedition, and coming to Himera, he was made a citizen by them, and received among them many other honours; so that with great propriety he was announced as an Himeraean in the games.

CHAPTER V.

But the statue which stands on a lofty basis is the work of Lysippus. This statue is the image of a man, who, excepting those that are called heroes, or the race of mortals
prior to the heroes, if there was any such race, must have been the largest of all men. Polydamas, indeed, the son of Nicias, is a man of the greatest stature of any of the present age. Scotussa, the native country of this Polydamas, is not now inhabited. For Alexander, who reigned over the Pheræans, obtained the city by compact, and slew with arrows all the Scotusæans that were collected in the theatre (for they were ordered at that time to assemble together), by surrounding them with a band of men armed with half-moon shields, and a company of archers. He likewise slew all the young men, made slaves of the women and boys, and sold them to strangers for money. This calamity befell the Scotusæans when Phrasiclide was the Athenian archon, and in the one hundred and second Olympiad, in the second year of which Damon the Thurian was the second time victorious. The Scotusæans, too, had not been long exiled, before they were again through imbecility obliged to abandon their city; because all Greece at that time was, through a divine power, about to suffer great losses in war a second time through the Macedonians. Other persons, likewise, obtained illustrious victories in the pancratium; but Polydamas acquired renown in other things besides the crowns in the pancratium, of which the following relation is a proof:

The mountainous part of Thrace, which is within the river Nestus, that flows through the land of the Abderites, produces, among other wild beasts, lions. The camels which carried the provision of the army of Xerxes suffered greatly through these lions, which very often wandered into that part of the country which is situated about mount Olympus. And one side of this mountain looks towards Macedonia, but the other to Thessaly and the river Peneus. In this mountain Polydamas, perfectly unarmed, slew a large and strong lion, being incited to this daring attempt through a desire of emulating the achievements of
Hercules; because Hercules is reported to have vanquished a lion in Nemea. Polydamas likewise left behind him another wonderful instance of valour. Coming on a time to a herd of oxen, he seized the largest and fiercest ox among them by one of his hind feet. This he so strenuously held, that notwithstanding the leaping and struggling of the ox to get free, the animal was scarcely able at length to escape, with the loss of its hoof. They farther add, that this same Polydamas was able to stop a chariot, when it was driven along rapidly by the charioteer, by only seizing it behind with one of his hands.

In consequence, therefore, of the reputation which he gained by these exploits, Darius, the bastard son of Artaxerxes, who, in conjunction with the common people of Persia, dethroned the legitimate son of Artaxerxes, this Darius, who had heard of the exploits of Polydamas, sent ambassadors, who through gifts and promises allured Polydamas to come to him at Susa. Here, when he arrived, he slew three of those men whom the Persians call the Immortals, and who fought him collectively. These exploits, which I have mentioned, are partly represented in the basis of the statue in Olympia, and partly evinced by the inscription. Polydamas, however, at length fell through too much confidence in his own strength, which, as Homer observes, has been the destruction of many. For once, through the heat of the weather, he and his companions entered into a cavern in order to repose themselves: and then, through some evil daemon, it so happened that the top of the cavern had some wide gapes. Here, though the approaching danger was apparent, and the rest betook themselves to flight, Polydamas was determined to stay, and extended his hands as if he was able to support the falling mass. His efforts, however, were in vain, and he was buried in the ruins of the mountain.
CHAPTER VI.

But in Olympia, near the statue of Polydamas, there are two statues of Arcadian Athletæ, and a third of an Attic champion. One of these was a Mantinean, and was Protolaus the son of Dialces, who conquered in boxing with boys; and his statue was made by Pythagoras Rheginus. The second of these statues is that of Narcydas the son of Damaretus, who was a wrestler from Phigalia: and this statue was made by the Sicyonian Daedalus. The third statue is that of Callis the Athenian pancratiast, and was made by the painter Micon. The statue, too, of the Mænalian pancratiast, Androthenes the son of Lochæus, who was twice victorious in contests with men, is the work of the Mænalian Nicodamus. After these follows the statue of Eucles the son of Callianax, who was a Rhodian, and of the house of the Diagonidæ; for he was the son of the daughter of Diagoras. This man was victorious in the Olympic contest of boxing with men: and his statue was the work of Naucydes. But the Argive Polycletus, not he that made the statue of Juno, but the disciple of Naucydes, made the statue of the Theban Agenor, who was a boy skilled in wrestling. This statue, too, was erected at the public expense of the Phocenses. For Theopompus, the father of Agenor, publicly entertained the Phocenses. The same Nicodamus, too, a statuary from Mænalus, made the statue of Damoxenidas, the Mænalian pugilist. There is also a statue here of Lasratidas an Elean boy, who obtained the crown in wrestling: and, in the Nemean games, he conquered the boys and beardless youths. But Paraballon, the father of Lasratidas, gained the victory in the repeated course.

Besides, that they might leave to posterity incentives to virtue and renown, they wrote the names of the conquerors in the Olympic gymnasium. But I must not here omit
what is reported of the pugilist Euthymus, both of his victories and other things pertaining to his renown. The country then of Euthymus was Locris in Italy, near the promontory Zephyrium; and his father was called Astycles: though the natives of this place affirm that he was born of the river Cæcinas, which bounding Locris and Rhegium, affords a wonderful circumstance with respect to grasshoppers. For the grasshoppers within Locris, as far as to the river Cæcinas, sing like other grasshoppers; but in the parts beyond this river they do not sing at all. Of this river then they report Euthymus to be the son. But in the seventy-fourth Olympiad, having conquered as a pugilist in Olympia, he was not equally fortunate in the following Olympiad. For Theagenes the Thasian, desiring to conquer both in boxing and the paneratium, vanquished Euthymus in the cæsus, but was not able to obtain the crown in the pancratium, because he was worn out with the contest against Euthymus. Hence Theagenes was fined, by the decree of the judges of the games, one talent to Jupiter, and another talent to Euthymus, for the injury which his reputation had sustained; as he seemed to have undertaken this contest against Euthymus for no other purpose than that he might lessen his renown. And in the seventy-sixth Olympiad, indeed, Theagenes paid the money which he was fined to Olympian Jupiter; but discharged his debt to Euthymus, not by paying the money which he was fined, but by avoiding to contend with him.

In this Olympiad, therefore, and the following one, Euthymus was crowned in boxing. But his statue was the work of Pythagoras, and is worthy of inspection in the most eminent degree. Euthymus, after this, passing over into Italy, fought with a hero, of whom the following particulars are related. They say that Ulysses, during his wanderings after the destruction of Troy, among other cities of Italy and Sicily which he was driven to by the winds, came at length to Temessa with his ships. Here one of his asso-
ciates having ravished a virgin, in consequence of being heated with wine, he was stoned to death by the inhabitants for the action. But Ulysses, who considered his death as of no consequence, immediately set sail and left the place. The daemom, however, of the murdered man did not at any time cease from cutting off the inhabitants of Temessa of every age, till the Pythian deity ordered them to propitiate the slain hero, to consecrate a temple to him, and devote to him every year the most beautiful virgin in Temessa. When all this was performed agreeable to the mandate of the god, they were no longer afflicted through the wrath of the daemon.

But Euthymus, who happened to arrive at Temessa at the time in which they sacrificed after the usual manner to the daemom, having learned the particulars of this affair, requested that he might be admitted within the temple, and behold the virgin. His request being granted, as soon as he saw her he was at first moved with pity for her condition, but afterwards fell in love with her. In consequence of this, the virgin swore that she would cohabit with him, if he could rescue her from the impending death: and Euthymus arming himself, fought with the daemom, conquered him, and drove him out of the country; and afterwards the hero vanished, and merged himself in the sea. They farther report, that in consequence of the city being freed through Euthymus from this grievous calamity, his nuptials were celebrated in a very splendid manner. I have likewise heard still farther concerning this Euthymus, that he lived to extreme old age, and that having avoided death, he departed after some other manner from an association with mankind. Indeed, I have even heard it asserted, by a sea-faring merchant, that Euthymus is alive at present at Temessa. And such are the reports which I have heard: but I also remember to have seen a picture, which was painted very accurately after an ancient original. In this picture there were the youth Sybaris, the river Calabrus, the fountain Calyca, and the cities Hera and Temessa. The daemom, too, was represented in
OF GREECE.

this picture, who was vanquished by Euthymus. His colour was vehemently black, and his whole form was terrible in the extreme. He was clothed with the skin of a wolf; and the name Lybas was given to him in the inscription on the picture. And thus much concerning particulars of this kind.

CHAPTER VII.

After the statue of Euthymus there are statues of Pytharcus the Mantinean, who ran in the stadium, and Charmides the Elean pugilist, each of which was victorious in the contest with boys. After you have beheld these, in the next place you will perceive the statues of the Rhodian Athletæ, of Diagoras and his family. But the statues which follow each other in a continued series, are Acusilaus receiving a crown for a victory gained in boxing with men; Dorieus the youngest, who won three successive victories in the Olympic pancratium. Before Dorieus, however, Damagetus conquered his competitors in the pancratium. And these were brothers and the sons of Diagoras. After these follows Diagoras himself, who was victorious in boxing with men, and whose statue was made by the Megarensian Callicles, who was the son of that Theocosmus that made the statue of Jupiter among the Megarenses. The sons, too, of the daughters of Diagoras were pugilists, and were victorious in the Olympic games: with men, indeed, Eucle, who was the son of Callianax and Callipatira, the daughter of Diagoras: but with boys, Pisidorus, whom his mother, having dressed like a man skilled in gymnastic exercises, led to the Olympic games. This Pisidorus is placed in Altis, near the statue of his mother's father. They report, that Diagoras himself came to Olympia together with his sons Acusilaus and Damagetus; and that his sons being victorious, he was carried through the vast concourse of people, the Greeks at
the same time throwing flowers upon him, and calling him blessed through his children.

This Diagoras was a Messenian on his mother's side, and was the son of the daughter of Aristomenes. His son Dorieus, besides the Olympic victories which he gained, was eight times victorious in a continued series in the Isthmian, and seven times in the Nemean games. He is said, too, to have received in the Pythian games a crown without dust. Besides this, Dorieus and Pisidorus were pronounced by the voice of the crier to be Thurians, because, being driven by a faction from Rhodes, they came together with the Thurians to Italy. In after-times, however, Dorieus returned to Rhodes: and he appears to have been a man of all others the most openly studious of the Lacedæmonian affairs, so that he even fought with his own ships against the Athenians, till his three-oared galleys were taken, and he was brought alive to Athens. But then the Athenians, who before this circumstance had been highly exasperated against him, as soon as he was brought into their assembly commiserated the captive condition of so renowned a man, and giving way to the emotions of pity, dismissed him with impunity, though they had so many and such just causes of hatred against him. But as to what pertains to the death of Dorieus, this may be found in the account of the Attic affairs by Androtion. For, says he, when the royal fleet was at Caunum, and was commanded by Conon, the common people of the Rhodians were persuaded by Conon to revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and enter into alliance with the king and the Athenians. But Dorieus, who was then travelling from Rhodes to the country beyond Peloponnesus, was taken by certain Lacedæmonians, brought to Sparta, and after being condemned by the Lacedæmonians, as guilty of capital crimes, was by them put to death. If, therefore, this account of Androtion may be depended on, he appears to me, by this relation, to be desirous of bringing the Lacedæmo-
nians into the same circumstances with the Athenians, who capitaly condemned Thrasylus, and those that fought with him at Arginusse. And such was the renown which Diagoras and his posterity obtained.

Alcænetus Lepreates, likewise, who was the son of Theantus, and his sons, were victorious in the Olympic games. And Alcænetus himself, indeed, conquered in boxing with men, who, prior to this, had conquered in the same exercise with boys. But his sons Hellanicus and Theantus were declared victors in boxing with boys; the former of these in the ninety-eighth Olympiad, and the latter in the Olympiad which followed this. The statues, too, of all these are placed in Olympia. Gnatho Dispeensis from Menala, and the Elean Lycinus, follow these statues of the sons of Alcænetus. These were pugilists, and each was victorious in a puerile contest in the Olympic games. And the inscription, indeed, upon Gnathon signifies, that when he was a young man, he conquered in the most eminent degree. His statue was made by the Megarensian Callicles. Near this is the statue of the Stymphalian Dromeus, whose name corresponds with his exercise: for in the longer chariot-race he was twice victorious in the Olympic, twice in the Pythian, thrice in the Isthmian, and five times in the Nemean games. It is said, that he was the first that eat animal food; for the Athlete prior to him used to eat nothing but fig-cheese. His statue was made by Pythagoras, but that of the Elean Pythocles, who was victor in the quinquentium, and which follows this, was made by Polycletus.

CHAPTER VIII.

After these succeed the images of Socrates the Pelle- nean, who conquered boys in the course, and of the Elean
THE DESCRIPTION

Amertas, who vanquished boys in wrestling in the Olympic, and men in the Pythian games. The artist that made the first of these is not mentionèd: but the Argive Phradmon made the statue of Amertas. The Elean Evanoridas was victorious in wrestling with boys in the Olympic and Nemean games: and after he was made one of the judges of the games, he wrote an account of the victors in the games. With respect to the Parrhasian pugilist from Arcadia, whose name was Demarchus, all that is related of him, except his Olympic victory, I consider as the fictions of arrogant men; such as, for instance, that in a sacrifice to Lycean Jupiter he changed himself into a wolf, and in the tenth year after this recovered again his pristine form. Neither does this fable appear to me to have originated from the Arcadians; as nothing of this kind is mentioned in the inscription on his statue, which is as follows:

From the Parrhasie in Arcadia sprung
Dinytta's son Demarchus this devotes.

But Eubotas the Cyrenæan, as the Libyan oracle had predicted to him that he would be victorious in the Olympic course, took care to have his statue made previous to his engaging in the race; and on the same day was declared victor, and dedicated his statue. It is also reported, that he conquered in the chariot-race in the same Olympiad: but this report, according to the Eleans, is false, and devised merely for the sake of the Arcadians who presided over the games. The statue of the Cleonæan Timanthes, who contended with men in the pancratium and was victorious, was made by the Athenian Myron; but Naucydes made the statue of the Troezenian Bacis, who conquered in wrestling.

They report, too, that Timanthes died in the following manner: After he had withdrawn himself from athletic exercises on account of his age, he used every day to bend a large bow, for the purpose of making trial of his strength.
OF GREECE.

Happening, however, to take a journey, he omitted this exercise during his absence from home; and on his return attempted to bend his bow as usual: but finding that his strength failed him, he raised a funeral pile, and threw himself into the fire. This action, in my opinion, and any other of a similar kind, merits rather the imputation of insanity than the praise of fortitude. After Bacis there are images of Athletic Arcadians. And in the first place there is a statue of Euthymenes from Mænalus, who conquered in wrestling with men, and prior to this had been victorious in contending with boys. After this follows the statue of Azan Philippus the pugilist, who was victorious in contending with boys; and of Critodamus from Clitor, who was likewise a pugilist, and victorious over boys. Of these statues, that of Euthymenes was made by Alypus; of Critodamus by Cleon; and of Azan Philippus by Myron. But the particulars respecting the Pelleean Promachus the pancratiast, and the son of Dryon, we shall discuss in our account of the Achaian affairs. Not far from the statue of Promachus, there is a statue of the Delphic Timasitheus, which was made by the Argive Agelas. This Timasitheus was twice victor in the Olympic, and thrice in the Pythian pancratium. He was renowned, too, for his courage in war, and was fortunate in every thing but his death. For when the Athenian Isagoras seized on the tower of the Athenians, through a desire of reigning, Timasitheus was one of his party; and being among those that were seized in the tower, he was sentenced to death by the Athenians.

CHAPTER IX.

Theognetus Æginetes, too, was victorious in wrestling with boys: and his statue was made by Polichus Æginetes. The master of this Polichus was his father Synoon; and he
was taught by the Sicyonian Aristocles, the brother of Canachus, and not much inferior to him in renown. But why the statue of Theognetus bears in its hand a planted pine-tree, and a pomegranate, I am not able to conjecture; though, perhaps the Aeginetae have some native tradition respecting this affair. After the statute of that man, who, according to the Eleans, was not numbered among the other victors, because he was announced conqueror in the course with two yoked mares;—after his statue, there is a statue of the Mænalian Xenocles, who vanquished boys in wrestling: Near him stands Alcetus Arcas, the son of Alcinous, and from Clitor, who vanquished boys in boxing. This statue was made by Cleon, but that of Xenocles by Polycletus. After this follows the Argive Aristeus, who conquered in the longer course, and whose father Chimon was victor in wrestling. These statues stand near each other: and the first of these was made by Pantius Chius, who was instructed in his art by his father Sostratus; but the two images of Chimon are, as it appears to me, among the most illustrious works of Naucydes, one of which was brought to Olympia, and the other to the temple of Peace in Rome, from Argos. They report, that Taurosthenes Aeginetes was vanquished in wrestling by Chimon; and that Taurosthenes, in the following Olympiad, conquered all those that wrestled with him. They farther add, that a spectre resembling Taurosthenes was seen at Aegina on the same day, and announced his victory.

But the statue of the Elean Philles, who vanquished boys in wrestling, was made by the Spartan Cratinus. As to what pertains to the chariot of Gelon, my opinion does not very much differ from what others have asserted concerning it before me. For they say, that this chariot was the gift of a Gelon who tyrannized in Sicily: but the inscription evinces, that Gelon the son of Dinomenes dedicated the statue of Gelous. And the Gelon, of whom we are now speaking, conquered in the seventy-third Olympiad: but Gelon, the
tyrant of Syracuse, began his reign in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, in which year Hybrilides was the Athenian archon, and Tisicrates the Crotonian was victor in the stadium. It is evident, therefore, that it was the Syracusan Gelon, and not Gelous, that gave the chariot. It appears, too, that this Gelon who conquered in the race was a private person, whose father bore the same name with the tyrant of Syracuse. But both the statue and chariot of Gelon were made by Glaucias Æginetes. In the Olympiad prior to this, it is said, that Cleomodes the Astypalaean slew in boxing the Epidaurian Icкус; for which action being deprived by the judges of the crown of victory, he became insane through grief. Afterwards, however, he returned to Astypalaia, and entering into the gymnasium, in which sixty boys were instructed, he tore down the pillar which supported the roof of the building. In consequence, therefore, of the roof falling on the boys, the citizens pursued him with stones, and he fled for refuge to the temple of Minerva. Here he shut himself up in a chest which was in the temple; and the Astypalaes having for a long time endeavoured to raise the lid, but without success, at length broke the chest. In this, however, they neither found Cleomodes alive nor dead; and having sent to Delphos to inquire into the meaning of this affair, the Pythian deity answered them as follows: "Cleomodes the Astypalaean was the last of the heroes. Him honour with sacrifices, as he is no longer a mortal." In consequence of this, the Astypalaes afterwards honoured Cleomodes as a hero. Near the chariot of Gelon there is a statue of Philon, the work of Glaucias Æginetes. Simonides the son of Leoprepes made a most apposite elegy on this Philon, and which is as follows:

Philon my name, but Glaucus was my sire;
Born in Corecyra, and for boxing famed,
I fought in two Olympiads, and subdued.
THE DESCRIPTION

In the same place, too, Agametor the Mantinean pugilist stands, who was victorious over boys.

CHAPTER X.

Besides the statues which we have already mentioned, you will see Glaucus the Carystian, who, according to report, was born in Anthedon, a Boetian city, and derived his original from Glaucus, a daemon of the sea. His father was the Carystian Demylus: and they report, that at first he used to till the ground; but that the plough-share happening to fall from the plough, he restored it to its proper place with his hand instead of a mallet; and that his father, perceiving what he had done, brought him to Olympia as a pugilist. Here Glaucus, as being unskilled in this mode of fighting, was wounded by his antagonists, and when he came to fight with his last adversary, it was thought he would have yielded the victory through the multitude of his wounds. However, they say, his father called out to him, O boy! remember the blow of the ploughshare; and this roused his sinking courage to that degree, that he struck his antagonist with a violence which procured him the victory. He is also said to have obtained other crowns, two in the Pythian, eight in the Nemean, and eight in the Isthmian games. A son of this Glaucus dedicated his statue, which was made by Glauclus Aeginetes. This statue is in the attitude of a man fighting with a shadow, because Glaucus was naturally the most dexterous of all of his time in fighting with his hand according to the rules of the art. But when he died, they report, that he was buried by the Carystii in that island which is even at present called the island of Glaucus.

But the Heræan Demaratus the son of Demaratus, and his grandsons, gained each of them two victories in the
OF GREECE.

Olympic games. And Demaratus, indeed, was victorious in the sixty-fifth Olympiad, in which the armed course was first instituted. His statue, which remains even at present, holds a shield, has a helmet on its head, and greaves on its legs. This mode, too, of contending in the course, was preserved in after times by the Eleans and the rest of the Greeks. But Theopompus the son of Demaratus, and a son of his of the same name, conquered in the quinquetgium. A younger Theopompus, likewise, was victorious in wrestling: but I do not know who the artist was that made his statue. The inscription, however, on the statues of his father and grandfather evinces, that these were made by Eutelidas and Chrysothemis; but it does not inform us by whom these artists were instructed. This inscription is as follows:

Argives, who by their ancestors were taught,
Eutelidas, Chrysothemis, these statues made.

But Iccus the Tarentine, the son of Nicolaïdas, was crowned in the Olympic quinquetgium, and afterwards is said to have been the most skilful in gymnastic exercises of all his contemporaries. After Iccus, the Elean Pantarces stands, who conquered boys in wrestling, and who was the lover of Phidias.

The chariot of Cleosthenes the Epidamnian, which was made by Agelas, follows the statue of Pantarces. And behind this there is a statue of Jupiter, which was dedicated by the Greeks after the battle at Platæa. But Cleosthenes conquered in the sixty-sixth Olympiad: and together with his own statue he placed his horses and charioteer. The names of the horses, Phenix and Corax, are inscribed: and Cnacias stands on the right side of the yoke, and Samus on the left. The following elegy, too, is inscribed on the chariot:

Victor with horses in Jove's honoured games,
Pontius Cleosthenes this chariot gave,
Who to contend from Epidaurus came.
And, indeed, this Cleostrhenes was the first of all the Greeks who applied themselves to the care of horses, that sent a statue to Olympia. For though the Athenian Miltiades and the Spartan Evagoras dedicated chariots, yet Evagoras does not stand on the chariot. But I shall relate, in another part of this work, what kind of gifts Miltiades dedicated in Olympia. The Epidamnii, even at present, possess that region which they did at first, but they have not now their ancient city, but one which is at a small distance from it, and which is called from its founder Dyrrachium. The statues, too, of Lycinus the Heræan, the Mantinean Epicrædius, the Thasian Tellon, and the Elean Agiadas, who were victorious in contending with boys, (Lycinus, indeed, in the course, but the rest in boxing) succeed the statues we have before enumerated. Ptolichus Æginetæ made the statue of Epicrædius, but Serambus Æginetæ that of Agiadas. The statue of Lycinus is the work of Cleon, but it is not known by whom the statue of Tellon was made.

---

CHAPTER XI.

After these succeed the votive offerings of the Eleans, viz. Philip the son of Amyntas, Alexander the son of Philip, Seleucus, and Antigonus. The statue of Antigonus is that of a man on foot, but the rest are on horseback. Not far from these kings, there is a statue of the Thasian Theagenes the son of Timotheus. The Thasians, however, deny that Theagenes was the son of Timotheus; but assert, that when Timotheus was about to sacrifice to the Thasian Hercules, a spectre of Hercules resembling Timotheus was seen to have connexion with the mother of Theagenes; that the boy who was the result of this connexion, when he was nine years old, and was once returning home from his
masters, being allured with the beauty of a brazen statue of a certain divinity which was erected in the forum, removed it from the place where it stood, and fixing it on one of his shoulders, took it to his own habitation. The anger of the multitude, however, being enkindled against him for this action, a certain person, who was much esteemed by them, and advanced in years, would not suffer them to destroy the youth, but ordered him to take the statue and replace it in the forum. After, therefore, he had taken it back again, the fame of his strength was spread far and near, and this action was celebrated throughout all Greece. But we have before related the achievements of Theagenes in the Olympic games, in which place also we mentioned that Euthymus was a pugilist, and how he was ordered by the Eleans to pay a fine to Theagenes. And then, indeed, a Mantinean, whose name was Dromeus, was the first we know of, that is said to have received a crown without dust. But in the Olympiad which followed this, Theagenes conquered in the pancratium. He was, likewise, thrice victorious in the Pythian games in boxing; nine times in the Nemean, and ten times in the Isthmian games, in contests in which boxing and the pancratium were united. But in the Thessalian Thia, neglecting the study of boxing and the pancratium, he endeavoured to become illustrious among the Greeks in the race. Hence, in the chariot-race of twelve or twenty-four stadia, he vanquished his competitors: and, as it appears to me, he was ambitious in the country of Achilles, who was the best of all the heroes, of conquering in the race. The number of the crowns which he obtained was one thousand four hundred.

But when Theagenes ceased to rank among men, one of his enemies placed himself by his statue every night, and burnt the brass, as if he could by this means injure Theagenes himself. The statue, however, at length fell on the man, and put an end to his insolence: but the children of
this slain man called the statue to judgment for his destruction. In consequence of this, the Thasians, agreeable to the law of Draco, threw the statue into the sea. For this Draco, who composed bloody laws for the Athenians, ordered, that even inanimate things, when they were the occasion of destruction to mankind, should be exterminated the country. In process of time, however, the earth gave no produce to the Thasians; and they, sending to Delphos to inquire the reason of this, the god gave them for answer, that they should recall their exiles. Agreeable to this injunction, therefore, they recalled such as were banished, but yet found no remedy by this means for the sterility of the land. They, therefore, sent a second time to the Pythian oracle with this message; that they had been obedient to the commands of the god, and yet the anger of the divinities remained. The Pythian deity, therefore, answered them as follows: “You pay no regard to your great Theagenes.” They report, therefore, that when the Thasians were considering by what means they might recover the statue of Theagenes, certain fishermen, that used to sail on the sea for the purpose of catching fish, drew up the statue in their net, and brought it on shore. The Thasians, therefore, having recovered the statue of Theagenes, and fixed it in its proper place, thought that they ought to sacrifice to Theagenes as to a god. In many other places, too, of Greece, and among the Barbarians, there are statues of Theagenes, by whom their diseases are healed, and who is reverenced as a divine person by the inhabitants. But the statues of Theagenes which are in Altis, were made by Glaucias Æginetes.
CHAPTER XII.

Near this there is a brazen chariot, into which a man is represented ascending, and on each side of the chariot there are horses which are used in vaulting, and boys seated on the horses. There are also monuments here of the Olympic victories of Hiero the son of Dinomenes, who, after his brother Gelon, reigned over the Syracusans. These offerings, however, were not sent by Hiero, but were dedicated to the divinity by Dinomenes a son of Hiero. But of these, the chariot was made by Onatas Æginetes; but the horses which stand on each side of the chariot were made by Calamis. Near the chariot of Hiero, there is a man of the same name with Dinomenes, who also reigned over the Syracusans. This man was Hiero the son of Hierocles. After the death of Agathocles, who first reigned over the Syracusans, this Hiero again usurped the tyranny. But he began his reign in the second year of the one hundred and twenty-third Olympiad, in which Olympiad the Cyrenean Idæus was victor in the stadium. This Hiero was the guest of Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, and afterwards, from being his guest, his son Gelo married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus. And, indeed, when the Romans warred on the Carthaginians about Sicily, the Carthaginians possessed more than half of the island, and Hiero joined himself to their party; but not long after, understanding that the forces of the Romans were more numerous and strong, he entered into an alliance with them. He ended his days, however, at length by means of Dinomenes, who was a Syracusan, but a great enemy to tyranny. Afterwards, too, this Dinomenes attacked Hippocrates the brother of Epicydes, who just then came from Erbessus to Syracuse, and endeavoured to raise a sedition among the populace. But Hippocrates valiantly defended himself, and Dinomenes at length fell
through the blows of the attendants of Hippocrates. The sons of Hiero dedicated his statues in Olympia, one of which is on horseback, but the other on foot: but they were made by Micon the son of the Syracusan Nicocrates.

After the statues of Hiero there are statues of Areus the son of Acrotatus, and king of the Lacedaemonians, and of Aratus the son of Clinias: and, again, there is a statue of Aratus mounting a horse. The statue of Aratus was the gift of the Corinthians, but that of Areus of the Eleans. In the former part, too, of this description, I have not omitted to make mention of Areus and Aratus. But Aratus was proclaimed victor in the Olympic chariot-race. There is a brazen chariot, too, here of Timon the son of Aegyptus, and an Elean who sent horses to Olympia. An image of Victory is represented ascending into this chariot. After these, follow the statues of Callon the son of Harmodius, and Hippomachus the son of Moschion, both Elean pugilists, and both victorious over boys. The statue of Callon was made by Daippus, but I do not know who made that of Hippomachus. They say, that he fought with three adversaries without receiving either a bruise or wound in any part of his body. Here are also statues of Theocrestus the Cyrenæan, who applied himself to the care of horses, after the manner of Africans, and of his grandfather by his father's side, who was of the same name with him. Each of these was victorious in the horse-race of the Olympic games. But in the Isthmian games, the father of Theocrestus was victorious, as is evident from the inscription on his chariot. Hegesarchus the Tritcean, and the son of Haemostatus, conquered in boxing with men in the Olympic games; and in the Nemean, Pythian, and Isthmian games, as is evident from the inscription. I likewise find, that what the inscription says is true, viz. that the Arcadians were the Tritænæa. For the origin of the illustrious cities in Arcadia are not unknown; but such as from the first were more imbecile and obscure,
and on this account colonized in Magalopolis—the decree which was passed by the common consent of the Arcadians, regularly comprehended in the catalogue of Arcadian cities: nor is there any other city Tritea in Greece than that of the Achaians. On this account, therefore, some one may be of opinion, that the Triteans were ranked among the Arcadians at that period, just as even at present some of the Arcadians are classed among the Argolics. But the statue of Hegesarchus was made by the children of Polycles, of whom we shall make mention hereafter.

CHAPTER XIII.

The statue of Astylus the Crotonian was the work of Pythagoras. This Astylus was victorious in three successive Olympiads in the repeated course. But as in the two last Olympiads he declared himself a Syracusan, for the sake of Hiero the son of Dinomnes, on this account the Crotonians turned his house into a prison, and threw down his statue, which was dedicated in the temple of Juno in Lacedæmonia. In Olympia, too, there is a pillar, upon which the victories of the Lacedæmonian Chionis are inscribed. But those are certainly stupid who are of opinion that this pillar was dedicated by Chionis, and not by the Lacedæmonians in common. For as the inscription on the pillar evinces that the course with the shield was not then instituted, how could Chionis know that this mode of contending would be hereafter instituted by the Eleans? But those are still more stupid who think that the statue which stands by the pillar is that of Chionis, since it is the work of the Athenian Myron. A certain Lycian, however, viz. Hermogenes Xanthius, very much resembled Chionis in renown; for in three Olympiads he was eight times crowned, and on this account was surnamed by the Greeks the horse. Polites, too, demands great admiration. He was of Ceranus, a
town in Thracian Caria, and deserves all possible praise for the swiftness of his feet in the Olympic race. For he aptly contracted the course from the longest and most extended race to the shortest and swiftest, and this in the shortest space of time. And when in the same day he had first conquered in the longer course, and afterwards in the stadium, he added to these victories a third in the repeated course of the stadium. Polites, therefore, on the second day of the course, when four only, chosen by lot, and not all the contending parties, are permitted to run, was then victor in the course, and thus obtained a double crown in the stadium.

But as to what pertains to the course, Leonidas the Rhodian was the most illustrious; for he was victorious in four Olympiads, in which, through the swiftness of his feet, he was twelve times conqueror. Not far from the pillar of Chionis in Olympia, there is a statue of the pugilist Duris the Samian, who was victorious in contending with boys. The statue was made by Hippias: and the inscription signifies, that Duris conquered when the Samians abandoned the island; but that the statue was dedicated when they were restored to their ancient habitations. Near the image of the tyrant there is a statue of Diallus the son of Pollis. This Diallus was a Smyrnaean, and was, as they report, the first of the Ionians that in Olympia was crowned in the pancratium in contending with boys. The two following statues, viz. that of Thersilochus the Corcyrean, and Aristion the Epidaurian, the son of Theophiles, the former of whom conquered boys in boxing, and the latter men, were made by the Argive Polycleitus. But the statue of Bycellus, who was the first of the Sicyonians that vanquished boys in boxing, was made by the Sicyonian Canachus, who was the disciple of the Argive Polycleitus. Near Bycellus there is a statue of Mnaseas the Cyrenean in heavy armour, whose surname was Libys, and whose statue was made by Pythagoras Rheginus. But the inscription on the statue of Agemachus
of Cyzicus from the continent of Asia, signifies that the statue was made in Argos. At present, however, not even the ruins of Naxos in Sicily, which was once built by the Chalcidenses, near Euripus, remain. And that the name of Naxos is transmitted to posterity, was principally owing to Tisander the son of Cleocritus; for he was four times victorious in boxing in Olympia, and as many times in the Pythian games.

But at that time books were not composed either by the Corinthians or Argives, giving an account of the Isthmian and Nemean victors. The mare, too, of the Corinthian Phidolas, whose name, according to the Corinthians, was Aura, must not be suffered to pass unnoticed. This mare, after her rider had fallen off, held on her course from the barriers just as if he had kept his seat, and turned herself about the goal; but as soon as she heard the sound of the trumpet, she ran with the utmost rapidity, and presenting herself before the judges of the games, stood as if she was conscious of having gained the victory. The Eleans, therefore, having declared Phidolas conqueror, permitted him to dedicate the statue of his mare. Lycus also, the son of Phidolas, and his sons, were victors with the vaulting horse; and the conquering horse stands on a pillar with the following inscription on it:

With rapid coursers in the Isthmian games
Lycus once conquer'd; in the Olympic twice;
And thus Phidolas' house with honour crown'd.

This inscription, however, does not accord with the writings of the Eleans respecting the Olympic victories; for the victory of the sons of Phidolas, in these writings, is referred to the sixty-eighth Olympiad, and no farther. This matter, however, I shall leave to the investigation of others. In the next place, the statues of the Eleans, Agathinus the son of Thrasybulus, and Telemachus, succeed. The latter of these was victor in the course with horses; but the statue of
Agathinus was dedicated by the Achaian Pellenenses. The Athenian people, too, dedicated the statue of Aristophon the pancratist, who was the son of Lycinus, and who conquered men in the Olympic games.

CHAPTER XIV.

But Pherias Æginetes, (for his statue is next to that of the Athenian Aristophon) in the seventy-eighth Olympiad, was ordered to withdraw from the games, because he was a very young man, and was not thought capable of contending in wrestling: but being admitted the following year as a wrestler, he vanquished the boys that opposed him. The fortune, however, of Hyllus the Rhodian, in the Olympic games, was, in no respect, similar to that of Pheras: for when he was eighteen years of age, he was forbidden by the Æleans to contend in wrestling with boys, but was by the public crier ranked among men, over whom he was victorious. Afterwards, too, he was declared victor in the Nemean and Isthmian games: but in the twentieth year of his age, he was snatched away by an untimely death, before he could revisit Rhodes, the place of his nativity. The bold action, however, in Olympia, of the wrestler Rhodius, was, in my opinion, surpassed by that of Artemidorus Trallianus. For Artemidorus, through the imbecility of his puerile age, having lost the victory in the Olympic pancratium with boys, came to the Smyrnaeans in Ionia, at the time when they were celebrating their games; and at this period his strength was so much increased, that on the same day he vanquished his antagonists from Olympia, the youths whom they call beardless, and in the third place the best of the men. They report that he contended with the beardless youths, in consequence of the exhortations of the gymnastic master; but
with men, through the reproaches of a certain pancratist. But Artemidorus was crowned for contending with men in the one hundred and twenty-second Olympiad.

After the statue of Hyllus, there is a brazen horse of no great magnitude, which was dedicated by Crocon Eretriensis, who was crowned for having gained a victory with the vaulting horse. Near this horse there is a statue of the Messenian Telestas, who conquered boys in boxing. This statue was made by Silanion. But the statue of Milo from Crotonia, who was the son of Diotimus, was made by Damos the Crotonian. This Milo was six times victorious in wrestling in the Olympic games, and one of these victories was over boys. He likewise came a seventh time to wrestle in these games; but as his antagonist was a young man, Timasitheus, who was his fellow-citizen, he refused to contend with him on this account. Milo, too, is said to have carried his own statue to Altis: and it is farther reported of him, that he held a pomegranate so fast in his hand, that it could neither be forced from him by another person, nor could he himself dismiss it from his grasp. And as he once stood anointing his quoit, he made those appear ridiculous who by rushing against him endeavoured to push him from the quoit. The following circumstance, too, evinces the greatness of his strength. He would bind his forehead with a cord, in the same manner as with a fillet or a crown; and afterwards compressing his lips, and holding in his breath, he would so fill the veins of his head with blood, that he would burst the cord through the strength of the veins. It is also said, that having let fall against his side that part of the arm which reaches from the shoulder to the elbow, he would extend the other part, which reaches from the elbow to the fingers, with his thumb turned upwards, and his fingers placed close together; and that when his hand was in this position, no one by the greatest exertions could separate his little finger from the rest.
They say, that he died through wild beasts: for happening in the borders of Crotonia to meet with a withered oak, into which wedges were driven in order to separate the wood, he endeavoured, through confidence in his strength, to tear the oak asunder. In consequence of this the wedges giving way, Milo was caught by the closing parts, and was thus torn in pieces by the wolves with which that country is much infested. And such was the end of Milo. But the statue of Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, who reigned in the Thesprotian Epirus, and who accomplished many things worthy of being remembered, which I have related in my account of the Attic affairs, was placed in Altis by the Elean Thrasybulus. Near Pyrrhus, too, there is a statue of a little man with pipes in his hands, and standing on a pillar. This man was victorious in the contest with pipes, the first after the Argive Sacadas. But Sacadas first conquered in those games instituted by the Amphictyons, in which the victors were not crowned; and after these he received two crowns for two victories which he obtained. After this follows the statue of Pythocritus the Sicyonian, who only played on the pipe, and was six times victorious. But it is evident, that he played six times in the quinquertium of the Olympic games. For these victories a pillar was raised to Pythocritus in Olympia, with this inscription on it: Monuments of Pythocritus Callinicus the Piper. The Ætolians, too, by a public decree, dedicated the statue of Cydonus, who freed the Eleans from the tyranny of Aristotimus.

The statue of the Messenian Gorgus the son of Euclitus, who conquered in the quinquertium, was made by the Boeotian Theron; but the statue of the Messenian Demaratus, who conquered boys in boxing, was made by the Athenian Sullanion. Anauchidas the Elean, the son of Philys, was victorious over boys in wrestling, and afterwards over men: but I do not know by whom his statue was made. This statue of the Tarentine Anochus the son of Adamatas, who
was victorious in the stadium and in the repeated course, was made by the Argive Ageladas. But the boy sitting on a horse, and the man standing by the horse, represent, according to the inscription, Xenombrotus from Co in Meropis, who was proclaimed victor in the equestrian course. This was the work of Philotimus Æginetes: but Xenodicus, who conquered boys in boxing, was made by Pantias. The statue of Pythes the son of Andromachus of Abdera, was made by Lysippus: but his soldiers dedicated two statues. It appears, indeed, that Pythes was either the leader of certain mercenary troops, or in some other instance illustrious in warlike affairs. Here are also statues of boys who were victorious in the course, viz. Meneptolemus from Apollonia, which is in Ionia; and the Corcyraean Philon. After these follows Hieronymus Andrius, by whom the Elean Tisamenus was vanquished in wrestling in the Olympic quinterium. This was the Tisamenus who was afterwards employed by the Greeks as a prophet against Mardonius and the Medes at Platæa. Near Hieronymus there is a statue of a boy, a wrestler, who was likewise an Andrian. This boy is Procles the son of Lycastidas: and the former of these statues was made by Stomius, and the latter by Somis. The Elean Æschines, too, was twice victorious in the quinterium: and statues are raised to him equal in number to his victories.

CHAPTER XV.

ARCHIPPUS the Mitylenæan, who conquered men in boxing, is also celebrated by his fellow-citizens on the following account; for they report, that when he was not more than twenty years old he was victorious in the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games. But the statue of Zeno the son of Calliteles, who came from Lepreum in Triphylia, and
who conquered boys in the stadium, was made by the Messenian Pyrilampes. I cannot, however, tell by whom the statue of the Elean Clinomachus, who conquered in the quinquetum, was made. The inscription on the Elean Pantarces signifies, that it was dedicated by the Achaions; because he made peace between the Achaions and Eleans, and took care that the captives on each side should be exchanged. He conquered, too, with the vaulting horse in the Olympic games, and a monument of his victory remains in Olympia. The statue of the Elean Olidas was dedicated by the nation of Ætolians. There is also a statue of the Elean Charinus, who conquered in the repeated course, and in the armed race. Near him stands Ageles Chius the pugilist, who conquered boys: and this statue was made by the Sardian Theomnestus. The statue of the Theban Clitomachus was made by Hermocrates the father of Clitomachus. The illustrious achievements of this Clitomachus are as follow. In the Isthmian games he vanquished men in wrestling; and on the same day bore away the prize in boxing, and conquered in the pancratium. In the Pythian pancratium he was thrice victorious: but in the Olympic games he was declared the second in the pancratium, and in boxing, to the Thasian Theagenes. And he was victorious, indeed, in the pancratium in the forty-first Olympiad; and in the following Olympiad he contended both in the pancratium and in boxing.

On the same day, too, the Elean Caprus came forth, who professed himself both a wrestler and a pancratist: and Caprus being declared victor in wrestling, Clitomachus informed the judges of the games, that, according to justice, he ought to engage in the pancratium before he was wounded in boxing. He said, indeed, nothing more than was reasonable: and in consequence of this being permitted to contend, he was vanquished in the pancratium by Caprus, but in boxing he employed great strength of mind, and an untamed
vigour of body. But the Ionian Erythræans dedicated the statue of Epitherses the son of Metrodorus, who was twice victor in the Olympic, and as many times in the Pythian games. He likewise conquered in boxing in the Isthmian and Nemean games. The Syracusans, too, publicly dedicated two statues of Hiero; and a third was dedicated by his sons. A little before this, I have shown that this Hiero was a Syracusan as well as the king of the same name. The Palenses, likewise, who form a fourth part of the Cephalenians, have dedicated a statue of the Elean Timoptolis the son of Lampis. These Palenses were formerly called Dulichii. Archidamus, too, the son of Agesilaus, stands here: and near him there is a man in a hunting dress, with whom I am unacquainted. But any one may know that the statue of Demetrius, who warred against Seleucus, and of his son Antigonus, were dedicated by the Byzantians. The Spartan Eutelidas, indeed, conquered boys in wrestling in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, and was once victorious in the quinquertium: for then, for the first time, the contest with boys, and afterwards the quinquertium, was introduced.

The statue, too, of Eutelidas is ancient: and the letters which are cut in the base of the statue are obscure through length of time. After Eutelidas there is again a statue of Areus king of the Lacedæmonians; and near him stands the Elean Gorgus. This Gorgus alone, of all the men to the present day, was four times victorious in the Olympic quinquertium, once in the repeated course, and once in the armed race. The man with boys by his side, is said to be Ptolemy the son of Lagus. After him follow two statues of Caprus the son of Pythagoras, who on the same day conquered in wrestling and in the pancratium. This Caprus was the first that, in one day, was victorious in both these contests. Who his adversary in the pancratium was I have shown before: but in wrestling he vanquished the Elean Pæanius, who in the former Olympiad was declared
victor in wrestling. He likewise vanquished boys in boxing; in the Pythian games; and again in contending with men, on the same day, was victorious in wrestling and boxing. Caprus, therefore, did not gain his victories without mighty labour, and strenuous exertions.

CHAPTER XVI.

There are statues, too, in Olympia of Anauchidas and Pherenicus. These were Elean pugilists, who were victorious over boys. But it was the Thespians that dedicated the statue of Plistænus the son of Eurydamus, and who led the Ætolians against the Gauls. The Elean Tydeus was dedicated by Antigonus the father of Demetrius, and by Seleucus. The name of Seleucus is illustrious among all nations for his achievements, and particularly for the capture of Demetrius. Timon, too, was victorious in the quinquennium of all the Grecian games except the Isthmian, from which he was excluded, as well as the rest of the Eleans. The inscription on his statue signifies, among other things, that he partook of the expedition of the Ætolians against the Thessalians, and that through the friendship of the Ætolians he presided over the guard in Naupactus. Not far from the statue of Timon there are statues of Greece and Elis. The statue of Greece is represented with one hand crowning Antigonus, who was the tutor of Philip, the son of Demetrius; and with the other, Philip: but Elis crowns Demetrius, who warred on Seleucus and Ptolemy the son of Lagus. Again, the Elean Aristides was victorious in the Olympic armed race; and the inscription on his statue evinces, that he conquered in the Pythian repeated course, and, in the Nemean games, in the equestrian race with boys. These equestrian courses consist of two repeated races: The emperor Adrian restored this mode of running to the Argives,
OF GREECE.

which had been intermitted in the Nemean and Isthmian games, and permitted it to be celebrated in the winter Nemean games.

Near the statue of Aristides the Elean Menalca stands, who was victorious in the Olympic quinquerium; and after him Philonides the son of Zotos, who came from the Cretan Cherronesus. These are followed by the statue of Alexander the son of Philip, who conquered in that course which is called Hemerodromos, because a great space is run through in one day. After this there is a statue of the Elean Briamias, who vanquished men in boxing; and of Leonidas from Naxos, an island in the Aegean sea. This statue was dedicated by the Psophidii, a nation of Arcadians. There is also a statue here of Asamon, who conquered men in boxing; and of Nicander, who was twice victorious in the Olympic repeated course, and six times in the Nemean games in the race and repeated course. But Asamon and Nicander were Eleans: and the statue of the former was made by Daippus, but of the latter by the Messenian Pyrilampes. After these statues follow the Elean Eualcis, and the Lacedaemonian Seleudas; the former of which conquered boys in boxing, but the latter men in wrestling. Here, too, a chariot of no great magnitude is dedicated, which belonged to Polypithes Lacon: and upon the same pillar there is a statue of the wrestler Calliteles, the father of Polypithes. With respect to their victories, Calliteles conquered in wrestling, but Polypithes in the horse-race.

The Psophidii, too, dedicated the statues of private men among the Eleans, viz. Lampus the son of Arnicus, and Aristarchus, either on account of their hospitality, or from their benevolence to them for their worth in other respects. The Elean Lysippus stands between these who vanquished boys in wrestling: and his statue was made by the Argive Andreas. But the Lacedaemon Dinosthenes conquered men in the Olympic stadium, and placed a pillar with his statue
on it in Altis. The road from this Olympic pillar, to the other pillar which is raised in Lacedæmonia, is six hundred and sixty stadia in length. Every one knows, too, that Theodorus, who was victorious in the quinquerium, Pyttalus the son of Lampis, who conquered boys in boxing, and Nelaidas, who was victorious in the stadium and armed course, were Eleans. It is also farther reported of Pyttalus, that he was appointed as an arbitrator, in determining the dispute between the Arcadians and Eleans concerning the boundaries of their lands. His statue was made by the Olynthean Sthenis. After this follows Ptolemaeus sitting on a horse; and near him is the Elean athletic, Pæanius the son of Demetrius, who was once victorious in wrestling in the Olympic games, and twice in the Pythian games. There is also a statue of the Elean Clearestus, who was crowned in the quinquerium: and a chariot of the Athenian Glaucon the son of Eteocles, who was declared victor in the course of the perfect chariot-race.

CHAPTER XVII.

And such are the particulars principally worthy of observation, which will present themselves to the view of him who walks about Altis in the order we have laid down. But if you pass from the monument of Leonidas to the great altar, keeping to the right hand, you will observe the following things which deserve to be mentioned. In the first place, Democrats the Tenedian, and Crianius the Elean; the latter of which was victorious in the armed course, but the former in wrestling with men. Of these statues, that of Democrats was made by the Milesian Dionisicles; but that of Crianius by the Macedonian Lysus. The statues of the Clazomenian Herodotus and Philinus of Cos, the son of Hegopolis, were dedicated by their respective countries.
For the Clazomenians erected the statue of Herodotus, because he was the first of that city who conquered in the stadium in contending with boys. But the Coi dedicated that of Philinus, on account of his great renown: for he was five times victorious in the Olympic course, four times in the Pythian, and as many in the Nemean games; and in the Isthmian he was eleven times victorious. The statue of Ptolemy, the son of that Ptolemy who was the son of Lagus, was the gift of the Macedonian Aristolaus. In this place, too, there is a statue of the pugilist Butas the Milesian, the son of Polynices, who vanquished boys; and of Callicrates of Magnesia in Lethæus, who was twice victorious in the armed course. This statue of Callicrates was the work of Lysippus. After these follow Emaution, who conquered in the stadium with boys, and Alexibius, who was victorious in the quinquertium. The country of this Alexibius was Hera, an Arcadian town; and his statue was made by Acestor. But the inscription on the statue of Emaution does not inform us who he was, though it is evident that he was an Arcadian.

In the next place, the Colophonians have dedicated the statue of Hermesianax the son of Agoneus, and of Icasius the son of Lycinus by the daughter of Hermesianax. Each of these conquered boys in wrestling: and the statue of Hermesianax was publicly dedicated by the Colophonians. Near these there are two Elean pugilists who vanquished boys, viz. Sthenis, which was made by the Olynthian Chorēlus, and Theotimus, the work of the Sicyonian Dæondas. This Theotimus was the son of Moschion, who joined Alexander the son of Philip in his war against the Persians. After these there are again two Eleans, Archidamus, who conquered in the race with four horses; and Eperastus the son of Theogonus, who was victorious in the armed course. This Eperastus was a prophet belonging to the family of the
THE DESCRIPTION

Clytidae, as is evident from the latter part of the inscription on his statue:

From the prophetic Clytidae I sprung,
Myself a prophet, from the sacred blood
Descended of Melampus' godlike race.

For Melampus was the son of Amythaon, Mantius of Melampus, Oicles of Mantius, and Amphiaraus of Oicles. Alcmæon was the son of this Amphiaraus, who by the daughter of Phegeus had a son of the name of Clytius. This Clytius migrated to Elis, refusing to associate with the brothers of his mother, because he knew that they had attempted the death of Alcmæon.

After this you will see the statues of men of no great renown, mingled with offerings. The first among these is the Elean Alexinicus, the work of the Sicyanian Cantharus. This Alexinicus conquered boys in wrestling. Then follows Gorgias the Leontine, which they report was dedicated by Eumolpus, the great grandson of Deicrates, who was married to the sister of Gorgias. The father of this Gorgias was Carmantis; and he is said to have been the first that restored the art of composing studied speeches, which was at that time almost universally neglected, and had sunk into oblivion through the few by whom it was possessed. They report, too, that Gorgias, on account of his eloquence, was celebrated in the grand assembly at the Olympic games, and rendered himself illustrious by the embassy to the Athenians, which he executed in conjunction with Tisias: though, indeed, Tisias both added other ornaments to the art of speaking, and composed an oration concerning a pecuniary strife for a Syracusan woman, and this with such weighty persuasions, that he surpassed all the orators of his time. But Gorgias was much more illustrious among the Athenians than Tisias: and Jason, who reigned in Thessaly, esteemed Gorgias much more than Polycrates, who was by no
OF GREECE.

means the last among the Athenians for eloquence. They say, too, that Gorgias lived to the age of one hundred and five years. And the city of the Leontines, which was formerly laid waste, by the Syracusans, is at present restored.

CHAPTER XVIII.

In the same place there is also a brazen chariot of the Cyrenæan Cratisthenes; into which Victory and Cratisthenes himself are represented ascending. It is evident, therefore, from hence, that he was victorious with horses. It is reported, that Cratisthenes was the son of the racer Mnaseas, who was surnamed by the Greeks Libs. Pythagoras Rheginus was the artificer of this Olympic gift. I have discovered, too, that there is a statue of Anaximenes in this place, who wrote an account of the ancient affairs of the Greeks, and of the transactions of Philip and Alexander. The Lampasceni paid him this honour in Olympia in memorial of his worth. For Alexander the son of Philip, was by no means of a disposition perfectly gentle, but on the contrary subject to fits of violent anger. Anaximenes, therefore, when Alexander was once vehemently enraged with the Lampasceni, and threatened them with the greatest evils, because they had either revolted to the king of the Persians, or were suspected of having done so, mitigated his wrath by the following stratagem. When through anxiety for their wives, children, and country, they sent Anaximenes to Alexander to supplicate for them, as he had formerly been known both to Alexander and Philip; and when Alexander, knowing the cause of his coming, had sworn by the gods of the Greeks, that he would do every thing contrary to the entreaties of Anaximenes—then Anaximenes addressed him as follows: "O king! I beseech you to grant me this favour, that the women and children of the Lampasceni may
be enslaved, that the city may be entirely razed from its foundation, and that their temples of the gods may be burnt." But Alexander, who could not find any means of eluding this sophism, and calling to mind the necessity of his oath, unwillingly pardoned the Lampsaceni.

This same Anaximenes, too, appears to have revenged himself on an enemy in a very skilful manner indeed, but, at the same time, invidiously. For being naturally a sophist, and imitating the discourses of the sophists, in consequence of a disagreement taking place between him and Theopompus, the son of Damasistratus, he wrote a book against the Athenians, Lacedaemonians, and Thebans, full of revilings; and as he was a most accurate imitator, he had copied the manner of Theopompus in this book in the most exquisite degree; and, therefore, circulated it through all the Grecian cities with the name of Theopompus prefixed to it. In consequence of this, Theopompus was hated by every part of Greece. Indeed, prior to Anaximenes, no one ever attempted to make an extemporary oration. As to the verses upon Alexander, they do not appear to me to have been composed by Anaximenes. Again, Sotades was victor in the longer Olympic course in the ninety-ninth Olympiad. He was announced a Cretan, as indeed he was: but in the Olympiad following this, having received money from the Ephesians in common, he called himself an Ephesian; for which offence he was punished with exile by the Cretans. The statues of the Athletes that were first dedicated in Olympia, were those of Praxidamas Æginetes, who conquered in boxing in the fifty-ninth Olympiad; and of Rheibius the Opuntian, who was victorious over the pancratiasts in the sixty-first Olympiad. These statues are placed not far from the pillar of Ænomaus. They are made, too, of wood: but that of Rheibius is from the fig-tree, and that of Praxidamas from the cypress-tree, and is less damaged than the other.
CHAPTER XIX.

In Altis, too, there is a fountain of porous stone, near the northern part of the temple of Juno: for the southern part belongs to the temple of Saturn. Above this fountain there are treasuries, such as the Greeks dedicate to Apollo. There is also a treasury in Olympia, which is called the treasury of the Sicyonians. This was dedicated by Myron the Sickyonian tyrant, in consequence of having obtained a victory in the chariot-race in the thirty-third Olympiad. In this treasury he made two bed-chambers, one after the Doric, and the other after the Ionic manner. They are both of brass, and I have myself seen them: but I am not certain whether or not they are of Tartesian brass, though this is asserted by the Eleans. They report, indeed, that Tartessus is a Spanish river; that it pours itself into the sea from two mouths; and that there is a city of the same name with this river, situated in the middle of the mouths of the river. This river, which is the greatest in Spain, and which ebbs and flows like the sea, was called by men of a latter age Batis. But there are those who think that Carpeia, a city of Iberia, was formerly called Tartessus. In Olympia, too, there is an inscription on the lesser of the bed-chambers, which signifies that the weight of the brass is equivalent to five hundred talents; that it was publicly dedicated by the Sicyonians; and that it was made by Myron.

In this treasury there are three quoits, which they use in the contest of the quinquertium. There is also a shield in it covered with a lamina of brass, and adorned in its inward parts with various pictures; a helmet besides, and greaves. The inscription on these arms signifies, that these are spoils dedicated to Jupiter by the Myones. Who these people are is far from being determined. I remember, indeed, that Thucydides, in his account of the Locrians, mentions
THE DESCRIPTION

among other cities which are near Phocis the Myonenses. The Myones, therefore, that are mentioned in the shield, are in my opinion the same with the Myonenses in the continent of Locris. But the letters on the shield, through length of time, are almost all of them nearly abolished. There are, likewise, other things placed here which deserve to be related. A sword of Pelops, the hilt of which is of ivory and gold; and a horn of Amalthea, which was the gift of Miltiades, the son of Cimon, who was the first of that house that reigned in the Thracian Cherronesus. The following inscription is on the horn, and is written in ancient Attic letters:

Me Cherronesus, when Aratus' walls
Conducted by Miltiades it took,
Sent as an offering to Olympian Jove.

There is also a statue of Apollo made of box-wood in the same place. The head of this statue is covered with gold, and is said to have been dedicated by the Locrians who dwell near the promontory Zephyrium. The artist by whom it was made was the Crotonian Patrocles, the son of Catylus.

Near this treasury of the Sicyonians there is a treasury of the Carthaginians, which was made by Póthæus, Antiphilus, and Megacles. In it are the following offerings: a Jupiter of a great magnitude, and three linen coats of mail. These were the gifts of Gelo, and the Syracusans, when they conquered the Carthaginians, either in a naval or land engagement. The third and fourth treasury is the gift of the Epidamnians. In this there is Atlas sustaining the heavens; Hercules; an apple-tree belonging to the Hesperides; and a dragon folding itself about the tree. All these are of cedar, and were made by Theocles the son of Etylum. The inscription on the heavens signifies, that one Autonomus had these made for his son. But the Hesperides (for they were transferred to another place by the Eleans), are at pre-
sent in the temple of Juno. The treasury itself was made for the Epidamnians, by Pyrrhus and his children Lacrates and Hermon. The Sybarites, too, built a treasury, which is next to that of the Epidamnians. Those, indeed, that have more minutely investigated the particulars respecting Italy and its cities, say, that Lupias, which is situated between Brundusium and Hydrus, has changed its name; because it was formerly called Sybaris. In this place there is a port built for ships, the work of the emperor Adrian. Near the treasury, too, of the Sybarites, there is a treasury which was dedicated by the Libyans in Cyrene. In this there are images of the Roman emperors.

But the Carthaginians drove the Selinuntii from their residence in Sicily. These people, before this calamity befell them, dedicated a treasury to Olympian Jupiter. In this treasury there is a Bacchus, whose face, feet, and hands are made of ivory. But in the treasury of Metapontines (for this follows that of the Selinuntii) there is a statue of Endymion. All the parts of this statue, except the garment, are made of ivory. What, indeed, was the cause of the destruction of the Metapontines I have not been able to find. At present, nothing of their city remains but a theatre, and the inclosure of the walls. The Megarenses also, who dwell near the Attic land, built a treasury, and dedicated it images made of cedar, and painted with gold, so as to resemble flowers, viz. the battle of Hercules with the river Achelous. Jupiter, too, and Deianira are present: Mars stands by: Achelous, and Minerva by Hercules, as being his assistant in war. These are now placed with the Hesperides in the temple of Juno. About the top of the treasury the battle of the gods and giants is represented; and a shield is dedicated on the top, with an inscription signifying that the Megarenses dedicated the treasury from the spoils of the Corinthians. I am of opinion, that the Megarenses obtained this victory when Phorbas was the Athenian archon. This
Phorbas governed them during his life: for the Athenians had not then adopted the mode of governing by annual magistrates; nor had the Eleans begun to number their events by Olympiads. The Argives, too, are said to have been partakers of this expedition against the Corinthians. The Megarenses, indeed, dedicated a treasury in Olympia some years after this battle. It is probable that the offerings in this treasury are ancient, as they were made by the Lacedaemonian Donta, who was the disciple of Dipæmus and Scyllis. The last of all the treasuries is near the stadium; and the inscription on it signifies, that both the treasury and the statues which it contains were dedicated by the Gelones. The statues, however, are not to be found in it at present.

CHAPTER XX.

The Saturnian mountain, agreeable to what I have already observed, extends to that foundation upon which the treasuries are placed. On the summit of this mountain, those that are called Basilai sacrifice to Saturn, in the vernal equinox, and in that month which is called by the Eleans Elaphias. But in the boundaries of the Saturnian mountain, and towards the north, there is a temple of Lucina, between the treasuries and the mountain. In this temple Sosipolis the daemon, belonging to the country of the Eleans, is worshipped. The goddess herself they call Olympia; and they choose every year a priestess who presides over her sacred rites. But the old woman who ministers to Sosipolis, preserves her chastity agreeable to the law of the Eleans, and offers herself the expiations of the people's guilt to the god. In the fore part of the temple (for the temple is divided into two parts) there is an altar of Lucina, and an entrance near it: but in the interior part of
the temple Sosipolis is honoured; and no one is permitted to enter into this part, except the person that ministers to the god, who has a white veil which covers her head and face. In this temple of Lucina, too, virgins and married women remain, and sing a hymn to the goddess. They likewise burn all various odours in honour of her divinity, but do not think it proper to make a libation with wine in her sacred rites. They swear, too, by Sosipolis in affairs of the greatest moment.

It is likewise said, that when the Arcadians led an army into Elea, and the Eleans opposed them, a woman with a young child at her breast came to the Elean commanders, informing them that the child was her own, and that she was come in consequence of a dream to fight in conjunction with the Eleans. The commanders of the army, therefore (as they thought it proper to believe in the woman’s relation), placed the child naked before the army. And when the Arcadians began to engage the Eleans, the child became a dragon. At this spectacle the Arcadians were so terrified, that they immediately betook themselves to flight: and the Eleans having vigorously pursued them, and gained a splendid victory, immediately called the god by the name of Sosipolis, or the preserver of the city. In the place, too, into which the dragon retreated after the battle, they raised a temple. But they thought it proper that Lucina should be worshipped together with him, because the goddess herself produced the boy to mankind. Of the Arcadians, too, that fell in this engagement, there is a sepulchre on the further bank of the river Cladeus towards the west. Near the temple of Lucina there are ruins of a temple of Celestial Venus; and they even now sacrifice on the altars which remain.

But within Altis, in the road through which the sacred pomp passes, there is a building which they call Iphodamion, which takes up an acre of ground in extent, and is sur-
rounded with a wall of stone. Women once every year enter into this building, sacrifice to Hippodamia, and celebrate her with other honours. They report, that Hippodamia fled to Midea, a town in Argolis, when Pelops was inflamed with the most violent anger against her, on account of the death of Chrysippus; but that afterwards Pelops, admonished by an oracle, brought the bones of Hippodamia to Olympia. But at the extremity of the statues of the fined Athletae, there is an entrance which they denominate occult. Through this the judges of the games and the Athletae enter to the stadium. But the stadium itself is a heap of earth, and in it seats are raised for those who preside over the games. Opposite to these seats there is an altar of white stone. A woman, who was the priestess of Ceres, and whose name was Chamynes, is represented sitting on this altar, and beholding the Olympic games. This woman, too, receives other honours from the Eleans. But they do not exclude virgins from beholding the games. Near the extremity of the stadium, where the barriers of the races are fixed, the sepulchre of Endymion, according to the Eleans, is to be seen. Above that part of the stadium, too, in which the judges of the games sit, there is a plain destined to the horse-racers, and in this place the barriers of the horses are contained. The figure of these barriers resembles that of a ship's beak; and this beak is turned towards the course. But in that part where the beak joins to the porch which is called Agnamptos, or unbent, there the beak extends itself.

On the extremity, too, of the beak there is a brazen dolphin upon a rule. But each side of the barriers is more than four hundred feet in length. Small dwelling places are built in these: and these habitations are allotted to such as engage in the contest with horses. A nautical rope, too, is extended before the chariots and vaulting horses as a barrier. But an altar of crude tiles is raised near the middle of
the beak; and this is fresh plastered every Olympiad. Upon the altar there is a brazen eagle with its wings widely expanded. This eagle, when a certain person belonging to the races moves a machine within the altar, raises itself on high, and seems to the spectators as if going to fly away. Those barriers, too, are first of all removed, which are extended on each side towards the porch Agnamptos; and the horses that stand near these start the first. These, when they have arrived at the second rank of horses, have the barriers opened to them in the second order: and this takes place through all the ranks of horses, till they become equalized at the beak. When, therefore, they are all collected here, the art of the charioteers and the swiftness of the horses are conspicuously evinced. It was one Cleoetas that first invented this form of the barriers, and who was so celebrated for the invention, that the following epigram was inscribed on his statue at Athens:

I, Cleoetas, from Aristocles sprung,
First for th' Olympic games the barriers framed.

They report, too, that Aristides after Cleoetas, added something to this invention. But the other side of the Hippodrome is more extended; and is formed from earth raised in a heap. Near the end of it is the Taraxippos, which is the dread of horses, and is in the shape of a round altar. It is so called, because the horses, while they run round it, are seized with a vehement dread without any apparent cause, and are so disturbed from this terror, that chariots are often broken in pieces, and the charioteers wounded. On this account the charioteers sacrifice on this altar, and supplicantly entreat Taraxippos to be propitious to them.

There are different opinions among the Greeks respecting this Taraxippos. For some say, that it is the sepulchre of a native of this place, who was a skilful horseman, and that
his name was Olenius, from whom the rock in Elea is called Olenia. But, according to others, it is the tomb of Daeon, who associated with Hercules in his expedition against Auges, and who was slain together with the horse on which he rode by Cteatus the son of Actor. They add, that both he and his horse were buried here in one common tomb. Others again assert, that this empty heroic monument was made by Pelops for Myrtius; that he sacrificed on it in order to appease the anger of Myrtius, for having been slain by him; and that the tomb was called Taraxippos, because the horses of Oenomaus were disturbed by the art of Myrtius. There are some that assert, that it is Oenomaus himself, who thus terrifies the horses in the course. I have likewise heard some referring the cause of this affair to Alcathous the son of Parthaon, who being slain in this part of the country by Oenomaus, on account of the wedding of Hippodamia, and buried in this place, exhibits himself a malevolent, and not a beneficent daemon to coursers, in consequence of the injury which he sustained in the Hippodrome.

According to a certain Egyptian, Pelops received something from Amphion, and buried it in this place, by the secret power of which the horses of Oenomaus were then terrified; and all horses through this have been frightened ever since in a similar manner. This Egyptian, too, was of opinion, that both Amphion and the Thracian Orpheus were skilful magicians; and that, in consequence of their incantations, wild beasts followed Orpheus, and stones came to Amphion, in order to enable him to raise the walls of Thebes. Those, however, appear to me to speak most probably, who say that Taraxippos is an appellation of equestrian Neptune. There is also in Ithmus a Taraxippos: and this was Glaucus the son of Sisyphus, who died through those horses which Acastus employed in celebrating funeral games in honour of his father. But in the Nemea of the Argives,
there is not any hero who injures the horses: but there is a stone above the place where the horses turn, of a glittering colour, the splendour of which terrifies the horses like the radiance of fire. The Taraxippos, however, in Olympia, far transcends this in producing terror in the horses. Near one of the goals, too, there is a brazen statue of Hippodamia, holding a fillet, and preparing to crown Pelops for his victory.

CHAPTER XXI.

But the other part of the Hippodrome is not a heap of earth, but a hill, though not a lofty one. Towards the extremity of this hill there is a temple of Ceres, under the appellation of Chamyne. Some are of opinion, that this is an ancient name; because the earth in this part opened to receive the chariot of Pluto, and again closed. But, according to others, there was a man of the name of Chamynus, a Pisian, who was slain by Pantaliion the son of Omphalion (who seized on the government of Pisa, and solicited the Pisians to revolt from the Eleans), because he opposed himself to the tyrant. They add, that this temple of Ceres was built out of the possessions of Chamynus. But the Athenian Herodes, in the gymnasium in Olympia, dedicated new statues of Proserpine and Ceres, of Pentelic stone, instead of the old ones. In this gymnasium, the quinqueremions and racers exercise themselves in their contests. There is a foundation, too, in the open air, of stone, in which formerly a trophy was erected in memorial of having vanquished the Arcadians. On the left hand of the entrance to this gymnasium there is a lesser inclosure, in which the wrestlers among the Athletæ exercise themselves. Those habitations of the Athletæ which look towards the southwest and the west are near that porch of the gymnasium.
which looks towards the east. After you have passed over the river Cladeus, you will see the sepulchre of Oenomaus, which is raised from earth, and enclosed with stones. Above the tomb there are ruins of houses, which, they report, were the stables of Oenomaus. The boundaries of this country towards Arcadia belong at present to the Eleans, but at first were possessed by the Piseans: and these boundaries exist even at present.

Beyond the river Erymanthus, and near the top of the mountain Saurus, as it is called, there is a sepulchre of Saurus, and a temple of Hercules in a ruinous condition. They report, that this Saurus infested travellers and the natives; and that at length he was slain by Hercules, and gave a name to the place. The river which flows from the south into the Alpheus, opposite to the mountain Erymanthus, divides the Pisean land from Arcadia. The name of this river is Diagon. After leaving the tomb of Saurus, at about the distance of forty stadia, you will see a temple of Æsculapius, under the appellation of Demænetus, which was the name of its builder. Not far from hence there is a temple of Bacchus Leucyanitas; near which the river Leucyanias flows. This river descends from the mountain Phoïoe, and pours itself into the Alpheus. Having passed over the Alpheus from hence, you will enter the borders of the Piseans. In this place, the first thing which presents itself to the view is the summit of a mountain, which raises itself to an acute vertex. After this follow the ruins of the city Phrixa, and a temple of Minerva, who is called Cydonia. All these at present are reduced to the shape of an altar. They report that Clymenes, who was one of the descendants of the Idaean Hercules, dedicated this temple; and that he came from Cydonia a Cretan town, and from the river Jardanus. The Eleans likewise say, that Pelops, before he contended with Oenomaus, sacrificed to Minerva Cydonia. Departing hence to a little distance, you will arrive at the
OF GREECE.

river Parthenia, on the banks of which there is a sepulchre of the horses of Marmax. It is said, that this Marmax was the first of Hippodamia's suitors, and that on this account he was slain by Oenomaus before the rest. They add, that the names of his mares were Parthenia and Eripha; and that Oenomaus sacrificed them at the tomb of Marmax, and buried them in that place. The name Parthenia, therefore, was given to the river from one of the mares of Marmax.

In this part of the country, too, there is another river, which is called Harpinnates; and not far from this river there are ruins of the city Harpinne, and particularly altars belonging to it. They report, that Oenomaus built this city, and called it Harpinne after the name of his mother. On departing from hence, and at no great distance, you will see a lofty pile of earth, which is the tomb of the suitors of Hippodamia. They say, therefore, that Oenomaus buried them near each other, and not in a splendid manner. But Pelops afterwards raised a sepulchre for them in common, both that he might honour them, and give celebrity to Hippodamia. It appears to me, however, that Pelops, in raising this sepulchre, had no other intention than to evince that he slew Oenomaus, for his putting to death so many and such illustrious men. These men, according to the verses which are called the great Eoeæ, were slain by Oenomaus in the following order: first Marmax, and then Alcathous the son of Parthaon; after these Euryalus, Eurymachus, and Cratas. The parents of these, and the places of their nativity, I have not been able to discover. Acris, who was slain after these, may be easily supposed to be a Lacedæmonian, and the builder of Acris. After Acris, they say, that Capetus, Lycurgus, Lasius, Chalodon, and Tricolonus were slain by Oenomaus. According to the Arcadians, this Tricolonus was the grandson of Tricolonus the son of Lycaon. After Tricolonus, Aristomachus, Prias, Pelagon, Æolius, and Cronius fell in the course. Some, too, number among
these Erythrus the son of Leucon, and the grandson of Athamas, from whom a small town of the Boeotians was denominated; just as the Æolian Magnetus were denominated from Æolus. The sepulchre, therefore, of these is in this place: and they say that Pelops, when he reigned over the Pisæans, performed funeral rites every year at this tomb.

CHAPTER XXII.

Departing from hence to the distance of a stadium, you will see the remains of a temple of Diana Cordace. The goddess was thus denominated, because the companions of Pelops, when they instituted games in her honour, on account of their victory, danced also at Sipylus in that manner which is adopted by their country, and which from its comic nature is called Cordax. Not far from this temple there is a building of no great magnitude, and in it a brazen chest, which contains the bones of Pelops. But there are no longer any remains either of the walls or other buildings; but the place is on all sides surrounded with vines where once the city Pisa stood. They say, that the founder of this city was Piusus the son of Perieres, and the grandson of Æolus. The Pisæans, indeed, attracted to themselves a voluntary destruction, in consequence of being hated by the Eleans through endeavouring to establish the Olympic games instead of the Eleans. For, in the eighth Olympiad, the Eleans called to their assistance the Argive Phidon, who was the most insolent tyrant in Greece, and together with him established the games. But in the thirty-fourth Olympiad the Pisæans, and their king Pantaleon the son of Omphalion, having collected together an army from all their neighbouring provinces, celebrated the Olympic games instead of the Eleans. These Olympiads, together with the one hundred
and fourth Olympiad which were instituted by the Arcadians, are called by the Eleans Anolympia, and are not inserted in their catalogue of Olympiads. But in the eighty-fourth Olympiad, Damophon the son of Pantaleon was suspected by the Eleans, because, when they entered the Pisæan land in a hostile manner, he persuaded them with prayers and oaths to return home without accomplishing their design. Pyrrhus, however, the son of Pantaleon, reigning after his brother Damophon, the Pisæans voluntarily warred on the Eleans: and at the same time the Macistii and Scilluntii revolted from the Eleans. These, indeed, from Triphyly: but from among the other neighbouring provinces the Dispontii revolted. For these were on the most amicable terms with the Pisæans, and referred the origin of their city to Disponenteus the son of Oenomaus. However the Pisæans, and all that aided them in the war, were overthrown by the Eleans.

On leaving Olympia, and passing through the mountainous road, you will see the ruins of the Elean Pylus. And from Elis to Pylus there is a distance of eighty stadia. This city, as I have before observed, was built by the Megarensian Pylus the son of Cleon. But being subverted by Hercules, and afterwards restored by the Eleans, it was for some time uninhabited. Near Pylus the river Ladon falls into the Peneus. And the Eleans assert, that Homer alludes to this Pylus, when he says:

"Sprung from Alpheus' stream, that widely pours
Its copious waters through the Pylian land."

And, indeed, in my opinion, they speak probably. For the Alpheus flows through this country: and the verses cannot be referred to any other Pylus, as the Alpheus does not flow through that part of the Pylian land which is above the island Sphacteria; nor do we know of any city in Arcadia which was ever called by this name. But the village He-
raca, which belongs to the Eleans, is distant from Olympia about fifty stadia: and near it is the river Cytherus. There is a fountain which pours itself into this river: and near the fountain there is a temple sacred to the Nymphs. The names of these Nymphs are Calliphæa, Synallaxis, Pegææ, Iasis: but they are called in common Ionides. Those that wash in these waters are freed from weariness of body, and all various pains. But they report, that the Nymphs were denominated by Ion the son of Gargettus, who brought a colony into this place from Athens.

If you are willing to come to Elis through the plain, after you have journeyed to the distance of one hundred and twenty stadia, you will arrive at Letrini. But between Letrini and Elis there is a distance of one hundred and eighty stadia. Letrini was a small town from the first, and was built by Letreus the son of Pelops. At present, however, but a few of its houses remain: and there is a temple in it of Diana Alphæa with a statue. They report, that the goddess was thus denominated on the following account: Alpheus was enamoured with Diana; but finding that he could not persuade her to marry him either by supplications or any other means, he had the boldness to offer violence to the goddess. Diana, in consequence of this, fled from Alpheus, and drew him on pursuing her, till she came to Letrini, and to that part of it where her mysteries are celebrated all the night long, and at which she was accustomed to be present. Here, as she suspected the intentions of Alpheus, she and the Nymphs that were present with her covered his face with mud; and as Alpheus by this means could not distinguish Diana from the Nymphs, she departed from the place, and eluded his pursuit. But from this circumstance the Letrineæ called the goddess Alphæa; i.e. from the love of Alpheus towards her. The Eleans, however, whose friendship with the Letrineæ is of a very ancient date, assert, that they received the religious ceremonies be-
OF GREECE.

longing to Diana Elaphiæa from the Letrinæi; and that these ceremonies were at first called Alphæan, but the word being corrupted by length of time, they were afterwards called Elaphiæan. But to me it appears, that the goddess was called Elaphiæa by the Eleans, from the hunting of stags. The Eleans however report, that a woman whose name was Elaphia, and who was a native of this place, was the nurse of Diana, and that from her the goddess was de-nominated. But at about the distance of six stadia from Letrini there is a lake of ever-running water, which flows in a right line, and is about three stadia in extent.

CHAPTER XXIII.

In Elis, too, there is an ancient gymnasiurn, which deserves to be mentioned, in which the Athletæ, before they engage in the Olympic games, are accustomed to exercise themselves in every particular which the rites of their ancestors require. Within the walls lofty plane-trees are planted through the Hippodrome; and the whole of this inclosure is called Xystus, because Hercules the son of Amphitryon, when he used to strengthen himself by daily exercises, in order to the endurance of labour, cleared this place of all the thorns which grew in it. There is another circus separated from this which the natives call Sacred. That circus, too, is apart from this in which the racers and quinquentiones run that design to engage in the games. In the gymnasiurn, too, there is a place which they call Plethrium. In this place the judges of the games contend, who are either illustrious for their age or their art. They contend, too, in wrestling. In this gymnasiurn there are altars of the gods, viz. of the Idaean Hercules, who is called the Helper; of Love; and of that divinity which the Eleans and Athenians
call Anteros; of Ceres likewise and her daughter. There is no altar to Achilles here, but there is an empty sepulchre, which was dedicated to him by the command of an Oracle. When the Paneguris, or public festival commences, and the sun on the stated day of the solemnity declines to the west, the Elean women, among other honours which they pay to Achilles, violently beat themselves. There is likewise another lesser inclosure of the gymnasion contiguous to the greater, and which is called the Quadrangle from its figure. The Athletæ exercise themselves in wrestling in this inclosure, and such as being at leisure from wrestling contend with softer coats of mail.

In this place, too, one of those statues is to be seen which were dedicated to Jupiter from the fine of the Smyrnaeans Sosander and the Elean Polycor. There is also a third inclosure of the gymnasion, which is called Maltho, on account of the softness of the ground. This place is open to youth all the time of the Paneguris or grand festival. But in a corner of the Maltho there is a statue of Hercules, which extends no farther than to the shoulders, and a figure of one of the fillets which are used by wrestlers. There is likewise a Cupid in this place, and the divinity which is called Anteros. Cupid holds in his hand a branch of a palm-tree, and Anteros endeavours to take it from him. On each side of the entrance to the Maltho, there is a statue of a boy that was a pugilist. The Elean Nomophylax, or guardian of the laws, told me, that this boy came from that Alexandria which is above the island Pharos, and that his name was Serapion. This boy was honoured by the Eleans, because, happening to come to Elis during a scarcity of provisions, he gave them a considerable quantity of corn. But the period in which he was crowned and benefited the Eleans, was the two hundred and seventeenth Olympiad. In this gymnasion, too, the Eleans have a place of consultation; and specimens are here exhibited, both of extemporary
orations and writings of every kind. This place is called Lalichmion, after his name by whom it was raised. Shields are suspended all round it merely for ornament, and not for the purposes of war. As you proceed from the gymnasiaum to the baths, there is a road which is called Siope, or the silent, and a temple of Diana Philomeirax, or the friend of youth. This appellation was given the goddess from the vicinity of her temple to the gymnasiaum. But they report, that the road was called Silent, because the spies that were sent from Oxylus to explore the affairs of the Eleans, having mutually exhorted each other on the road, ceased to discourse any farther when they drew near the walls, and endeavouring by listening to hear the discourse of the besieged, secretly came into the city along this road; and having gained the intelligence they desired, returned safe to the Ætolians. And from this silence of the spies, the road was denominated.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Another passage from the gymnasiaum leads to the forum, and to that place which they call Hellanodicon. This place is above the tomb of Achilles; and the Hellanodice, or judges of the games, pass through this into the gymnasiaum. Here, before the rising of the sun, they assemble the racers; but, when it is mid-day, those that engage in the quinuertium and other heavier contests. But the forum of the Eleans is not like that of the Ionians, and of such cities as border on the Ionians; for it is constructed after a much more ancient manner. Porches, too, are built in it, separated from each other, with passages through them. This forum at present is called the Hippodrome; and the natives rear in it their horses. But of these porches, that which is towards the south is built after the Doric manner; and is
divided by pillars into three parts. In this porch the judges of the games for the most part sit the whole day; and near these pillars there are altars dedicated to Jupiter. There are likewise altars in that part of the forum which is in the open air, but there are not many of these. These altars are removed without any great labour; for they are raised in a hasty kind of manner. As you proceed along this porch to the forum, you will see on the left hand, and near the extremity of the porch, the Hellanodicon. There is a road, too, which divides this from the forum. But in this Hellanodicon, those who are chosen to preside over the games reside for ten successive months: and all that time they are taught by the Nomophylææ, or preservers of the law, every thing pertaining to the celebration of the games. Contiguous to that porch in which the judges of the games reside all the day there is another porch, and a road between these two. This porch the Eleans call Corcyraica. For, shortly after the Corcyrenses had plundered the Elean land, the Eleans brought much spoil from many parts of Corcyra, and from the tenth part of the spoil raised this porch. It is built after the Doric manner, and has a twofold order of pillars, one of which reaches to the forum, and the other to the parts beyond the forum. But its middle part is not supported by pillars, but by a wall, on each of whose sides there are statues.

Near that part of the porch which is towards the forum there is a statue of Pyrrho the son of Pistocrates, who was a sophist, and one that in every oration studied the means of procuring firm assent. The sepulchre of this Pyrrho is not far from the city of the Eleans. The place where it stands is called Petra, or a stone; and this was the ancient name of an Elean town. In that part of the forum which is in the open air, the Eleans have a most splendid temple and statue of Apollo Acesius. This name has the same meaning with the Alexicacos of the Athenians. But in another part there
are stone statues of the Sun and Moon. That of the Moon has horns on its head; but rays issue from the head of the Sun. The Eleans, too, have a temple of the Graces. The statues in it are of wood, but their garments are golden. The faces, hands, and feet of these statues are of white stone; and one of them holds a rose, another a dice, and a third a small leaf of myrtle. It is easy to conjecture the meaning of their holding these; for the rose and myrtle are sacred to Venus, and adapted to her on account of their beauty; and the Graces above all the divinities are attributed to Venus. But the dice, or ankle-bone, alludes to the sporting of youths and virgins, which, though foreign from a more advanced age, is proper to youth. On the right hand of the statues of the Graces, and on the same base, there is a statue of Love. There is also a temple of Silenus here, which is dedicated to Silenus alone, and not to Bacchus in conjunction with him. Intoxication extends wine to him in a cup. But that the Sileni are of a mortal race, may be conjectured with the highest degree of probability from their sepulchres. For in the land of the Hebrews there is a sepulchre of a Silenus, and among the Pergamians of another Silenus. In the forum, too, of the Eleans I have seen a temple, which is constructed as follows: It is not lofty; it is without walls; and the roof is supported by oaken pillars. The natives universally agree that this is a tomb; but they do not relate who it is that is buried in it. If, indeed, an old man of whom I inquired about this affair asserted the truth, this temple is the sepulchre of Oxylus. And lastly, in this forum there is a building of those that are called the sixteen women: and in this building they weave a veil for Juno.
CHAPTER XXV.

After the forum there is an ancient temple, which is circularly invested with porches and pillars: but the roof of the temple has fallen off, and no statue remains. This temple was dedicated to the Roman emperors. Behind that porch which was raised from the spoils of the Corcyreans there is a temple of Venus: and in the open air there is a grove not far from the temple. The statue within the temple, which they call the statue of Celestial Venus, is made of ivory and gold, and was the work of Phidias. This statue stands with one of its feet on a tortoise. The grove itself is surrounded with a wall of stone: and within the grove there is a fountain, upon which there is a brazen statue of Venus. The statue stands on a brazen goat, and was made by Scopas. This Venus they call Popular. But as to what pertains to the tortoise and the goat, I leave to such as are willing to indulge conjecture in this particular. The inclosure and temple of Hades (for the Eleans have dedicated both these to Hades) are opened once every year: but it is not lawful for any one to enter into them, except the person that sacrifices. The Eleans are the only persons we are acquainted with that reverence Hades, on the following account. When Hercules led an army against Pylus in Elis, they say that Minerva was present with him and assisted him; and that Hades fought in defence of the Pylians, because he was honoured by them, and was himself an enemy to Hercules. They also produce Homer as confirming the truth of their relation, by these verses in the Iliad:

"Ev'n hell's grim king Alcides' power confest,  
The shaft found entrance in his iron breast;  
To Jove's high palace for a cure he fled,  
In Pylus pierced amidst the heaps of dead."
OF GREECE.

If, indeed, Neptune came to the assistance of the Greeks, as Homer asserts, in the time of the Trojan war, it is not improbable but that, agreeable to the same poet, Hades assisted the Pylians. The Eleans, therefore, raised a temple to Hades, on account of his benevolence to them, and hatred of Hercules. And this temple, as it appears to me, they open every year, because mankind are once obliged to descend to Hades. The Eleans, also, have a temple of Fortune. In the porch of this temple, there is a very large statue, which is made of wood, and is gilt in every part except the face, and the extremities of the hands and feet; for these are made of white stone. Sosipolis, too, is honoured in the left hand part of this temple of Fortune. This god is painted after the resemblance which he once assumed, and exhibited to some one in a dream. He is represented as a youth; is clothed with a garment variegated with stars; and holds in one of his hands the horn of Amalthea. In that part, too, of the city of the Eleans which is most inhabited, there is a brazen statue which does not exceed the dimensions of a large man, and is without a beard. One of its feet is enfolded with the other, and it leans with both its hands on a spear. They clothe it sometimes with a woollen garment, and sometimes with one made of linen and silk. They say, that this is a statue of Neptune; that it was formerly reverenced in Samicus in Triphylia; and that being brought from thence to Elis, it was much more honoured than before. They call the statue, however, Satrapes, and not Neptune, from a Satrap that dwells near the Patrenses. But Satrapes is an appellation of Corybas.
CHAPTER XXVI.

Between the forum and the Menion there is a theatre, and a temple of Bacchus, the statue in which was made by Praxiteles. The Eleans worship Bacchus above all the divinities: and they report, that he is present at that festival of theirs which they call Thyise. The place in which they celebrate this festival is about eight stadia distant from the city. Into this temple, the priests bring three empty kettles; citizens and strangers, if they should happen to be in Elis, being at the same time present. But afterwards the priests, and others to whom the care of the temple is committed, seal the doors of the temple. The next day they enter the temple, and though their seals have not been broken, they find the kettles filled with wine. The most respectable men among the Eleans, and likewise some strangers, have sworn to me, that what I have just related is true; for I was not able to be present myself at the celebration of this festival. The Andrii also report, that every year when they celebrate the festival of Bacchus, wine spontaneously flows from the temple. These things it is proper the Greeks should believe: and agreeable to this, we may credit the reports of the Æthiopians who dwell above Syene, respecting the table of the Sun. In the tower, too, of the Eleans, there is a temple of Minerva; and the statue in it is made of ivory and gold. They say, that this was the work of Phidias. There is a cock on the helmet of the goddess, because cocks are prompt in the highest degree with respect to fighting. Or we may say, that this bird is sacred to Minerva Ergane. But Cyllene is distant from Elis about one hundred and twenty stadia. It is situated opposite to Sicily; and affords a convenient harbour for ships. It is, indeed, the harbour of the Eleans, but is denominated from an Arcadian. Homer, in his catalogue of the ships, does
not mention Cyllene; but afterwards in the course of his poem, he evinces that he knew Cyllene was a small city:

Polydamus, Cyllenius Otus slew,
Phylidas' friend, and leader of the band
Of bold Epeans to the Trojan plain."

There are two temples of the gods in Cyllene, one of Æsculapius, and the other of Venus. But the statue of Mercury, which the inhabitants of this place venerate in the greatest degree, is an erect penis on a basis. The country of the Eleans, too, abounds in fruits, and particularly in fine flax: and hemp, thread, and fine flax, are planted by such as have land adapted to their production. But the thread from which the Seres make garments, is not produced from a tree, but is procured by the following method. A worm is found in their country which the Greeks call Seer, but the Seres themselves, by a very different name. This worm is twice as large as the beetle, and in other respects resembles spiders which weave under trees. It has, likewise, eight feet as well as the spider. The Seres rear these insects in houses, adapted for this purpose both to summer and winter. What these insects produce is a slender thread, which is rolled round their feet. They feed them for four years on oat-meal; and on the fifth year (for they do not live beyond five years) they give them a green reed to feed on: for this is the sweetest of all food to the insect. It feeds, therefore, on this till it bursts through fulness, and dies: after which, they draw from its bowels a great quantity of thread. But it is well-known that the island Seria is situated in the recess of the Red sea: though I have heard it asserted by some, that it is not the Red Sea, but a river which they call Sera, that forms this island; just as the Delta of Ægypt is surrounded by the Nile, and not by any other sea. They say, therefore, that Seria is an island of this kind. But these Seres which I have spoken of, are of the Æthiopian race; and this is, likewise, the case
THE DESCRIPTION

with the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, Abasa and Sacaæa: though according to some, they are not Æthiopians, but Scythians mingled with Indians. And thus much concerning particulars of this kind. But as you proceed from Achaia to Elis, there is a road of about one hundred and fifty-seven stadia in length, which leads to the river Larisus. And this river forms at present the boundaries of the Achaian and Elean lands: for formerly these dominions were limited by the promontory Araxus.
BOOK VII.

ACHAIACS.

CHAPTER I.

The region which is situated between the Eleans and Sicyonians, and extends to the eastern sea, is called at present Achaia from its inhabitants; but its ancient name was Ægialus; and its inhabitants at that time were called Ægialenses, from Ægialeus who reigned in Sicyonia, according to the relation of the Sicyonians. There are others who derive its name from the country itself; as many of its parts form aigialos, or a shore. But in after times, and on the death of Hellenus, his remaining sons expelled Xuthus from Thessaly, accusing him of applying his father's wealth solely to his own private advantage. This Xuthus betaking himself to Athens, was thought worthy of being united with the daughter of Erechtheus, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion. After the death of Erechtheus, Xuthus became the arbitrator between his sons who contended for the possession of the kingdom: and he determining in favour of Cecrops who was the eldest, the other sons of Erechtheus expelled him from the country. In consequence of this he took up his residence in Ægialus: in which place also he died. Of his sons, Achæus receiving assistance from Ægialus and Athens, came to Thessaly, and obtained his paternal kingdom. But to Ion, as he was collecting an army against the Ægialenses, and their king Selinus, Selinus sent ambassadors, offered him his only daughter Helice in marriage, and said that he would immediately
adopt him as his son. This offer was accepted by Ion: and on the death of Selinus, he reigned over the Ægialenses, and called the city which he built in Ægialus, Helice, from his wife, and the inhabitants Iones from himself. This appellation, indeed, did not produce any change of name, but only an addition; for they were now called Ægialenses Iones. The ancient name, however, was still most predominant: and hence Homer, in his catalogue of Agamemnon’s forces, thinks it sufficient to mention the ancient name of the country:

"Through all Ægialus, and Helice’s broad land."

But at that time when Ion reigned over the Ægialenses, the Athenians chose him for their general in their war against the Eleusinians: and Ion afterwards dying in Attica, was buried in the town of the Potamii, where his sepulchre remains at present. The posterity, too, of Ion reigned over the Iones, till they were totally expelled by the Achaians; who, at that time, were driven from Lacedæmonia and Argos by the Dorienses. But I shall shortly relate the military transactions of the Ionians and Achaians; previous to which it will be necessary to show how it came to pass, that the Lacedæmonians and Argives alone of all the Peloponnesians, prior to the return of the Dorienses, were called Achaians. Archander, then, and Architeles, who were the sons of Acheus, came from Phthiotis to Argos. Here, when they were settled, Danaus gave them his two daughters in marriage, viz. Automate to Architeles, and Sceæ to Archander. Indeed, it may be inferred that they came to Argos, from hence, that Archander called his son Metanastes, or an exile.

Their authority, therefore, being established in Argos, it came to pass that both Lacedæmonians and Argives were called in common Achaians, from the children of Acheus; but the Danai were alone denominated Argives. But soon after being driven by the Dorienses from Argos and Lacc-
daemon, having sent an ambassador, they entreated the Iones to afford a peaceable residence to themselves, and their king Tisamenus the son of Orestes. The kings of the Iones, however, were afraid, that if the Achaians were mingled with the Iones, Tisamenus, both on account of his valour and the splendour of his family, would be elected king by general approbation. The Iones, therefore, rejecting the petition of the Achaians, a war ensued, in which Tisamenus was slain, and the Achaians having pursued the Iones to Helice, to which place they fled for refuge, suffered them to pass from thence safely, under certain conditions. But the Achaians having buried the dead body of Tisamenus in Helice, the Lacedaemonians afterwards, by the admonition of the Delphic oracle, brought his bones to Sparta: and even at present the tomb of Tisamenus remains, in that place in which the Lacedaemonians celebrate their Phiditia. The Iones, therefore, retreating into the Attic land, were permitted to dwell there by the Athenians, and their king Melanthus the son of Andropompos; and this for the sake of Ion, and those achievements in war which he accomplished for the Athenians. It is also said, that they were received in this friendly manner by the Athenians, because they suspected the Dorienses, and were afraid of their turning their arms against them; so that it was more from regard to their own strength, than benevolence to the Iones, that the Athenians permitted them to take up their residence in the Attic land.

CHAPTER II.

Nor many years after this, when Medon and Nileus, who were the eldest of the sons of Codrus, opposed each other for the government, Nileus confessing that he could not bear to live in subjection to Medon, who was lame in one of
his feet, they had recourse to the Delphic oracle, which ordered them to give the government of the Athenians to Medon. Nileus, therefore, and the other sons of Codrus being sent to a colony, they took with them as many Athenians as were willing, but the Iones composed the greatest part of their army. This was the third army, which was sent from Greece, under the command of foreign kings, and composed of a foreign multitude. For in the most ancient times, the Theban Iolaus, who was the son of the brother of Hercules, brought the Athenians and Thespianese to Sardinia. And in one age prior to the departure of the Iones from the Athenians, the Theban Theras, who was the son of Autession, brought the Lacedæmonians and Minyæ, who had been ejected by Pelasgus from Lemnos, to that island, which was then called Calliste, but is now denominated from him Thera. But the third colony was established by the sons of Codrus, who had no alliance with the Iones; for they were Messenians on the side of their father and grandfather, viz. from Codrus and Melanthus of Pylus; but Athenians on their mother's side. Of the Greeks, too, the Thebans partook of this expedition in conjunction with the Iones, following Philotas, the grandson of Peneleus; and of the Orchomenians the Minyæ, on account of their alliance to the children of Codrus. All the Phocenses, too, partook of it, except the Delphi: and the Abantes from Euboia. But the Athenians Philogenes and Damon, the sons of Euctemon, fitted out ships for the Phocenses, and were their leaders in establishing a colony. These, as soon as they landed in Asia, dispersed themselves about the cities bordering on the sea. And Nileus with his party settled in Miletus.

The Milesians, too, report, that the most ancient particulars respecting their origin are as follow: The country which was under the dominion of their native king Anax, and Asterion, the son of Anax, was at first called Anactoria. But a fleet of the Cretans sailing in order to establish a
OF GREECE.

colony, under the command of Miletus, both the coast and the city were denominated from him; and Miletus with his army came from Crete, at that time when he fled from Minos, the son of Europa. The Cares then inhabited that part of Asia; and the Cretenses were permitted to reside with them. But then as the Iones had vanquished the ancient Milesians, they slew all the males, except such as saved themselves by flight after the capture of the city; and married their wives and daughters. The tomb of Nileus, as you go to Didymi, is not far from the gates on the left hand of the road. But the temple of Apollo in Didymi, and the oracle, are very ancient, as they were established prior to the migration of the Iones; and the temple of Ephesian Diana is much more ancient than the colonisation of the Iones. And it appears to me, that Pindar was not acquainted with all the particulars respecting this temple: for he says, that this temple was built by the Amazons, when they warred on the Athenians and Theseus. These women, indeed, from Thermodon, sacrificed even then to the Ephesian goddess, as being well acquainted with the temple from ancient times; and when they fled from Hercules, and still prior to him from Bacchus, they came thither as suppliants. But the temple was by no means built by the Amazons. For Creus, a native of the place, and Ephesus, who is thought to have been the son of the river Cayster, raised this temple; and the city received its name from Ephesus. The Leleges, who were a part of Carieum, and many of the Lydians then inhabited that coast; and among others women of the Amazoaian tribe fixed their habitations about the temple, for the sake of supplicating, and deprecating the wrath of the goddess.

But Androclus, the son of Codrus (for he was king of the Iones when they sailed to Ephesus), drove out of the country the Leleges and Lydians, who dwelt in the upper city: but he suffered those that resided about the temple to
his feet, they had recourse to the Delphic oracle, which ordered them to give the government of the Athenians to Medon. Nileus, therefore, and the other sons of Codrus being sent to a colony, they took with them as many Athenians as were willing, but the Iones composed the greatest part of their army. This was the third army, which was sent from Greece, under the command of foreign kings, and composed of a foreign multitude. For in the most ancient times, the Theban Iolaus, who was the son of the brother of Hercules, brought the Athenians and Thespienses to Sardinia. And in one age prior to the departure of the Iones from the Athenians, the Theban Theras, who was the son of Autesion, brought the Lacedaemonians and Minyae, who had been ejected by Pelasgus from Lemnos, to that island, which was then called Calliste, but is now denominated from him Thera. But the third colony was established by the sons of Codrus, who had no alliance with the Iones; for they were Messenians on the side of their father and grandfather, viz. from Cretans on their mother's side. Of the Greeks, too, there was an expedition in conjunction with the Iones, following Philotas, the grandson of Pericles, to the phonebenians the children of Codrus. All the Phocians, the Athenians Phocians, who in establishing a colony in Asia, dispersed themselves in the sea. And Nileus with the Milesians, too, report, having their origin from the dominion of Athens.
CHAPTER III.

But the Colophonii are of opinion, that the temple of Apollo in Clarus, and the oracle, are very ancient. For while the Carœ had possession of this country, they say, that the Cretans came into it the first of all the Greeks; that Rhacios was their leader, and the leader of the multitude that came with him; and that he had a strong fleet of ships, with which he took possession of the maritime coasts on which he landed. A great part of this country is yet inhabited by the Carœs. But when Thersander the son of Polynices, and the Argives, took Thebes, Manto among the other captives was brought to Apollo at Delphos: for her father Tiriasas had ended his days as he was travelling to Haliartus. The oracle ordering these captives to be sent to a colony, they passed over with a fleet into Asia; and as soon as they arrived at Clarus, the Cretans in arms ran to them as they were landing, and brought them to Rhacios. He therefore (for he knew from Manto who they were, and on what account they came) married Manto, and took into his own family her attendants. Mopsus was the son of Rhacios by this Manto: and he drove all the Carœ out of his dominions. But the Iones entered into an alliance with the Greeks in Colophon, and dwelt with them on equitable terms. The kingdom of the Iones was possessed by Damasichthon and Promethus, the sons of Codrus. Prometheus, too, afterwards, having slain his brother Damasichthon, fled to the island Naxus, where he ended his days. But the sons of Damasichthon brought his dead body to their own place of abode: and the tomb of Prometheus is to be, seen in a town which is called Polythicides. As to the manner in which the city of the Colophonians was laid
waste, this we shall relate in our account of the transactions of Lysimachus.

But the Colophonians alone of those that were colonized in Ephesus, warred on Lysimachus and the Macedonians. On the left hand of the road which leads to Claros, there is a common sepulchre of the Colophonians and Smyrnaeans, who died in battle. Lysimachus, indeed, desolated the city of the Lebedians, that the city of the Ephesians might be increased by the accession of the exiles. Their country, among other things by which it is calculated to give felicity to its inhabitants, abounds with baths of hot water from the sea of a very refreshing nature. But the Cares at first inhabited Lebedos, till they were driven from thence by Andraemon, the son of Codrus, and the Iones. The sepulchre of this Andraemon, as you go from Colophon is on the left hand of the road, after you have passed over the river Calaon. The Orchomenian Minyæ, too, established a colony in Teos; migrating to this place, with Athamas for their leader. This Athamas is said to have been the grandson of that Athamas, who was the son of Æolus. The Cares, too, dwelt here mingled with the Greeks. But Apoeclus, the great grandson of Melanthus, colonized the Iones in Teos; nor did he machine any thing worse than this against the Orchomenians and Teians. Not many years after this, inhabitants came hither from Athens and Bœotia. The leaders of the Attic colony were Damasus and Naocclus the sons of Codrus; but the Bœotian colony was conducted by the Bœotian Geres. The inhabitants and the Teians willingly permitted both these to reside with them. But the Erythrai refer their origin to Erythus, the son of Rhadamantus, by whom, as they say, they were led from Crete, and after whom the city was denominated.

The Lycians, Cares, and Pamphylii possessed this city together with the Cretans. For the Lycians anciently
OF GREECE.

came from Crete, and from those that fled together with Sarpedon, and were, therefore, allied to the Cretans. But the Cares came on account of their ancient friendship with Minos; and the Pamphylii, because they were allied to the Greeks; for they wandered with Calchas after the capture of Troy. As all this people, therefore, which we have enumerated, inhabited Erythrae, Cleopus the son of Codrus, having collected from all the cities of Ionia those that wished to form a colony, conjoined them with the Erythreans. But the Clazomenii and Phocaenses, before the Iones settled in Asia, had no cities to inhabit. And after the settlement of the Iones, apart of these wandering about, at length fixed on the Colophonian Parphorus for their leader, and built a city under mount Ida. This they afterwards abandoned, and returning to Ionia, built Scyppius in the borders of the Colophonians. Afterwards migrating from hence, they settled themselves in that country which they at present inhabit, and fortified the city Clazomenæ in the continent. But they passed over into the island through fear of the Persians. Afterwards, Alexander the son of Philip intended to have reduced Clazomenæ to the form of a peninsula, by bringing a mass of earth into the island from the continent. The Iones did not form a considerable part of these Clazomenians; but the Cleonai, Phleasii, and such of the Dorienses as, after deserting their cities, came to Peloponnesus, composed the bulk of the Clazomenians. But the Phocaenses derive their origin from that Phocis under Parnassus, which remains even now: and these following Philipgenes and Damon, passed over into Asia together with the Athenians, and obtained possession of the country, not by force of arms, but received it from the Cumæi on certain stipulated conditions. But in consequence of the Iones not admitting them to their Panionium, or place where they celebrate a general festival, till they had kings from the race of Codrus, they called Oetes, Periclus, and Abartus, from Erythrae and Teos.
CHAPTER IV.

In the islands opposite to Asia there are certain cities of the Iones, viz. Samos above Mycale, and Chios opposite to Mimas. But Asius the Samian, the son of Amphiptolemus, informs us in his verses, that Astypalæa and Europæ were the daughters of Phoenix, by Perimeda the daughter of Oeneus; that Anœus was the son of Neptune and Astypalæa; and that he reigned over the people who are called Leleges. That, besides this, he married Samia, the daughter of the river Mæander, by whom he had Perilaus, Enudus, Samus, Alitherses, and a daughter Parthenope. That from Parthenope the daughter of Anœus, Apollo had a son, Lycomedes. And such is the information of the poet Asius. But at that time the inhabitants of the island permitted the Iones to reside with them, rather from necessity than benevolence. Procles the son of Pityreus was the leader of the Iones, who was himself an Epidaurian, and conducted a great number of Epidaurians, that had been expelled from Epidaurus by Deiphontes and the Argives. This Procles derived his origin from Ion, the son of Xuthus: and the Ephesians under the command of Androclus, warred on Leogorus, the son of Procles, when he reigned after his father in Samos; and having vanquished them, drove the Samians from the island. The reason which they assigned for this, was that they had formed stratagems against the Iones with the Cares. But of the exiled Samians, one part inhabited that island in Thrace, which, from this colonization, was denominated Samothrace instead of Dardania; while those that followed Leogorus, raised walls in Anea in the opposite continent, ten years after which they passed over into Samos, drove out the Ephesians, and recovered the island.

With respect to the temple of Juno in Samos, there are
some who assert, that it was dedicated by the Argonauts, and that they brought the statue from Argos. But the Samians themselves are of opinion, that the goddess Juno was born in Samos, by the river Iambramus, and under a willow which is even to be seen at present in the temple of Juno. That this temple, too, is very ancient may be inferred, and this by no contemptible argument, from the statue of the goddess. For it is the work of Smilis Æginetes, who was the son of Euclid. This Smilis was contemporary with Dædalus; but was not equal to him in renown. For Dædalus descended from that royal Athenian family who are called Metionidae, and together with his art, was celebrated by all men for his wanderings and calamities. Thus when his sister’s son was cut off, and he well knew that he had suffered agreeably to the law, he voluntarily fled to Minos in Crete, where he made statues for Minos and his daughters, as Homer evinces in the Iliad. But afterwards being condemned by Minos for a capital offence, he escaped with his son from prison, and fled to Inycus a Sicilian city, to king Cocalus. This was the cause of the Sicilians warring on the Cretans, because Cocalus refused to comply with the request of Minos by surrendering Dædalus. And so much was he honoured for his art by the daughters of Cocalus, that on this account they even formed stratagems for putting Minos to death. It is evident, too, that the name of Dædalus was celebrated in the highest degree through all Sicily and Italy.

It is not, however, asserted by any one, that Smilis travelled to any other nations, than the Samians and Eleans. These, indeed, he visited; and there is a statue of Juno, in Samos, which was made by him. But Ion, the tragic poet, relates, that Neptune once came to a desert island; that there he became connected with a nymph; and that as she was in the act of being delivered it happened to snow; and
that from this circumstance Neptune called the boy Chios. He adds, that Neptune was connected with another nymph, by whom he had two sons, Angelus and Melan; and that afterwards Oenopion sailed to Chios from Crete, together with his sons, Talus, Euanthes, Melan, Salagus, and Athamas. That during the reign of Oenopion the Cares came to this island, and the Abantes from Euboea; and that Amphiclus, who was a foreigner from Hestissa in Euboea, reigned after Oenopion and his sons. Hector was the great grandson of this Amphiclus, and, during his reign in this place, warred on the Abantes and Cares that dwelt in the island; some of whom he slew in the engagement, and others he compelled to abandon the island on certain conditions. But when the Chii were liberated from the war, Hector recollected, that both he and the Iones ought to sacrifice in the Panionion: and they say, that a tripod was given to him by this grand assembly, as a reward of his valour. And such are the particulars which Ion relates of the Chii; though he does not inform us how the Chii came to be thus incorporated with the Iones.

CHAPTER V.

But as Smyrna was one of the twelve Æolian cities, and this country was inhabited from the first, just as it is at present, the Iones from Colophon took from the Æolenses that city which they call Archæa. And in after times the Iones made the Smyrneans partakers of their convention in the Panionion. But Alexander the son of Philip raised the city which exists at present, in consequence of a vision in a dream. For they report, that as Alexander was once hunting in the mountain Pagus, he came to the temple of the Nemesees, where he met with a fountain, and a plane-tree
before the temple which this fountain watered. Here he fell asleep under the plane-tree, and while he was in this state, the Nemeses appeared to him, and exhorted him to build a city in that place, and cause it to be inhabited by the Smyrneans. The Smyrneans, therefore, sent proper persons to Claros to explore the will of divinity in this affair: and the god gave them the following oracle: "Thrice and four times blessed will be the condition of those men who shall inhabit the country beyond the sacred Meles."

In consequence of this, the Smyrneans willingly migrated to this place. They are of opinion, too, that there are many Nemeses, and not one Nemesis only: and they say, that the mother of these is Night; just as the Athenians assert that the father of this goddess, whom they worship in Rhamnus, is Ocean. The country, too, of the Iones enjoys a very convenient temperature of the Seasons: and they have such temples as are not to be found in any other place. The first of these, both for its magnitude and riches, is the temple of Ephesian Diana. After this follow two unfinished temples of Apollo; one among the Milesian Branchidae, the other at Claros in the land of the Colophonians. Two other temples in Ionia were burnt by the Persians; one of Juno in Samos, the other of Minerva in Phoeæa. These temples, notwithstanding the devastation of the fire, were once objects of admiration.

In Erythrae, too, the temple of Hercules is a delightful spectacle, as also that of Minerva in Priene; the latter, on account of the statue which it contains; and the former, for its antiquity. The statue, indeed, neither resembles those which are called Æginææ, nor the most ancient of the Attic statues: but if it may be said to resemble any, it is an accurate imitation of an Egyptian statue. For there is a raft of wood, and the goddess is represented sailing on it from Phœnician Tyre; but on what account, is not mentioned by the Erythraeî. They report, however, that as soon as this
raft came into the Ionian sea, it was carried to Hera, which is called Media, because to those who are sailing to the island Chios from the port of the Erythreans, it is about the middle of their voyage. But when the raft reached the promontory, the Erythrean and Chii emulated each other in endeavouring to bring the statue on shore, though their efforts for this purpose were in vain. And at last a certain Erythrean, who procured the means of subsistence by fishing, whose name was Phormio, and who had lost his eyes through disease, was admonished in a dream to tell the Erythrean women to shave off their hair; the vision at the same time informing him that if the men platted the hair of the women so as to form a rope, they might draw the raft wherever they pleased. The Erythrean women, however, on hearing this, were by no means willing to comply with the dream: but such of the Thracian women as were in a state of servitude, and yet had the power of procuring their freedom, readily shaved off their hair, by which means the Erythreans drew the raft on shore. And on this account, the Thracian women alone are permitted to enter into the temple of Hercules. This rope, composed of hair, the natives have preserved even to the present times: and they report, that the fisherman after this event recovered the use of his sight, and preserved it during the remainder of his life. There is also in Erythra a temple of Minerva Polias, which contains a wooden statue of a large size, sitting on a throne, holding in each of its hands a distaff, and having a pole on its head. That this was made by Endoeus may be conjectured from a variety of circumstances, and particularly from minutely examining the statue, and from the Graces and the Seasons, which, prior to my coming into these parts, stood in the open air, and were made of white stone.

The, Smyrnae, too, even at present have a temple of Asculapius, between the mountain which they call the Summit, and the sea which is mingled with foreign water.
But Ionia, besides the temples which it contains, and the salubrious temperament of its air, exhibits other particulars worthy of description. The Ephesian region, too, contains the river Cenchrius, the fertile mountain Pion, and the fountain Halitea. But in the Milesian borders there is the fountain Biblis, near which those particulars took place which they sing about the love of Biblis. In the Colophonian region there is a grove of Apollo, which is thick set with ashes; and the river Ales, which is the coldest of all the Ionian rivers. But the Lebedian baths are both admirable and salutary to mankind. There are baths, too, among the Teii, in the mountain Macria, which are partly formed from water bursting through a cavern, and partly for the sake of exhibiting the wealth of the inhabitants. The Clazomenii also have baths: and among these people Agamemnon is reverenced. They have besides this a cavern, which they say is sacred to the mother of Pyrrhus: and a story is circulated among them concerning the shepherd Pyrrhus. But in Erythrae there is a place called Chalcitis, from which the third of their tribes is denominated. A promontory extends itself from Chalcitis to the sea, in which there are marine baths, the most salubrious of all in Ionia. But among the Smyrnaeans there is a most beautiful river which is called Meles; and there is a cavern near its fountains in which, as they report, Homer composed his poems. Among the Chii there is a sepulchre of Oenopion, which deserves to be inspected, both on account of its construction, and the actions which Oenopion is said to have performed. With the Samians, in the road which leads to the temple of Juno, there is a sepulchre of Rhadine and Leontichus: and those that are violently in love pray upon this sepulchre. But the admirable particulars which Ionia contains are numerous, and not much inferior to any in the remaining part of Greece.
CHAPTER VI.

To return, therefore, from this digression: after the departure of the Iones, the Achaians divided their dominions among themselves into twelve cities, which are well known to all Greece. The first of these, which looks towards Elis, is Dyme; then Olenos, Pharae, Tritia, Rhipes, Thasium, Cecyrina, Bura, Helice, Aegae, Agira, Pellene follow, which last looks towards Sicyonia. In these cities the Achaian and their kings dwelt; for, prior to this, they were inhabited by the Iones. Those that had the greatest power among the Achaian were the sons of Tisamenus, viz. Daimenes, Sparton, Telles, and Leontomenes: for the eldest of these, Cometes, had prior to this passed over with a fleet into Asia. These, therefore, reigned over the Achaian; and besides these, Damasias the son of Penthius, grandson of Orestes, and cousin to the children of Tisamenus. But Preugenies, and his son Patreus, who were of the Achaian in Lacedæmonia, reigned with equal power. To these the Achaian gave a city, which was afterwards denominated from Patreus. But the particulars of the warlike affairs of the Achaian are as follow: At the time when Agamemnon led his army against Troy, Lacedæmon and Argos formed the greatest parts of Greece. But when Xerxes and the Medes invaded Greece, the Achaian neither assisted Leonidas at the Thermopylae, nor the Athenians and Themistocles in their naval battle between Euboea and Salamis; nor is there any mention of their warlike transactions either among the Athenians or Lacedæmonians; nor did they partake of the engagement at Platææ. Hence, in the common offering of the Greeks in Olympia, the name of the Achaian is not inscribed among the rest. It appears to me, that at this time they were busied in defending their own country; and that being
eled with the victory over the Trojans, they did not think it proper that they who were Dorienses should be led by the Lacedaemonians.

That this was the case indeed they evinced in process of time: for when the Lacedaemonians warred on the Athenians, the Achaians willingly assisted the Patrenses, and were no less well disposed towards the Athenians. But, in after times, they united with the rest of the Greeks in their common expedition at Chaeronea against Philip and the Macedonians. They acknowledge, however, that they did not lead an army into Thessaly, and that they were not present at the battle at Lamia, because they had not then recovered their loss in Boeotia. But I remember that one of the historians of the Patrean antiquities told me, that one Chilon, a wrestler was the only person among the Achaians that partook of the engagement about Lamia. I myself, too, know that a certain Lydian, whose name was Adrastus, assisted the Greeks from his own private fortune. The Lydians dedicated a brazen statue of this Adrastus before the temple of Persice Diana, with an inscription signifying that Adrastus died in fighting for the Greeks against Leonnatus. But the expedition to the army of the Gauls, at the Thermopylae, was viewed in the same light by all the Peloponnesians. For as the Barbarians had no ships, they hoped that nothing dreadful would ensue from their incursions if they fortified as much of the Corinthian isthmus as extended from the sea, near the promontory Lechæum, to the sea which is near Chenchreae. And this was the general opinion of all the Peloponnesians. But afterwards, when the Gauls passed over with a fleet into Asia, the affairs of the Greeks were in a condition perfectly imbecile. For the Lacedaemonians were incapable of preserving their former felicity, through the loss which they sustained at Leuctra, through the Arcadians collecting themselves into one great city, which was called Megalopolis, and through the vicinity
of the Messenians to their dominions. As to the Thebans, their city was reduced to such a desolate condition by Alexander, that many years after, when they were restored to their country by Cassander, they had not strength sufficient to defend themselves. And lastly, though the Athenians continually experienced the benevolence of the Greeks in consequence of their valiant behaviour, yet they were never secure from the arms of the Macedonians.

CHAPTER VII.

In those times, therefore, when the Greeks did not adopt any general consultations, but each person confined himself to his own particular concerns, the Achaian were powerful in the most eminent degree. For all their cities, except Pellene, were perpetually free from the dominion of tyrants: and the calamities which they suffered from war and pestilence were not so great as those which befel the other parts of Greece. The Achaian, therefore, had an assembly, which was called Achaïcon, and united in common consultations and common operations. They also agreed to assemble together in Ægium; because, Helice being destroyed by inundations, this city from the first excelled all the other Achaian cities both in dignity and wealth. But the Sicyonians were the first of the other Greeks that partook of the assembly of the Achaian; and after these, some of the other Peloponnesians joined themselves to it immediately, and some after a length of time had intervened. Many, too, that dwelt beyond the Isthmus were persuaded to unite themselves to the Achaian, when they saw that the Achaïcon continually increased in strength and renown. But the Lacedæmonians alone of all the Greeks were at the greatest variance with the Achaian, and at length openly took up
arms against them. Agis, indeed, the son of Eudamidas, and who reigned in Sparta, took the Achaian city Pellene, but was immediately after forced to relinquish its possession through Aratus and the Sicyonians. But Cleomenes the son of Leonidas and grandson of Cleonymus, who was a king of the other family, vanquished, in a great battle, Aratus and the Achaians at Dyme, and afterwards made a peace with the Achaians and Antigonus. This Antigonus was at that time the guardian of young Philip, and governed the Macedonians. But Philip was the son of Demetrius: and Antigonus was the cousin and father-in-law of Philip.

Cleomenes, therefore, having entered into an alliance with this Antigonus and the Achaians, and immediately after violating the league, plundered Megalopolis. And, indeed, the offensive conduct of the Lacedæmonians in Sellasia, towards the Achaians and Antigonus, happened on account of Cleomenes and his perjury. We shall, however, again make mention of Cleomenes in our account of the Arcadian affairs. But Philip the son of Demetrius, having received the government of the Macedonians as soon as he was of age from Antigonus, and this, indeed, not unwillingly, filled all Greece with terror, though he did not descend from Philip the son of Amyntas (for this Philip was in reality the master of his ancestors); but this dread was produced from his imitating the actions of Philip the son of Amyntas. This, indeed, was common to both the Philips, to procure to themselves the friendship of princes by money, viz. of such princes as had a greater regard to their own private gain than the good of their country, and on this account would not hesitate to betray their country for gold. This, too, was peculiar to the younger Philip, that at banquets, while the guests were pledging each other in a friendly way, he would poison the cups in order to destroy the company: for it does not appear to me, that this conduct was ever adopted by Philip the son of Amyntas. This wickedness, however, was familiar to
Philip the son of Demetrius. This Philip, too, fortified three cities, which he used as receptacles for his soldiers in his wars upon Greece: and through his insolence and contempt of the Greeks, he called these cities *keys*.

One of these cities was Corinth, in Peloponnesus, the tower of which he fortified; the second was Chalcis near Euripus, which he employed as a defence against Euboea, the Boeotians, and the Phocenses; and the third was Magnesia, which he opposed to the Thessalians and Aetolians. But he infested in the greatest degree the Athenians and Aetolians, both by attacking them in open fight, and unexpectedly plundering their lands. I have, indeed, already mentioned, in my account of the Attic affairs, the aid which was sent both by Greeks and Barbarians to the Athenians against Philip; and how the Athenians, being afflicted by the length of the war, were obliged to implore the assistance of the Romans. A little before this the Romans had sent assistance to the Aetolians, verbally, against Philip, but in reality it was rather for the purpose of exploring the Macedonian affairs. Then also they sent an army to the Athenians, which was commanded by Atilius: for this was the most illustrious of his names. Indeed the Romans are not denominated from their fathers after the manner of the Greeks, but each person has three names at least; for they often give to an individual more than three. Atilius, therefore, was ordered to defend the Athenians and Aetolians against Philip. And in other respects he acted agreeably to his orders; but in subverting the Euboean city Hestiaea, and Anticyra in Phocis, which were from necessity in subjection to Philip, he acted contrary to the will of the Romans. In consequence of this, as it appears to me, the senate sent Flaminius to succeed Atilius in the command of the army.
CHAPTER VIII.

Flaminius, therefore, at that time succeeding Atilius, vanquished the Macedonian guards, plundered Eretria, surrounded Corinth with his army, though it was invested by Philip with a guard, and demanded assistance of the Achaians for carrying on the siege, both on account of their alliance with the Romans, and their benevolence to Greece. The Achaians, however, who were indignant at the conduct of Atilius, also accused Flaminius, and asserted, that both of them had unjustly attacked certain ancient cities of Greece, which had not offended the Romans, and were unwillingly in subjection to the Macedonians; and that they foresaw the Romans intended to reign over them and all Greece, instead of Philip and the Macedonians. This affair being agitated by the Achaians in their assembly, was attended with much opposition: and at last such of them as were friends to the Romans prevailed, and assisted Flaminius in his siege of Corinth. But when the Corinthians were freed from subjection to the Macedonians, they immediately partook of the assembly of the Achaians, of which they were formerly members when Aratus and the Sicyonians cut off the guard at the Corinthian tower, and slew Persæus, who was placed over the guard by Antigonus. From this time the Achaians were called the allies of the Romans, and were cheerfully disposed to assist them in all their undertakings. For they penetrated into Macedonia with the Romans against Philip, and joined themselves to the Roman army against the Aetolians. And in the third place they fought with the Romans against Antiochus and the Syrians. Such of the Achaians, indeed, as opposed the Macedonians or Syrians, were in friendship with the Romans; but their enmity to the Macedonians was of an ancient date. Hence, when the
tyranny of Nabis in Sparta was dissolved, whose cruelty was intolerable, the Achaians immediately subjected Lacedæmonia to the Achaic assembly, and having judged the Lacedæmonians in the most accurate manner, demolished the wall of Sparta from its foundations.

This wall, indeed, had been raised in a hasty manner when Demetrius and Pyrrhus formerly besieged the city: but during the tyranny of Nabis, a wall was built of the utmost strength, and calculated to ensure the greatest safety to the inhabitants. The Achaians, therefore, threw down the wall of Sparta, and transferred the discipline which was forbidden to the Spartan youth by the laws of Lycurgus, to the Achaian youth. These particulars, however, will be more copiously discussed by me, in my account of the Arcadian affairs. But the Lacedæmonians indignantly bearing subjection to the Achaians, fled to Metellus and his colleagues. They did not, however, come with any view of announcing war upon Philip and the Macedonians, as prior to this a peace had been established between them, Philip, and the Romans; but that they might learn what those crimes were, with which Philip was branded by the Thessalians and certain of the Epirots. Philip, indeed, and the flower of the Macedonians, were destroyed by the Romans. For Flamininus and the Romans attacking Philip at Cynoccephale, he was in the first place vanquished in skirmishing, and when the armies on each side came to an engagement, Philip was conquered with so great a loss, that he was obliged to make his peace with the Romans, by drawing off the guards from all the Grecian cities which he had taken in war. Indeed, the peace which he obtained was more splendid than beneficial: and that the power of the Macedonians, which rose to such a height during the reign of Philip the son of Amyntas, would be subverted in the times of the other Philip, was predicted as follows by the Sibyl, but not without the assistance of divinity: "O Macedonians! who now
boast of your Argeadans, Philip reigning over you will be both your advantage and your loss. The former Philip will give kings to cities and people; but the latter will destroy all your honour, as he will be conquered by men from the east and the west." For the Romans who dwell towards the west, subverted the kingdom of the Macedonians: and Attalus and the Mysians their allies, who assisted them in this conquest, dwelt towards the east.

CHAPTER IX.

But then Metellus and the other ambassadors were of opinion, that they ought not to despise the complaints of the Lacedaemonians, but that they should advise the council of the Achaians to act more mildly towards the Lacedaemonians. The council, however, refused to listen either to them, or to any other persons who did not bring with them a decree of the senate respecting the purport of their embassy. Metellus, therefore, and his colleagues thinking, that they were insulted by the Achaians, when they returned to Rome, accused them to the senate, and charged them with some offences which were not entirely true. But the Lacedaemonians Areus and Aloibiades, who were the most illustrious persons in Sparta, but not just towards the Achaians, accused them much more invidiously than Metellus and his colleagues. For these persons being exiled by Nabis, were received by the Achaians; and after the death of Nabis, were brought back to Sparta, contrary to the will of the Lacedaemonian people. After their return, therefore, being introduced to the Roman senate, they with great alacrity opposed the Achaians. The Achaians, in consequence of this, sentenced them in their council to death. But the
Romans sent Appius Claudius, and other ambassadors, in order to determine justly between the Achaians and Lacedæmonians. Appius, however, and his colleagues by no means acted in a manner pleasing to the Achaians, as they brought with them Areus and Alcibiades, who were at that time most odious to the Achaians. This, too, gave offence to the Achaians in a great degree, that when these persons came to their assembly, they employed anger in their discourse rather than persuasion. In this assembly was Lycortas the Megalopolitan, who was not second to any one of the Arcadians in dignity, and who, confiding in the friendship of Philopóemen, exhibited in his discourse what was just with respect to the Achaions, and mingled with it some accusations against the Romans. But Appius and his associates paid no attention to his discourse, and declared, that in their opinion Areus and Alcibiades had not spoken any thing unjustly against the Achaians.

They likewise permitted the Lacedæmonians to send ambassadors to Rome, though this was contrary to the agreement between the Achaians and Romans. For it was decreed by them, that ambassadors should be sent to the Roman senate publicly by the council of the Achaians; and was at the same time ordered, that no city belonging to the assembly of the Achaians should employ a private embassy. A contrary embassy also was sent by the Achaians: and when the affair came to be agitated in the senate, with much disputatation on both sides, the Romans determined to send the same ambassadors again, as judges between the Lacedæmonians and Achaians, viz. Appius, and those that came with him before into Greece. These ambassadors immediately brought back to Sparta those that had been exiled by the Achaians, and sent back the fine to those who were condemned of acting unjustly by the Achaians, because they had withdrawn themselves before the affair was determined.
OF GREECE.

Indeed they did not free the Lacedæmonians from the assembly of the Achaians, but were willing that the decision of capital offences should be left to the Roman senate, leaving the Achaiaec council to determine crimes of an inferior nature. They likewise took care to fortify the Spartan city again with a new wall. And the Lacedæmonian exiles being restored to their country, formed all-various stratagems against the Achaians, hoping by the following means to revenge themselves on the Achaians in the most eminent degree. They persuaded the Messenians, who were considered as enemies, because they were privy to that conspiracy in which Philopæmen was slain, and on that account were banished by the Achaians;—these, together with the Achaian exiles, they persuaded to make their complaints to the senate of Rome. And for these, indeed, as they were themselves present, they easily procured a return. For Appius was highly favourable to the Lacedæmonians, and entirely adverse to the Achaians; and on this account the senate passed a decree, which was perfectly agreeable to the Messenian and Achaian exiles. Letters, therefore, were immediately sent to Athens and Ætolia, commanding them to restore the property belonging to these exiles. This affair, however, vehemently disturbed the Achaians, as they considered that, prior to this, they had been unjustly treated by the Romans, and that their ancient kindness towards them had not been received in the manner they might have expected: for they who had given great assistance to the Romans against Philip, the Ætolians, and Antiochus, were now placed after exiles, and men whose hands were by no means pure from guilt. However, they thought it best to comply with the commands of the Romans.
CHAPTER X.

But that most impious of all daring attempts, which leads men to betray their country and fellow-citizens for gain, was baneful to the Achaians, and did not fail to infest Greece at all times as soon as it was adopted. For the affairs of the Iones, when Darius the son of Hystaspes reigned over the Persians, were ruined through their fleet being betrayed by all the commanders of the three-oared Samian galleys, except eleven. After the Iones, the Medes also enslaved Eretria, owing to Philarus the son of Cyneus, and Euphorbus the son of Alcimachus, betraying their country to the enemy. For when Xerxes was making an irruption into Greece, the Aleuadse betrayed Thessaly; and Attaginus and Timagenidas, who were men of the first rank in Thebes, betrayed that city. But Xenias the Elean, in the Peloponnesian war, which took place between the Athenians and Spartans, endeavoured to betray Elis to Agis and the Lacedaemonians. After this, those who were called the guests of Lysander, could never rest till they had betrayed their country. But during the reign of Philip the son of Amyntas, you will alone find Sparta free from betrayers; and the other Grecian cities were ruined more by betrayers than the pestilence of former times. Such, indeed, was the good fortune of Alexander the son of Philip, that his felicity was not assisted by any prodigion which deserves to be mentioned. But when the Greeks suffered that loss in Lamia, Antipater, who hastened to bring the war into Asia, was willing to make a sudden peace, and thought it would make no difference to his affairs, if he suffered Athens and all Greece to be free. Demades, however, and other Athenian betrayers, persuaded Antipater to lay aside his philanthropy to the Greeks; and having terrified the Athenian people, were the occasion of a
guard of Macedonians being placed over Athens, and many other cities.

The following circumstance, too, confirms the truth of my narration. The Athenians, though they had received a great loss in Bœotia, two thousand of their army being taken prisoners, and a thousand slain, yet did not become subservient to Philip. But in Lamia, where they lost no more than two hundred men, they yielded to the Macedonians. And thus Greece was never free from the ills with which prodigity is attended. Thus, too, the Achaian Callicrates caused the Achaians at that time to become subject to the Romans. But the destruction of king Perseus and the Macedonian empire was the beginning of calamity to the Achaians. For Perseus having violated the league with the Romans which was made by his father, Philip, and leading an army against the king of the Sapeans (whom Archilochnus mentions in his Iambics) in the city Abrus, he drove him out of his dominions, though he was the ally of the Romans; and the Romans revenging the injuries of their allies, reduced Perseus and all his kingdoms into their own power, and sent ten ambassadors, in order to accommodate the Macedonian affairs to their own designs. These, as soon as they came into Greece, Callicrates endeavoured to circumvent by flattering attention of every kind, and the most persuasive speech; and he so influenced by his arts one of these ambassadors, who was a man by no means inclined to justice, that he persuaded him to join the assembly of the Achaians. This man, therefore, as soon as he became a member of the council, said, that the most powerful of the Achaians assisted Perseus with money in warring on the Romans; and on this account exhorted the Achaians to put them to death, as he could mention each of them by name. It appeared, however, to the assembly perfectly unjust, to mention openly the names of those that were favour-
able to Perseus: and yet it was by no means right to con-
demn any one, whose name was not announced.

Upon this, the Roman, whose intention was thus repro-
bated, had the boldness to say, that the commanders of the
Achaian forces were the persons he alluded to; as all of
them were favourable to Perseus and the Macedonians.
And this he said, in consequence of being previously tutored
by Callicrates. But then one Xenon, a man of considerable
authority among the Achaians, rose, and said, If this be the
case, I also am guilty, as having been a leader of the
Achaian forces; but yet I have not acted in any respect
unjustly towards the Romans; nor am I benevolently dis-
posed towards Perseus: and, conscious of this, I am willing
to be judged in the assembly of the Achaian forces, and to abide
by the decision of the Romans. Thus spoke Xenon, from
a consciousness of his integrity: but the Roman represented
this defence as nothing more than a pretext, and ordered all
those who were charged with prodigality by Callicrates, to be
sent to Rome to have their cause decided; — a thing which
the Greeks had never done before. For the most powerful
of the Macedonians, Philip, the son of Amyntas, and his
son Alexander, never required that their opponents should
be sent from Greece into Macedonia, in order to have their
cause decided, but permitted them to abide by the decision
of the Amphictyons. But the Romans at that time ordered
all those to be brought to Rome who were accused by Calli-
crates, whether they were guilty or innocent. The number
of the accused, indeed, was more than a thousand. And
the Romans, thinking that these had been already con-
demned by the Achaians, sent them to Tyrrhenia, and the
cities which are situated near it. Afterwards other ambas-
sadors and supplicators were sent to the Romans by the
Achaians; but without any effect. But when these Achaian
had been confined for seventeen years, the Romans at length
OF GREECE.

liberated not more than three hundred of them that were left in Italy, thinking that they had been punished sufficiently. Such of them, however, as endeavoured to escape, and were either immediately detected and brought back to Rome, or afterwards taken in the cities into which they had fled, were without farther delay condemned to death.

CHAPTER XI.

The Romans, too, again sent a man to determine the dispute between the Lacedæmonians and Argives concerning the boundaries of their dominions; and this was the senator Gallus, who both in his discourses and actions behaved in a very insolent manner, and treated both the cities with contempt. For he did not even deign to hear the cause of those cities which had been once renowned for their actions, and which had fought for a long time for the boundaries of their land, though prior to this, their cause had been determined by Philip the son of Amyntas: but he committed the judgment of all Greece to Callicrates, who was a most insolent man. And when the Ætolians came to him from Pleuron, and requested that they might be separated from the council of the Achaions, he permitted them to send their own ambassadors to Rome. Their revolt, too, from the Achaian assembly was approved by the Romans; and Sulpitius was ordered to separate from the assembly of the Achaions as many cities as he could; with which injunction he readily complied. In the meantime, the Athenians, rather impelled by necessity, than through any voluntary design, plundered the city Oropus, which was in subjection to them; because, through the injury which they sustained from the Macedonian war, they were the most indigent of all the Greeks. The Oropians in consequence of this fled to the Romans for protection; who, considering
them as having suffered unjustly, ordered the Sicyonians to take from the Athenians sufficient to recompense the injury which the Oropians had sustained. The Sicyonians, therefore, in consequence of the Athenians not attending on the day appointed for the decision of this dispute, inflicted on them a fine of five hundred talents. This the Athenians refused to pay; and on making application to the Romans, their fine was reduced to one hundred talents, which, however, was not paid.

Instead, therefore, of paying the fine, the Athenians so far prevailed on the Oropians, both by promises and gifts, that they suffered an Athenian guard to be admitted (hostages being given) within their town; yet on this condition, that if they sustained any fresh injury from the Athenians, then the Athenians should withdraw their guard, and restore the hostages. Not long after this the inhabitants of Oropus were injured by the guard; and ambassadors being sent on this occasion to the Athenians, the Oropians desired that they might be freed both from the compact and the guard, and that the hostages might be returned. But the Athenians replied, in answer to this, that, as the offence was committed by the guard, and not by the Athenian people, they should not comply with their demand; but that they would inflict on the guard the punishment which they deserved. The Oropians, however, were not satisfied with this answer, but fled to the Achaians, and requested them to revenge their cause: but the Achaians would not comply, on account of the esteem and reverence which they possessed for the Athenians. Upon this, the Oropians promised Menalcidas, who was a Lacedæmonian by birth, but who then commanded the forces of the Achaians, ten talents, if he could procure them the assistance of the Achaians. But Menalcidas, when he understood that Calliocrates possessed great wealth, on account of his friendship with the Romans, gave him half of the reward: and through the united arts of Calliocrates and
Menalcidas, aid was procured for the Oropians against the Athenians. When this was told by a certain person to the Athenians, they came before Oropus as swiftly as possible, and carrying away with them all that remained of the former spoil, removed likewise the guard. But afterwards Menalcidas and Callicrates persuaded the Achaians, who sent assistance too late, to make incursions upon the Attic territories. However, as assistance came to the Athenians from several parts of Greece, and particularly from Lacedaemon, the Achaians led back their army.

CHAPTER XII.

But the Oropians, though they received no assistance from the Achaians, yet paid Menalcidas the sum which they had promised him; and Menalcidas, as soon as he had received it, thought he should act very improperly, if he made Callicrates a partaker of his gain. First of all, therefore, he deluded him with expectations; afterwards by fraud; and last of all, he had the boldness to deny him his share. By this conduct, indeed, he confirmed the proverb:

A fire there is, than other fires more fierce,
A wolf, than other wolves more savage far,
A hawk, who swifter flies than other hawks.

For Callicrates, who was the most impious of all men at that period, was surpassed in perfidy by Menalcidas. But Callicrates being grieved that he had procured the enmity of the Athenians without having received the reward of his treachery, accused Menalcidas to the Achaians, on the cessation of his command, of a capital offence. His pretext was, that Menalcidas had acted as ambassador to the Romans against the Achaians, and had endeavoured to the utmost of his power to draw away Sparta from the assembly.
of the Achaian. But now Menalcidas, perceiving that he was arrived at the extremity of danger, gave three talents to Díeús a Megalopolitan, and his successor. Díeús being bound to his interest by this present, saved the life of Menalcidas, though contrary to the will of the Achaian. This affair, however, procuring much disgrace to Díeús both privately and publicly, in order to avert the odium that was raised against him, he raised the views of the Achaian to greater undertakings, and the hope of increasing prosperity; and employed the following pretext to cover the deception of his conduct.

The Lacedaemonians had fled to the Roman senate, with the view of settling a dispute about their dominions: but the senate referred every thing to the assembly of the Achaian, except the decision of capital offences. But Díeús, alluring the minds of the multitude by pleasing deception, pretended that the judgment of even capital crimes was referred to the Achaian. The Achaian, in consequence of this, as they gave credit to his report, began to sit in judgment on the capital offences of the Spartans. The Spartans, however, refused to abide by their decisions, charged Díeús with deception, and said, that they would again consult the Roman senate about this affair. But then the Achaian made use of another argument—that such cities as formed a part of their dominions, had no authority of their own, and could not privately send an embassy to the Romans without the general consent of the Achaian. A war between the Achaian and Lacedaemonians was the result of this dispute; and the Lacedaemonians, perceiving that they were not equally powerful in arms with the Achaian, sent ambassadors to the Achaian cities publicly, and privately to Díeús. But they were answered by the cities, that it was impossible for them to refuse obedience to the laws, as their forces were under the command of a prætor. This prætor was Díeús, who said, that he did not
fight with Sparta, but with those that disturbed the peace
of Sparta. And on the senate asking him who the persons
were that he considered as having acted unjustly, he gave in
the names of twenty-four of the first quality in Sparta. In
consequence of this, the opinion of one Agathenes was
adopted, a man who prior to this was illustrious and ho-
ised, but whose reputation was greatly increased, from
the advice which he gave on the present occasion. For he
persuaded those nobles whom Dices had required to be
surrendered to the Achaians to banish themselves volun-
tarily from Lacedæmonia, and not by their stay bring war
into Sparta; since, if they fled to Rome, they would in a
short time be restored by the Romans.

After, therefore, they had banished themselves, they were
capitally condemned by the Spartans. But Callicrates and
Dices were sent to Rome by the Achaians, that they might
declain in the senate against the exiled Spartans. And of
these, Callicrates died by the way, of disease, at Rhodes:
lor do I know, whether, if he had arrived at Rome, he
would in any respect have benefited the Achaians, or whe-
 ther he might not have been the cause of greater evils to
them. But when Dices and Menalcidas arrived at Rome,
and had said many things in opposition to each other, some
of which were far from being attended with a becoming pro-
priety, the senate at length gave them for answer, that they
would send ambassadors, who should determine the dif-
ference between the Lacedæmonians and Achaians. These
ambassadors proceeded very slowly on their journey; and
in consequence of this, a length of time intervened, suf-
ficient for Dices to circumvent the Achaians by his fraudu-
 lent conduct, and Menalcidas the Spartans. For Dices
persuaded the Achaians, that, by a decree of the Romans,
the Spartans would be entirely in their power; and Menal-
cidas so perfectly deceived the Lacedæmonians, that they
believed they should be freed by the Romans from the assembly of the Achaians.

CHAPTER XIII.

Again, therefore, in consequence of this opposition in sentiment, the Achaians began to make war upon the Lacedaemonians. But about the same time Metellus led the Roman army to Macedonia: for it was decreed by the senate, that he should war upon Andiscus, the son of Perseus, who was endeavouring to free himself from subjection to the Romans. Here Metellus, having gained an easy victory, persuaded those whom the Roman senate had sent into Asia, prior to their arrival thither, to speak to the leaders of the Achaian army, and exhort them not to war on the Lacedaemonians, but wait the arrival of the ambassadors from the Roman senate, who were sent as judges between the Lacedaemonians and Achaians. This advice they gave to Damocritus and the Achaians, who were then leading an army against the Lacedaemonians. However, perceiving they were not able to alter the intention of the Achaians, they passed over into Asia. But the Lacedaemonians took up arms with more alacrity than strength, and met the enemy with no other design than that of defending their own dominions. Not long after this they were vanquished by the Achaians; and a thousand soldiers who were in the flower of their age falling in the engagement, the rest saved themselves within their walls by a rapid flight. And if Damocritus had but hastened to pursue the enemy, the Achaians might have entered the gates with the flying Lacedaemonians. But at that very time he sounded a retreat, and afterwards turned himself to excursions and devastations of the land, rather than besieging the city. Hence, when he
OF GREECE.

led back his army, he was fined by the Achaians for pro-
duction. fifty talents; and, being unable to pay it, fled from
Peloponnesus.

But Diæus was proclaimed general of the army after Da-
mocritus; and Metel/us being sent as ambassador to him,
he caused a cessation of arms to take place between the
Achaians and Spartans, till the arrival of those from the
senate, who were to determine their quarrel. The crafty
general, too, employed the following stratagem against the
Lacedæmonians. All the cities which surrounded Sparta
he allured to benevolence towards the Achaians, and brought
into them guards, which might be subservient to the Achaians
in attacking Sparta. But the Lacedæmonians made Me-
 nalcidias the general of their army, who, though he perceived
that the Lacedæmonians were reduced to the greatest want
both of men and money, and besides this, that their land
was in a most unprolific state; yet in open violation of
the truce, by making a sudden excursion, he took and
plundered the town Iasus, which was in the boundaries of the
Laconic region, but at that time in subjection to the
Achaians. The war, however, being again renewed between
the Lacedæmonians and Achaians, he was accused by the
citizens, and not being able to bear their reproaches at
a time when a new war was raised, he destroyed himself by
poison. And such was the end of Menalcidas, a man who
was at that time the most unskillful general of the Lacedæ-
monians, and prior to this had acted in the most unjust
manner towards the Achaians.

CHAPTER XIV.

At length, those that were to determine the dispute
arrived in Greece, among whom was Orestes, who ordered
the principal persons in each city, together with Dierna, to attend him. On their arrival, Orestes told them, that the Roman senate were of opinion, that neither the Lacedaemonians, nor Corinth itself, ought to form a part of the Achaic dominions; and that besides this, Argos and Heraclia, which is near Oeta, and the Arcadian Oechomonians, ought to be separated from the Achaic assembly; as these people had no alliance with the Achaians, and their cities were in after times only subjected to the Achaians. While Orestes was thus speaking, the Achaian magistrates not enduring to stay any longer, and hear the whole of his discourse, left the house, and called the Achaians to council. These, as soon as they knew the opinion of the Roman senate, immediately attacked the Spartans, who at that time were in Corinth, and plundered all those whom they either suspected or knew to be Lacedaemonians from their being shaved, or from the shoes which they wore, or any other part of their clothing; and even drew out by force and assaulted those that had fled for refuge into the house of Orestes. Upon this Orestes and the ambassadors that were with him endeavoured to restrain the fury of the Achalans, and exorted them to remember that they had commenced hostilities against the Romans themselves. Not many days after this, the Achaians imprisoned all the Lacedaemonians that they had taken, and dismissed those of a different country. They, likewise, sent other Achaians to Rome, and among these Theridae, as the leader of the embassy. But these happening to meet by the way with other ambassadors, who were sent from Rome on the same account, returned home.

Dissus had now completed the period of his command, and Critolaurus was chosen as his successor. This man was inflamed with a vehement and intemperate desire of warring on the Romans; and as soon as the new Roman arbitrators arrived, he met them at Tegea, an Arcadian city, and took care to prevent them from delivering their message to the
general assembly of the Achaians. For in their hearing, he sent messengers, ordering the Achaians to assemble; but privately he desired the members of the assembly not to meet together. The council, therefore, not assembling, Critolaus plainly evinced that he had deceived the Romans; especially when he told them, they might depend on the assembly meeting on the sixth month, and that he could not lawfully treat on public affairs in any other place than the assembly of the Achaians. The ambassadors, therefore, finding that they were deceived, returned home. But Critolaus collecting together the Achaians in Corinth, persuaded them to carry war into Sparta, and openly take up arms against the Romans. It often happens, indeed, that the event of war is unsuccessful to kings and cities, and that destruction ensues rather from the interference of demons than the fault of the warriors; but rashness, when accompanied with imbecility, should be rather called madness than misfortune. This madness, indeed, injured Critolaus and the Achaians. But Pytheas, who was at that time the general of the Boeotians in Thebes, incited the Achaians to war on the Romans, as the Thebans of their own accord offered to assist them in carrying on the war. The Thebans, however, were punished for this by the orders of Metellus, and were obliged to pay a fine to the Phocenses, in the first place, because they had invaded their land in an hostile manner; in the second place to the Euboenses, because they had laid waste their country; and in the third place to the Amphissenses, because they had cut their corn during the time of harvest. But the Romans having learnt from their ambassadors and the letters of Metellus the unjust conduct of the Achaians, ordered Mummius, who was at that time their consul, to lead a fleet and land army against the Achaians.
CHAPTER XV.

But Metellus, as soon as he found that Mummius was marching with an army into Achaia, endeavoured with all the diligence possible to bring the war to a conclusion before the arrival of Mummius. He, therefore, sent messengers to the Achaians, who exhorted them to give up the Lacedaemonians, and such other cities as were in subjection to the Romans; adding, that if they complied with this request, he would promise to procure their pardon from the Romans. At the same time he led his army into Macedonia through Thessaly and the Lamiacan bay. But Critolaus and the Achaians were so far from acceding to the conditions proposed by Metellus, that they laid siege to Heraclea, in consequence of the inhabitants refusing to obey the Achaians. However, as soon as Critolaus understood by his spies, that Metellus and the Romans had passed over Sperchius, he fled to Scarphea, a Locrian city, and had not the boldness to stay in the strait between Heraclea and Thermopylae. Indeed he was struck with so great a terror, that the celebrity of the place was not able to raise his hopes; for it was here that the Lacedaemonians exhibited the most splendid specimens of courage against the Medes, and the Athenians against the Gauls. Metellus, however, pursued, and overtook him a little before he reached Scarphea, and slew the greatest part of his forces; at the same time taking not less than a thousand prisoners. But Critolaus was neither seen alive after the battle, nor found among the dead bodies. If, indeed, he had the boldness to merge himself in the muddy marsh of the sea near the mountain Oeta, he must have been entirely absorbed in its profundity. However, other things may be conjectured respecting the death of Critolaus. But about a thousand chosen Arcadians, who had joined themselves to Critolaus,
fled to Elatea in Phocis, and were received into that city, on account of a certain alliance which they had with them: though as soon as the misfortune of Critolaus and the Achaians was told to the Phocenses, the Arcadians were ordered to leave Elatea.

In consequence of this they returned to Peloponnesus, and fell in with the army of Metellus at Charonea. And here, indeed, divine justice inflicted on them: the punishment which they deserved: for they were slain by the Romans in that very place, in which they had deserted the Greeks when they fought against Philip and the Macedonians. The command of the Achaians, therefore, returned again to Dives, who, imitating the conduct of Miltiades, prior to the battle of Marathon, gave liberty to the slaves, and mustered all the Achaians and Arcadians of a proper age. By this means he collected, together an army of six hundred horsemen, and fourteen thousand heavy-armed foot. And in this instance, indeed, nothing could exceed the stupidity of Dives, who, though he knew how unhappily Critolaus, and all the preparation of the Achaians, had been vanquished by Metellus, yet chose out of his army four thousand men, and sent them to Megara under the command of Alcamenes. They were sent to this place for the purpose of defending the city of the Megarenses; and that they might prevent Metellus and the Romans from marching any farther into Peloponnesus. But Metellus having vanquished the Arcadians at Charonea, marched with his army against Thebes. At that time Heraclea was besieged by the Thebans together with the Achaians; and both these parties had been present at Scarpheia. But then, on the approach of Metellus, the Theban women and men of every age abandoning the city, wandered through Boeotia, and fled to the tops of the mountains. Metellus, however, would not suffer either the temples of the gods to be burnt, or the houses to be thrown down; and ordered, that no one
THE DESCRIPTION

should slay any of the other Thebans, or impede them in their flight, but that they should by all means bring Pytheas to him, if they happened to take him. Pytheas, therefore, was immediately found, and punished by Metellus as he deserved. But as soon as the Roman army drew near to Megara, Alcemenes with his guard immediately fled to Corinth to the camp of the Achaians; and the Megarenses surrendered the city to the Romans without any contention. Metellus, however, as soon as he came to the Isthmus, invited the Achaians to conditions of peace: for he had a vehement desire of finishing the Macedonian and Achaian war. The folly, however, of Dirus prevented him from obtaining his desire.

CHAPTER XVI.

While these things were transacting, Mummius bringing with him Orestes, who prior to this had been an arbitrator between the Achaians and Lacedaemonians, arrived about break of day at the Roman army; and sending Metellus with his forces into Macedonia, staid himself in the Isthmus till all his army was collected together. In his army he had three thousand five hundred horse, and twenty-three thousand foot. The Cretan archers, too, came to his assistance; and Philopoemen with a band sent by Attalus from Pergamus, which is above Caicus. Mummius was likewise assisted by some Italian forces. But there was a guard before his army, at about the distance of twelve stadia from the camps. This guard, which did not keep a very careful watch through too much confidence in the strength of the Romans, was attacked by the Achaians, who slew many of them, but pursued still more of them to their camps, and took five hundred shields. The Achaians elated with this victory, marched to battle before the Romans. As soon, however,
as Mummius faced them with his army, and the Roman horse opposed that of the Achaians, the Achaian horse immediately fled, and did not even sustain the first impression of the Roman horse. The heavy armed foot of the Achaians were indeed very much dejected by the flight of the horse, but yet had the boldness to attack the Roman foot; and, though they were overpowered by the multitude of their enemies, and worn out with wounds, yet they stood their ground, till a thousand chosen men of the Romans attacked them on their side, and thus put them to flight. If, indeed, Dais, after the battle, had been bold enough to enter into Corinth, and receive within the walls the flying remains of his army, the Achaians, perhaps, if the affair had terminated in a siege and the war protracted, might have obtained milder conditions from Mummius.

But now, as soon as the Achaians began to turn their backs, Dais immediately fled to Megalopolis, by no means acting towards the Achaians in the same manner as Callistratus the son of Empedus acted towards the Athenians. For Callistratus, who commanded the Athenian horse in Sicily, when the Athenian foot, and those that partook of his expedition, were cut off near the river Asinarus, had the boldness to force his way with the horse that were with him through the midst of the enemy; and afterwards having escaped to Catana with a great part of his forces, turned back again the same way towards Syracuse, and attacked those that were plundering the Athenian camps. Here, having slain five of the enemy, he at last fell with certain deadly wounds from his horse, after he had procured great glory both to the Athenians and himself, and saved the horse under his command. But Dais, instead of acting in this heroic manner, after the loss of the Achaian forces, came himself to the Megalopolitans, as the messenger of the impending calamity; slew his wife with his own hand, that she might not be made a captive; and at last destroyed himself
by poison. Indeed, as he was equally avaricious with Menalcidas, so was he equally timid in the article of death.

But those Achaïans that had saved themselves in Corinth after the battle, abandoned it as soon as it was night, and were accompanied in their flight by many of the Corinthians: and Mummius, though he saw that the gates were open, restrained his army from entering Corinth, fearing that some ambush might be laid for him within the walls. On the third day, however, after the fight he took Corinth, and burnt it. Of the men that were found within the walls, the Romans slew a great part; and Mummius made slaves of the women and children. The slaves, too, that had been liberated by and fought for the Achaïans, and that did not fall in the beginning of the battle, were exposed to sale. The votive offerings, and other ornaments worthy of the greatest admiration, were carried to Rome, and what remained Mummius gave to Philopoemen, the leader of the forces sent by Attalus; and even at present these spoils taken from the Corinthians are to be seen among the Pergamenians. With respect to the other cities that warred against the Romans, Mummius threw down their walls, and took away the arms of the citizens, and accomplished all this before messengers were sent to him from Rome, to inform him how he was to act. But as soon as these messengers arrived, he put an end to the Democratic government of these cities; established in its stead Oligarchies; laid a tribute on all Greece; forbade the wealthy the possession of land beyond their own boundaries; and abolished the assemblies of the several Achaic nations, whether they were held among the Phocenses, Boeotians, or in any other part of Greece. Not many years, however, after this, the Romans were moved to compassion for the Greeks; permitted each nation to restore its ancient assembly, and to possess land beyond its own boundaries; and remitted the fine which Mummius had laid on the several cities. For he had ordered the Boeotians and
OF GREECE.

Eubœsenses to pay the Heracleote one hundred talents; and the Achaians two hundred to the Lacedæmonians. Greece, therefore, being reduced into the form of a Roman province, a praetor is even at present sent to it from Rome. This governor the Romans do not call the praetor of Greece, but of Achaia; because the Greeks were subdued at that period when the Achaians held the first rank among them. This Achaic war, too, was finished when Antitheus was the Athenian archon, in the one hundred and sixtieth Olympiad, in which Diodorus the Sicyonian was victorious.

CHAPTER XVII.

At this time Greece was in a condition imbecile in the extreme, being afflicted in its parts, and reduced to indigence by some divine power. For Argos, which in the times called heroic had arrived at a very high degree of power, together with its being transferred to the dominions of the Dorienses, lost the benevolence of fortune. And the Attic nation, which began to flourish again after the Peloponnesian war and the loss occasioned by pestilence, was not many years after oppressed by the vigorous power of the Macedonians. The wrath of Alexander was fatal to the Boeotian Thebes. The Theban Epaminondas, and afterwards the war of the Achaïans, injured the Lacedæmonians. And lastly, when the empire of the Achaïans, which, being cut off from Greece, resembled a mutilated tree, began to blossom again, the improbity of its generals prevented its increase. Many ages after this, the empire of the Romans devolved upon Nero, who gave liberty to all the Grecian cities, without injuring the Roman empire. For, instead of Greece, he gave the Romans Sardinia, an island in the highest degree fertile and flourishing. When, therefore, I consider this
THE DESCRIPTION

action of Nero, Plato the son of Ariston appears to me to have spoken most truly, when he says, that unjust actions, which for their magnitude and boldness are of a very transcendent nature, are by no means the offspring of vulgar souls, but of such as are noble, and at the same time corrupted by a depraved education. This advantageous condition, however, of the Greeks was of no long duration. For when Vespasian succeeded to the empire after Nero, they were disturbed by intestine seditions; and Vespasian having imposed on them an annual tribute, ordered them to obey Roman magistrates, because he said the Greeks had now learned the use of liberty. And such are the particulars which I find happened to the Achaians.

But the river Larissus forms the boundaries of the Achaians and Eleans: and there is a temple of Minerva Larissae on the banks of the river. The Achaian city Dyme is distant about four hundred stadia from Larissus. Philip the son of Demetrius, when he warred on the Achaians, had this city alone in his possession: and on this account, the Roman general, Olympias, gave up Dyme to be plundered by his army. But Augustus afterwards bestowed it on the Patreases. In former times it was called Pales: but when it came to be in subjection to the Ionians, it obtained its present denomination. I do not, however, clearly know, whether it was thus named from a woman Dyme, a native of this place, or from Dymas the son of Aegimius. But if any one reads the elegy inscribed on the statue of Oebotus, he will find great reason to doubt concerning the name of this city. For this Oebotus was a Dymasian who conquered in the stadium in the seventh Olympiad; but the statue was dedicated in Olympia, in consequence of an oracle given at Delphos in the eightieth Olympiad. Upon this statue there is the following epigram:

Oebotus in the stadium victor, raised
His country Pales in Achaia's realms to fame.
That the epigram, therefore, calls the city Pales, and not Dyme, ought not to give any disturbance to the reader. For the more ancient names are employed by the Greeks, in poetical compositions, instead of such as are more recent. Thus they call Amphiaraus and Adrastus, Phoronides, and Theseus Erechthides.

At a small distance from the city, and in the road on the right hand is the sepulchre of Sostratus. This youth was a native of the place; and was, as they say, one of the lovers of Hercules. They farther add, that Sostratus dying while Hercules was yet among men, Hercules raised this tomb for him, and sacrificed to him the hairs of his head. At present, too, there is a pillar placed over a heap of earth, and upon it a statue of Hercules. It is likewise said, that the natives perform funeral sacrifices to Sostratus. Besides this the Dymaei have a temple of Minerva, and a statue of the goddess, which is very ancient. They have also another temple sacred to the mother Dindymene, and Attes. But who Attes is, I have not been able to discover, because it is an arcane affair. Hermesianax, indeed, a writer of elegies, says, that he was the son of the Phrygian Calaus, and that he was produced by his mother incapable of begetting children. That when he arrived at manhood he migrated to Lydia, and established there the orgies of the Great Mother. And that he was so highly honoured by the goddess, that it excited the indignation of Jupiter, who sent a boar into the Lydian fields, by which other Lydians were destroyed, and Attes himself was slain. The Gauls who inhabit Persiaus, confirm by their conduct the truth of this relation, for they cannot bear to touch swine. However, they report things concerning Attes far different from the above.

Jupiter, say they, while he was asleep emitted his seed on the earth; this in process of time produced a daemon with twofold private parts, viz. with the parts of man and woman united. The name of this daemon was Agdistis: and the
gods, in consequence of being terrified at him, cut off his virile parts. From these parts an almond tree was produced, the fruit of which, when ripe, the daughter of the river Sangarius gathered and concealed in her bosom. The fruit, however, immediately vanished, and she became pregnant. As the result of her pregnancy, she was delivered of a boy, who being left in the woods was educated by a goat, and who, as he grew in years, possessed a beauty surpassing that of the human form, and through which Agdistis fell in love with him. But when he arrived at manhood, his friends sent him to Pesinus, in order that he might marry the daughter of the king. Here, as they were singing the nuptial song, Agdistis presented himself before them, and Attes becoming insane, cut off his private parts. The king's daughter; too, that was given to Attes, cut off her privities. But Agdistis was grieved that Attes had acted in this manner, and obtained of Jupiter that no part of the body of Attes should either become putrid or waste away. And such are the particulars which are reported about Attes. In the Dymean land, too, there is a monument of the victory of Oeobotas in the race. This Oeobotas was the first of the Achaians that was crowned in the Olympic games, but not receiving any considerable honour from his fellow-citizens, they say, that he made dire execrations, that no Achaian might conquer in these games. The Achaians afterwards understood the reason why they could never obtain the Olympic crown (for some god took care to render the execration of Oeobotas effectual), by sending certain persons to the oracle at Delphos; and among other honours which they paid to Oeobotas, dedicated his statue in Olympia; in consequence of which, Sostratus Pelleneus conquered boys in the stadium. Indeed, even at present, it is usual with the Achaians, previous to their contending in the Olympic games, to perform funeral sacrifices to Oeobotas, and when they have been victorious in these games, to crown his statue.
OF GREECE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

On proceeding from Dyme to about the distance of forty stadia, you will see the river Pirus pouring itself into the sea: and near it is an Achaian city, Olenus, which was formerly inhabited. Those, indeed, that make mention of Hercules and his labours, particularly mention by what king he was entertained in Olenus, and what gifts he hospitably received from him. And that the city Olenus was small from the very first, is evinced by the elegy composed by Hermesimax upon the Centaur Eurytion. But in process of time, they say, that the inhabitants deserted this city on account of its imbecility, and migrated to Piræ and Euryteæ. The city Patræ is about eighty stadia distant from the river Pirus: and not far from it the river Glæcus runs into the sea. Those who describe the antiquities of Patræ, say, that a native of this place, whose name was Eumelus, first dwelt in this country, and reigned over a few men. That Triptolemus came to him from the Attic land, from whom Eumelus received mild fruits, and was instructed in the art of building a city; and that he called the first city which he built Aroe, from the cultivation of the soil. That as soon as Triptolemus betook himself to rest, Antheas the son of Eumelus yoked the dragons of Triptolemus to the car, and attempted to sow seed from it; but that he fell from the chariot and died. And lastly, that Triptolemus and Eumelus called, by joint consent, the city which they had built, Anthea, from the name of the youth. They also relate, that the city Messatis was built between Anthea and Aroe. However, I shall leave the Patrenses to relate what they report concerning Bacchus, as that he was educated in Messatis, and being circumvented by the stratagems of Peis,
arrived at the very extremity of danger, the Patrenses at
the same time not opposing the name Messatis.

But the Iones being afterwards expelled by the Achaioans,
Patreus the son of Preugenes, and the grandson of Agenor,
forbade the Achaioans to inhabit Anthea and Messatis; and
enlarging the wall towards Aroe, so that Aroe might be inclosed by it, he called the city Patrae, after his own name.
But Agenor was the father of Preugenes, the son of Areus,
and the grandson of Ampyx: and Ampyx was the son of
Pelias, who descended from Aeginetas, Deritus, Harpalus,
Amyclas, and Lacedæmon. And such were the ancestors
of Patreus. The Patrenses, too, alone of all the Achaioans,
once privately passed over into Ætolia, through their friend-
ship to the Ætolians, that they might assist them in their
war against the Gauls. However, having suffered greatly
in the war, and many of them being oppressed with want,
they left Patrae, a few of them excepted. Those that were
left, being scattered about the country, through a desire of
procuring employment, began to inhabit the small towns,
Messatis, Anthea, Boline, Argyra, and Aroe. But Augustus,
either thinking that Patrae would form a convenient port
for ships, or for some other reason, brought back again from
the other small cities all the inhabitants to Patrae; and like-
wise peopled it with the Achaioans from Rhypeæ, after he had
raised that city from its foundations. Besides this, he gave
liberty to the Patrenses alone of all the Achaioans, and be-
stowed upon them such other benefits as the Romans are
accustomed to confer upon their colonies. But the Patrenses
have a temple in their tower of Laphria Diana. The name
of the goddess is foreign, and the statue was brought hither
from some other place. For Calydon and the other parts of
Ætolia, being laid waste by Augustus, in order that Nicopolls
above the promontory Actium might be inhabited, the
Patrenses by this means obtained the statue of Laphria
Diana.
OF GREECE.

In a similar manner, too, with respect to the other statues which were taken away from Ætolia and the Acarnanes, Augustus ordered many of them to be carried to Nicopolis, and among many other of the Calydonian spoils, gave the Patrenses the statue of Laphria, which they venerate even at present in their tower. They say, that the appellation Laphria was given to the goddess by a Phocensian man: for Laphrius the brother of Castalius dedicated an ancient statue of Diana among the Calydonians. There are others who think that this name originated from the anger of the goddess towards the Calydonians, on account of Oeneus becoming in time more gentle. The figure of the statue is that of a huntress, and is made of ivory and gold. Its artificers were the Naupactians, Menæchus, and Soidas, who are conjectured to have lived not long after the Sicyonian Canachus, and Callon Æginetes. The Patrenses, too, celebrate a festival in honour of Diana Laphria every year, in which they sacrifice to her after the manner of their country. For they place green wood circularly about an altar, each piece being sixteen cubits in length: but within the altar they place the driest wood. They frame, too, for the time of the festival, steps by which they may ascend to the altar, and bring smooth earth, which they lay on the steps of the altar. They first of all send forth a procession in honour of the goddess, adorned with most magnificent apparel, and a virgin, who acts as priestess, brings up the rear of the procession, riding in a chariot drawn by two elephants. On the following day the sacrifices to the goddess are performed with great earnestness both privately and publicly. For they throw living animals on the altar, birds fit to be eaten, and victims of all kinds; and besides these, savage boars, stags and goats, the young of wolves and bears, some of the most perfect of wild beasts, and last of all the fruit of wild trees. After this they set the wood on fire. And when this was done, I myself once saw a bear, and other animals that were
placed on the altar, thrown by the violence of the flames beyond the altar; and some of these through their strength fled away. They were, however, brought back again and placed on the pyre: and they report, that no one was injured by the savage animals.

CHAPTER XIX.

But there is a sepulchre of Eurypylus between the temple of Laphria and the altar. Who this Eurypylus was, and on what account he came hither, I shall explain after I have first described the condition of the inhabitants in these places, prior to his arrival. When the Iones possessed Aroe, Anthea, and Messatis, there was a grove and temple of Diana Tricllaria in a certain edifice. The Iones celebrated a festival every year, and offered sacrifices to the goddess, which lasted all night. A virgin acted as priestess till she was given in marriage. They say, therefore, it once happened that a most beautiful virgin, whose name was Comætho, officiated as priestess to the goddess; and that one Melanippus, a young man who surpassed those of his own age, both in other respects, and in the beauty of his person, fell in love with her. As soon, therefore, as Melanippus had inflamed the virgin with a love equal to his own, he asked permission of her father to marry her. It happens, however, that old age, amongst its other defects, is for the most part averse from gratifying the desires of youth, and particularly that it does not sympathise with young men in the torments of love. Hence Melanippus, who would have willingly led away the no less willing Comætho, was far from finding either his own or the virgin's parents disposed to the match. But the passion of Melanippus as well as that of many others evinced, that love occasions men to
OF GREECE.

violate the laws of men, and profane the honours of the
gods: for Comætho and Melanippus satisfied the impulse
of love in the temple of Diana; and afterwards used the
temple just as if it had been a bedchamber. The inhabi-
tants, however, immediately experienced the wrath of
Diana for this pollution of her temple: for the land yielded
no fruit, unusual diseases abounded, and, in consequence of
them, a mortality greater than usual prevailed.

Oppressed with such calamities, the inhabitants fled to
the Delphic oracle; and the Pythian deity accused Melan-
ippus and Comætho as the authors of their misfortunes.
The oracle, too, ordered them to sacrifice the offenders to
Diana, and immolate every year to the goddess a virgin and
young man of surpassing beauty. On account, therefore,
of this sacrifice, the river which flows near the temple of
Triclaria Diana, came to be called Ameïlichos, or implacable;
for prior to this, it was without a name. And thus the pro-
fane deed of Melanippus and Comætho brought destruction
on many young men and virgins, who had not by their
conduct offended the goddess, and caused great affliction
to their parents. I consider, however, the lovers, Melanippus
and Comætho, as exempt from the calamity: for to man
alone the enjoyment of a beloved object is equivalent to
life. But this sacrifice of the human species to Diana is said
to have ceased on the following occasion. The inhabitants,
prior to this, had known from a Delphic oracle, that a foreign
king would arrive in their country, bringing with him a
foreign daemon, and that when this happened, their sacrifice
to Triclaria would cease. Troy, therefore, being taken, and
the spoils divided among the Greeks, Eurypylus the son of
Euæmon received a chest, which contained a statue of
Bacchus, the work, as they say, of Vulcan, and the gift of
Jupiter to Dardanus.

Of this chest there are two reports. According to some,
it was left by Æneas when he fled from Troy: but accord-
ing to others, it was thrown away by Cassandra, as she knew that it would prove unfortunate to any Greek who should find it. Eurypylus, therefore, opened the chest, saw the statue, and in consequence of seeing it, became immediately insane; and this in such a manner, that though he sometimes enjoyed the use of his reason, yet he passed the greater part of his life in a state of madness. In consequence, therefore, of this malady, he did not sail to Thessaly, but to Cirrha, and the bay in that place. From hence he proceeded to Delphos, and inquired of the oracle by what means he might be liberated from his disease. The oracle answered him, that he should dedicate the chest, and take up his abode in that place in which he should meet with men sacrificing after a foreign manner. The wind, therefore, impelled the vessels of Eurypylus to the sea near Aroe; and he landing on the shore of Aroe, met with a boy and a virgin whom they were leading along in order to be sacrificed on the altar of Triclaris Diana. Without any great difficulty, therefore, he perceived that this sacrifice was that to which the oracle alluded. The natives, too, recollected the oracle which had been given them, on seeing a king whom they had never beheld, and suspected that the chest contained the statue of some divinity. And thus was Eurypylus freed from his disease, and the country from human sacrifices; and the river was now called Meilichos, or mild. Some persons, however, have asserted in their writings, that the above particulars did not happen to the Thessalian Eurypylus; but that Eurypylus the son of Dexamenus, who reigned in Olenus, came with Herculés against Troy, and received from him the chest. In other respects, they agree with what we have related. But for my own part, I cannot be persuaded that Hercules was ignorant of what the chest contained; or that if he knew its contents, he would have given it to a man who was nothing more than his associate in war. Indeed, the Patrenses are not acquainted with any other Eurypylus
OF GREECE. 199

than he who was the son of Euseemon, to whom they perform
funeral sacrifices every year, after the celebration of the
festival of Bacchus.

CHAPTER XX.

The deity who was concealed in this chest was called
Æsymnetes. But those who principally reverence the god
are nine men, who are selected out of the chief persons in
the city, and as many women of equal rank: and on one
night of the festival the priest exposes the chest to public
view; for such is the honour to which that night is de-
stined. All the children of the inhabitants, too, descend to
the river Meilichios, crowned with ears of corn, and adorned
after the ancient manner in which youths and virgins were
led to be sacrificed to Diana. At present, these crowns,
made of ears of corn, are dedicated to the goddess. But
after they have washed themselves in the river, and have
put on crowns of ivy, they proceed to the temple of Æsym-
netes. And such is the manner of their sacrificing to
Æsymnetes. Within the inclosure of the temple of Laphria
Diana there is a temple of Minerva, who is called Panac-
chaïs; and whose statue is of ivory and gold. But on pro-
cceeding to the inferior part of the city, you will see a temple
of the mother Dindymene, in which Attes is honoured.
They do not, however, exhibit any statue of the god: but
there is a stone statue of Dindymene. In the forum there
is a temple of Jupiter Olympius: and the god sits on a
throne, near which Minerva stands. Near the temple of
Olympian Jupiter there is a statue of Juno, and a temple of
Apollo, which contains a naked brazen statue of the god,
with shoes on its feet; and the statue stands with one of its
feet on the skull of an ox. For that Apollo is particularly
delighted with oxen, is shown by Alcæus in his hymn to
Mercury, in which he speaks of oxen that were stolen by Mercury from Apollo. Indeed, prior to Alceus, Homer asserts, that Apollo fed the herds of Laomedon for a reward: and in the Iliad, he represents Neptune thus speaking:

"Troy's walls I raised (for such were Jove's commands)
And yon proud bulwarks grew beneath my hands:
Thy task it was to feed the bellowing droves
Along fair Ida's vales and pendent groves."

It may be conjectured, therefore, that Apollo was thus represented with his foot on the skull of an ox, in consequence of these assertions of Alceus and Homer.

But in that part of the forum which is in the open air, there is a statue of Minerva, and before it the sepulchre of Patreus. After the forum follows the Odeum, or music-school, in which there is a statue of Apollo well worthy of inspection. This was made by the Patrenses out of the spoils which they took, when they alone of all the Achaians assisted the Ætolians against the Gauls. The Odeum here surpasses in ornament every place of a similar kind in Greece, except that at Athens. For the Athenian Odeum is superior to this, both in magnitude and the whole of its apparatus. But it was raised by an Athenian whose name was Herodes, in memory of his wife. This circumstance I made no mention of in my description of the Attic affairs, because I had composed that account before Herodes raised the Odeum. On leaving the forum, and proceeding to that part of Patrae which contains the temple of Apollo, there is a gate at the extremity of this place, and upon it golden statues, viz. Patreus, Preugenæs, and Atherion, the two last of whom were boys, at the same time that Patreus was a boy. Along this road, and opposite to the forum, there is a grove and temple of Limnatis Diana. They report, that when the Dorienses possessed Lacedæmonia and Argos, Preugenæs, in consequence of a dream, took away the statue of Limnatis
Diæ from Sparta; and that one of his servants, in whom he had the greatest confidence, assisted him in his undertaking. This statue, after it was brought by Pregenes from Sparta, was preserved in Mesoa. However, when they celebrate the festival of the goddess Limnatis, one of the servants belonging to the sacred rites, carries this statue from Mesoa to Patæ, and places it in the grove within the city. In this grove the Patrenses have, likewise, other temples: but these are not in the open air, but there is an entrance to them through certain porches. The statue of Ἐσκυλαπιος which is here is made of stone, except the garment: but the statue of Minerva is made of ivory and gold. Before the temple of Minerva is the sepulchre of Pregenes, to whom they perform funeral sacrifices every year, at the time in which they celebrate the festival of Limnatis Diana. But not far from the theatre there are two temples, one of Nemesis, the other of Venus. The statues of these goddesses are very large, and are made of white stone.

CHAPTER XXI.

In this part of the city, too, there is a temple of Bacchus, who is called Calydonius: for the statue of the god was brought from Calydon. While Calydon stood, Coresus was one of the priests of Bacchus, who suffered very unjustly through love. For he was in love with a virgin Callirhoe, but so unfortunately, that the hatred of the virgin rose in proportion to the ardour of his love. When Coresus, therefore, found that he was unable, either by prayers or gifts, to move the virgin to love him, he came in a suppliant posture to the statue of Bacchus, who heard the prayer of his priest, and afflicted the Calydonians with a degree of insanity like that produced by intoxication, through which great numbers of them continually perished. In conse-
quence of this, the inhabitants fled to the oracle in Dodona. For, at that time, those that dwelt here, as also the Aetolians, and their neighbours the Acarnanes and Epirots, placed great confidence in the oracles which were delivered from the oak, and in the prophetic properties of doves. The oracle, therefore, of Dodona, told them, that their calamity was produced by the anger of Bacchus, and that they would not be liberated from their disease till Coresus either sacrificed Callirhoe, or some other person who had the courage to die in her stead. As the virgin, however, found no one willing to procure her safety by dying for her, she fled for refuge to those by whom she had been educated. But here finding no assistance, nothing now remained for her but to die. Every thing, therefore, being prepared for the sacrifice agreeably to the admonition of the Dodonean oracle, she was led after the manner of a victim to the altar. Coresus himself presided over the sacrifice: but he, giving way to his love, and not to his anger, slew himself instead of Callirhoe; and by this means gave the most insane specimen of love of any person we are acquainted with. Callirhoe, however, as soon as she saw that Coresus had slain himself, found her hatred of the youth vanish, and love succeed in its stead. Hence, through pity of Coresus, and shame for her behaviour towards him, she cut her throat by the fountain which is not far from the port in Calydon: and this fountain afterwards was called Callirhoe from the name of the virgin.

Near the theatre, too, the Patrineses have a grove, which is sacred to a woman who was a native of this place. In this grove there are statues of Bacchus, equal in number to the Achaian towns, and of the same names with them: for they are denominated Mesateus, Antheus, and Aroeus. These statues, during the festival of Bacchus, are brought into the temple of Æsymnetes. This temple is situated in that part of the city which is near the sea, and, as you leave the forum, is on the right hand. But as you descend from
the temple of Ἀσυμνηταῖς, you will perceive another temple, and a stone statue. This temple is called the temple of the Saviour, and, as they report, was dedicated by Eury- pylus, when he was freed from his insanity. Near the port there is a temple of Neptune, with a stone statue in an upright position. Neptune, indeed, besides those appellations which are assigned him by poets for the sake of adorning their verses, has some particular denomination from every city. He is, however, called in common by all nations Πελαγειας, Ασφαλειας, and Hippian. Some one, perhaps, may think that this last appellation was given to the god from other causes: but I conjecture that he was so called, because he invented the art of riding. Homer, indeed, when he describes the horse-races of the Greeks, represents Menelaus as calling on Antilochus to swear by Neptune as follows:

"Rise if thou dar'st, before thy chariot stand,
The driving scourge high-lifted in thy hand;
And touch thy steeds, and swear thy whole intent
Was but to conquer, not to circumvent.
Swear by that god whose liquid arms surround
The globe, and whose dread earthquakes heave the ground."

But Pamphus, who made the most ancient hymns for the Athenians, says that Neptune is the god to whom

"Horses we owe, and swelling sails for ships."

So that it is probable the god was denominated from riding on horseback, and not from any thing else.

In Patæ, too, not far from the temple of Neptune, there are temples of Venus: and one of her statues was drawn up by some fishermen in a net, in the age preceding the present. There are, likewise, brazen statues of Mars and Apollo near the port: but at the port there is a grove and statue of Venus, the face, hands, and feet of which are stone, but the other parts are of wood. They have also a
grove near the sea, which is admirably adapted for the course, and affords an elegant retreat in summer. In this grove there are temples of Apollo and Venus, whose statues are made of stone. After the grove follows a temple of Ceres: and there are statues in it of the goddess and her daughter, in a standing position; but the statue of Earth in the temple is in a sitting posture. Before the temple, too, of Ceres, there is a fountain, which is separated from the temple by a stone-wall: and there is a descent to it by steps on the outside. This temple has a true oracle; but it does not predict all events, but only those of disease. They let down a mirror, which is suspended by a slender rope, and balanced in such a manner that it may not be merged in the fountain with its anterior part, but so that the water may lightly touch its circumference. After this, having prayed to the god, and made a fumigation, they look into the mirror, and by this means perceive whether the sick person will live or die. And thus far does the truth of this water extend. In Cyaneæ, too, very near Lycia, there is an oracle of Apollo Thyrxeus; and there is a fountain near Cyaneæ. Those who descend into this fountain in a similar manner perceive whatever they wish to behold. But in Patræ near the grove there are two temples of Serapis: and in one of them there is a sepulchre of Ægyptus the son of Belus. The Patræs report, that he fled to Aroe, worn out with grief for his sons, abhorring the name of Argos, and being very much in fear of Danaus. The Patræs, likewise, have a temple of Æsculapius. This temple is above the tower, and near the gates which lead to Messatis. But the women in Patræ are double in number to the men, and are remarkably prone to venery. They procure a living by weaving hair nets for women, and other kinds of apparel, from the fine flax which grows in Elis.
CHAPTER XXII.

But Pharse, which is an Achaian city, was given to the Patrenses by Augustus. And the road from Pharse to Patrae is one hundred and fifty stadia in length: but from the sea upwards towards the continent, there is an interval of eighty stadia. The river Pierus too flows near Pharse: and this, as it appears to me, is the river which flows through the ruins of Olenus, and which the inhabitants near the sea call Pirus. Near this river there is a grove of plane-trees, many of which are hollow through age, and besides this, of such a magnitude, that those who are so inclined may feast and sleep in them as in caverns. But the inclosure of the forum is very large, after the ancient manner of the forums in Pharse. In the middle of this forum there is a stone statue of Mercury with a beard. This statue stands on the earth without any basis, is of a square figure, and is of no great magnitude. The inscription on it signifies, that it was dedicated by the Messenian Simulus. But the god is called Agoraios or judicial. Near this statue there is an oracle; and before the statue there is a Vesta of stone, to which brazen lamps are soldered with lead. Those, therefore, who wish to consult the god, come hither in the evening, sacrifice with frankincense to Vesta, then fill the lamps with oil and light them, and afterwards place a piece of money belonging to the country on the altar, and on the right hand of the statue. This piece of money is called brass; and he who desires to ask any question, addresses the ear of the god, and after this leaves the forum, closing his ears. But when he has entirely left the forum, he removes his hands from his ears, and considers any voice which he may happen to hear as an oracle. There is an oracle of this kind belonging to the Ægyptians in the temple of Serapis.
THE DESCRIPTION

In Phææ, likewise, there is a piece of water sacred to Mercury. The name of the fountain is Hamæ: and they do not catch the fish which are in it, because they consider them as sacred to the god. Very near this statue there are thirty quadrangular stones. These the Phærenses venerate, calling each by the name of some particular god. Indeed, it was formerly the custom with all the Greeks to reverence rude stones in the place of statues of the gods. But at about fifteen stadia from Phææ there is a grove of the Dioscuri, which principally abounds with planted laurel-trees. There is, however, no temple in the grove; nor does it contain any statues; for they report, that the natives carried the statues to Rome. But the grove has an altar raised from chosen stones. The Phærenses, too, are not certain whether Phææ, who was the son of Philodamia the daughter of Danaus, or some other of the same name, was the founder of their city. But Tritia, which is an Achaian city, is situated in the most inland parts; and was given to the Patrenses by Caesar. There is a distance of about one hundred and twenty stadia between Tritia and Phææ. But before you arrive at Tritia, you will see a sepulchre of white stone, which deserves to be inspected on other accounts, and particularly for the pictures within the tomb, which were painted by Nicias. In this sepulchre a beautiful young virgin sits on a throne of ivory, and a female servant stands by her, holding an umbrella. A youth, likewise, in an upright position, stands near her. This youth is without a beard, has a robe on, and a purple cloak over his robe. Near this youth there is a servant holding darts, and leading along dogs proper for hunting. The names of these persons are unknown: but we may very probably infer that a man and his wife are buried in this tomb.

With respect to the founder of Tritia, some report that it was Celidis, and that he came from Cuma, a country belonging to the Opici, who are a people of Campania. But,
according to others, Mars had connexion with Tritis, the daughter of Triton. This Tritis was a priestess of Minerva, while she remained a virgin: but Melanippus, the son of Mars and Tritis built and enlarged the city, and called it after the name of his mother. In Tritis there is a temple of those gods, who are called the greatest gods. But their statues are made of a certain clay. Every year they celebrate a festival to these divinities, which is in no respect different from that which the Greeks celebrate in honour of Bacchus. There is also a temple of Minerva here; and there is a stone statue of the goddess to be seen even at present; for the Tritenses report, that the ancient statue of the goddess was taken to Rome. In this temple they sacrifice to Mars and Tritis. And such are the cities which are situated at a distance from the sea, and are firmly established on the continent. But as you sail to Ægium from Patras, you will in the first place see a promontory, which is called Rhion, and which is about fifty stadia distant from Patras. The port Panormus is distant from this promontory fifteen stadia; and that which is called the wall of Minerva is at the same distance from Panormus. But from the wall of Minerva to the port called Erineos, or the wild fig-tree, there is a distance by sea of ninety stadia. From hence to Ægium there is a distance of sixty stadia. But if you walk from Erineos to Ægium, the journey is shorter by forty stadia than the passage by sea. The river Meilichos, too, and the temple of Triclaria, are not far from the city of the Patres: but no statue remains in the temple. This temple is situated on the right hand. But as you proceed from the river Meilichos, you will see another river which is called Charadros. Cattle that drink out of this river in spring for the most part bring forth males; and on this account shepherds drive all their cattle except oxen to a different part of the country. But they suffer these to drink out of the river, because they consider bulls as better adapted to the purposes
THE DESCRIPTION

of sacrifice and the cultivation of the land than cows. They pay more respect, however, to the females of other cattle than to the males.

CHAPTER XXIII.

After the river Charadros there are ruins, though by no means splendid ones, of the city Argyrae: and on the right hand of the public road is the fountain Argyra, and the river Selemmus pouring itself into the sea. The inhabitants report concerning this river, that Selemmus was a beautiful youth, who used to feed his flocks in this part of the country; and that Argyra, one of the nymphs belonging to the sea, fell in love with him. They add, that she used to leave the sea, and sleep with the youth near the river. That not long after, Selemmus lost all the beauty of his person, and the nymph ceased to visit him; and that the youth being deprived of Argyra, died through the violence of his love, and was changed by Venus into a river. However, his love for Argyra continued even after his metamorphosis (as the Patrenses say), just in the same manner as they report of Alpheus with respect to Arethusa, till through the assistance of Venus, he became oblivious of the nymph. There is also another report concerning him, which is as follows: The water of this river Selemmus is a cure for love, both to men and women: and those who wash in the river, experience an oblivion of their love. If, therefore, there be any truth in this report, the water of Selemmus is far more precious to mankind than gold. At some distance from Argyra flows the river Bolinaeus: and the city Bolina, which is near it, was once inhabited. They say that a virgin, Boline, was once beloved by Apollo; and that she flying from his embraces, threw herself into the sea in this part of
OF GREECE.

the country, and through the favour of Apollo became immortal.

From hence a promontory extends itself to the sea: and it is reported, that in this sea Saturn threw the scythe with which he cut off the genitals of his father Heaven; and that on this account the promontory was denominated Drepanon. But a little above the public road are the ruins of Rhypæ. Ægium is about thirty stadia distant from hence. The river Phoenix, too, runs through the country of Ægium, and another river Meganetas, both which pour themselves into the sea. But there is a porch near the city which was raised for the athletic Straton, who, on the same day, was victorious in Olympia in the pancratium, and in wrestling. This porch was built that he might have a place to exercise himself in. The Ægienses, too, have an ancient temple of Lucina. The statue of the goddess is veiled from the head to the feet with a thin veil, and is made of wood, except the face, and the extremities of the hands and feet; for these are made of Pentelican stone. The statue, too, extends one of its hands, and with the other holds a torch. Any one may conjecture, that torches are given to Lucina, because the pains of labour are equally sharp with the torments of burning: or you may say, that torches belong to her, because she leads offspring into light. This statue was made by the Messenian Damophon. Not far from the temple of Lucina, there is a grove sacred to Æsculapius, and in it are statues of Hygia and Æsculapius. An Iambic verse on the basis of the statue signifies, that it was made by the Messenian Damophon. In this temple of Æsculapius I had a dispute with a Sidonian, who said that the Phœnicians knew better than the Greeks such particulars as respect a divine nature, and that according to them, Apollo was the father of Æsculapius, but that his mother was by no means a mortal woman. That, indeed, Æsculapius is air, which is equally subservient to the health both of men and all animals: but
that Apollo is the Sun, and is very properly denominated the father of Æsculapius, because the sun harmonizing the seasons by his course, gives salubrity to the air.

This explanation I can very readily admit; but it is not more Phœnician than Græcian: for in Titans, a town of the Sicyonians, the statue of Æsculapius is called the statue of Health; and it is evident even to a child, that the course of the sun is the cause of health to men on the earth. The Ægienses, too, have a temple of Minerva, and a grove of Juno. In the temple of Minerva there are two statues of white stone; but the statue of Juno cannot be beheld by any person, except the woman who acts as priestess to the goddess. There is also a temple here of Bacchus, near the theatre; and it contains a statue without a beard. They have a grove, too, in the forum of Jupiter the Saviour: and on entering the forum, on the left hand you will perceive two brazen images, of which that without a beard appears to me to be the most ancient. But the brazen statues which, as you proceed straight forwards, will present themselves to your view in a building sacred to Neptune and Hercules, to Jupiter and Minerva, are called Argives, either, as the Argives say, because they were made in an Argive city, or, as the Ægienses report, because they were given to them by the Argives, and afterwards dedicated by them in this place. But the Ægienses being ordered to sacrifice daily to these statues, invented this stratagem. They slaughtered many victims, and consecrated them to the gods, but afterwards eat them at a public feast; and by this means were hardly at any expense in their sacrifices. At length, however, these statues were demanded back again by the Argives; and then the Ægienses desired to be paid the money which they had spent in sacrifices. But this money not being paid, the statues were left with the Ægienses. Near the forum, too, the Ægienses have a temple sacred to Apollo and Diana in common; and in the
OF GREECE.

forum there is a temple of Diana, and in it a statue of the
goddess, which is in the attitude of a person discharging an
arrow. There is also a sepulchre here of the herald Tal-
thybius, who has a tomb formed from a pile of earth in
Sparta; and both cities perform his funeral rites.

CHAPTER XXIV.

But near the sea in Ægium there is a temple of Venus.
This is followed by the temples of Neptune, Proserpine,
and Jupiter the Congregator. In this last temple there are
statues of Jupiter, Venus, and Minerva. But Jupiter is
called the Congregator, because Agamemnon collected to-
gether in this place the most illustrious of the Greeks in
order that he might deliberate with them in common, on the
proper means of warring on the kingdom of Priam. Among
other things for which Agamemnon deserves praise, this is
one, that he warred on Troy and the neighbouring cities
without any other army coming to his assistance than that
which followed him from the first. The temple of Ceres
Panachaia is next to that of Jupiter the Congregator. But
that part of the Ægionian coast in which these temples are
contained exhibits the following particulars worthy of re-
lation. In the first place there is a very copious stream of
water, and which is very sweet at its source. In the next
place there is a temple of Safety, in which it is not lawful for
any one to behold the statue except the priests. Among
other sacred ceremonies they perform the following: Re-
ceiving from the goddess cakes made after the manner of
their country, they throw them into the sea, and assert,
that they send them to the Arethusa of the Syracusans.
The Ægienses, too, have other statues made of brass, viz.
a Jupiter, who is but a boy as to his age, and a Hercules
THE DESCRIPTION

without a beard: and these were made by the Argive Age- lidas. Priests are chosen every year to attend on these sta-
tues; and each statue is preserved in the house of its
ministrant priest. In more ancient times, indeed, the most
beautiful of youths was chosen to officiate as priest to Ju-
piter: and this youth, as soon as he began to have a beard,
was succeeded in his office by another beautiful youth.
And such are the religious ceremonies of the Ægienses.

At present, too, an assembly of Achaianis held in Ægium,
after the same manner as that of the Amphictyons at Ther-
mopylae and Delphos. Proceeding from hence the river
Selinus presents itself to the view; and at about the distance
of forty stadia from Ægium, the city Helice is situated by:
the sea, in which formerly the Iones had a most holy temple
of Heliconian Neptune. They report, that they venerated
this divinity from the time when, being driven from their city
by the Achaianis, they fled to Athens, and afterwards came
from Athens to the maritime coast of Asia. Among the
Milesianis, too, as you go to the fountain Biblia, there is an
altar before the city of Heliconian Neptune. In like man-
ner among the Teianis, there is an inclosure and altar sacred
to Heliconian Neptune, which deserve to be inspected.
Homer, too, makes mention of Helice, and Heliconian Ne-
tune. But in after times, when the Achaianis drew from
this temple certain suppliants that had fled to it for shelter,
and slew them, the anger of Neptune was by no means slow
to revenge the impiety of the deed. For he not only over-
threw the walls and buildings by earthquakes, but razed
the very city from its foundations, and this in such a man-
ner that no vestige of it was left to future times. Indeed,
divinity previously signifies by certain usual tokens ap-
proaching desolation, when mighty earthquakes are about to
take place. For unceasing rains, or dryness of the soil con-
tinue for a great length of time prior to earthquakes. The
air, likewise, every year becomes hot even in winter; and in
summer the orb of the sun is either covered with darkness, and is of an unusual colour, or is remarkably red, or tends to a black colour. Besides all this, fountains of water are for the most part dried up, and violent winds tear up trees by their roots. Bodies, too, are seen running in the heavens, accompanied with abundance of flame: and the stars appear in a shape different from that which they possessed before, and excite great terror in those that behold them. Besides, very powerful vapours rise from the profundities of the earth. And these, and many other signals are given by divinity prior to the desolation produced by violent earthquakes.

This motion, however, is not of one kind only: but those who have investigated this matter the first of all others, and their disciples, inform us that earthquakes are of various kinds; and that the most gentle kind (if we can admit that there is any gentleness in such a violent evil) takes place when, together with the motion now commencing, and with the subversion of houses from their foundations, an opposite motion counteracts the effects of the former, and raises the buildings already buried in the ground. When an earthquake, therefore, of this kind happens, pillars which have been thrown down are again raised; the parts of walls which have been separated become again united; beams which have been moved out of their proper places are restored to their former situations; and aqueducts, and other conveniences for the reception of water, when their parts have been torn asunder by the violence of the motion, have been again united in a manner beyond what human art is able to accomplish. But the second kind of earthquake takes place when the strongest building falls to the ground, just as if it was thrown down by warlike engines. And the most pernicious of all is that which they assimilate to the breath of a man in a fever, which is impelled upwards with great density and violence; and which is signified by other
parts of the body, but particularly by the hands in that place where they join to the arms. In a similar manner this last kind of earthquake, say they, vibrates, when it throws down buildings from their foundations; and resembles the operations of moles in the recesses of the earth. But this kind of motion alone leaves no vestiges of habitations on the ground; and they report, that Helice was shaken from its very foundation with an earthquake of this kind. They farther report, too, that, together with this, they suffered the following calamity. During the winter season of the year there was once such an inundation of the sea, that all Helice was surrounded with it; and the grove of Neptune was so merged under the water, that the tops of the trees alone could be seen. At the same time, too, the god shaking the earth on a sudden, and the sea pouring on the land, from the combined force of these two, the city with all its inhabitants was buried under the inundating waves. A similar calamity was the total destruction of the city Midea: and another city in Sipylus was swallowed up in an opening of the ground. But from that part of the mountain from which the city was torn, water afterwards burst forth, and the chasm became a lake, which was called Saloe. The ruins, too, of the city might be seen in the lake, before they were covered with the water of a torrent. You may also perceive the ruins of Helice, but no longer in the same manner as before, because they are now corrupted by the salt water.

CHAPTER XXV.

Helice, however, is not the only example of the anger of divinity, for the violation of suppliants, but many other cities have suffered on the like account. The divinity
in Dodona, too, appears to have exorted men to reverence suppliants. For the following oracle was given to the Athenians in the time of Aphidas: "Carefully attend to the hill of Mars, and the odoriferous altars of the Furies, because it is necessary that the Lacedæmonians oppressed by hostile spears should become your suppliants. These neither slay with the sword, nor violate the suppliants: for suppliants are sacred and holy." This oracle was recollected by the Greeks, when the Peloponnesians attacked Athens, in the reign of Codrus, the son of Melanthus. For then the remaining forces of the Peloponnesians departed from the Attic territories, when they understood that Codrus was dead, and were told the manner of his death. For they could no longer hope to obtain the victory, as Codrus had devoted himself, in consequence of an oracle given by the Delphic Apollo. And the Spartans, who had entered within the walls, concealed themselves in the night; but perceiving, as soon as it was day, that they were abandoned by their associates, and that the Athenians were pouring on them from every part, they fled to the Areopagus, and to the altars of the Furies. But then the Athenians dismissed the suppliants without punishment. Some time after this, the Athenian magistrates slew the suppliants of Minerva, who belonged to that faction, which together with Cylon had seized on the tower; but both the party concerned in this slaughter, and all their posterity, were obnoxious to the goddess for this offence. The Lacedæmonians, too, who had cut off the men that fled to the temple of Neptune in Tanarus, were not long after afflicted with such a continued and violent earthquake, that there was not a house in Lacedæmon that was able to stand the shock.

But this destruction of Helice happened, when Asteus was the Athenian Archon, and in the fourth year of the one hundred and first Olympiad, in which Damon the Thurian was victor. And as the Helicenses were no more, the
Ægienses took possession of their country. After you have seen Helice, if you turn from the right hand, you will arrive at the small town Cerynea. This town is built above the public road, and stands on a mountain; and is denominated either from the ruler of the place, or from the river Cernites, which, flowing from Cerynea, a mountain of Arcadia, runs through this part of the Achaic land. The Mycenses migrated to this town, after the loss which they sustained in the dominions of the Argives. For when the Mycenses were not able to take the wall of the Argives, on account of its strength (for it was built as well as the Tirynthian wall, by those who are called the Cyclops), they were obliged to leave the city through want of provisions. Some of these, therefore, came to Cleone: but more than half of the people fled to Macedonia, to that Alexander by whom Mardonius the son of Gobrias was commissioned to carry certain mandates to the Athenians: the other part of the multitude came to Cerynea. This accession of inhabitants rendered Cerynea much more opulent and renowned than before. But in Cerynea there is a temple of the Furies, which they report was dedicated by Orestes. Whoever enters this temple with a view of beholding its contents, and is at the same time polluted either with slaughter, or any other defilement, or impious conduct, is said to be seized with involuntary terror: and hence it is, that all persons are not permitted to enter indiscriminately. The statues of the goddess in this temple are wooden, and not very large. But in the vestibule of the temple there are stone statues of certain women, which are very well made; and they are said by the natives to be the statues of the priestesses of the Furies. On returning from Cerynea into the public road, and proceeding along it to no great distance, you will arrive by a winding path at Bura, which is situated in a mountain on the right hand of the sea. They say, that this city was denominated from Bura the daughter of Ion the son of Xuthus and Helice.
OF GREECE.

This town, when divinity totally abolished Helice, was so violently shaken by the earthquake, that not one of the ancient statues was left in the temples; and those Buraeans were alone spared, who at that time happened to be absent, either on account of the army, or some other engagement; and by these the city was restored. In Bura there is a temple of Ceres, of Venus, Bacchus, and Lucina. The statues of these divinities are of Pentelican stone, and were made by the Athenian Euclidas. But the statue of Ceres is covered with a garment. There is also a temple of Isis here. And as you descend from Bura to the sea, you will perceive the river Buraicus, and a statue of Hercules of no great magnitude in a cavern. This statue, too, is called Buraicus. Oracles are received here on a table, and with dice. For he who wishes to consult the god prays before the statue, and after he has prayed, takes up the dice, which are scattered in abundance about the statue of Hercules, and throws four of them on the table. On every die certain figures are inscribed, and the table contains an apt interpretation of every figure. From Helice to the cavern of Hercules there is a distance of about thirty stadia. But on leaving the statue of Hercules, you will see a river of ever-running water, pouring itself into the sea from an Arcadian mountain. The name of this mountain, as well as that of the river, is Crathis; and the fountains of this river are in the mountain. From this river, too, a river near Croton in Italy is denominated. But the city Ægæ once stood near the Achaic river Crathis; and they report, that this city came to be abandoned in time through its imbecility. Homer mentions this city in that part of the Iliad, in which Juno discourses with Neptune:

"Ægæ and Helice thy power obey."

From which verse it is evident, that Neptune was honoured in Helice in Ægæ. But not far from the river Crathis there
THE DESCRIPTION

is a monument on the right hand of the road, and on it the picture of a horseman, which is almost obliterated by time. From this tomb there is a road of about thirty stadia in length, which will bring you to Gæus. This is a temple of Earth, who is denominated wide-bosomed. The statue of the goddess is wooden, and is very ancient. A woman is chosen as a perpetual priestess of this divinity, who lives perfectly chaste after she is elected, though previous to this, it is requisite that she should have had connexion with one man, but not with more than one. They make trial of her continence by obliging her to drink bull's blood: and if it appears from this, that she has deceived them, she immediately suffers for the offence. And if many women offer themselves as candidates for the sacerdotal office, the election is determined by lots.

CHAPTER XXVI.

From the cavern of Hercules in Bura to the haven of the Ægiratæ (for both the city and the haven have the same name) there is a distance of eighty-two stadia. In the maritime part, however, of Ægira, there is nothing worthy of relation. But from the haven to the upper city there is a distance of twelve stadia. This place is called by Homer Hyperesia. But its present name is derived from its being inhabited by the Iones; and this on the following account: When the Sicyonians, having collected an army, were about to invade this country, the Hyperesienses, who were conscious that they were by no means a match for the Sicyonians, collected together all the goats that were in their land, and binding torches on their horns, enkindled them when the night was far advanced. Upon this the Sicyonians, who suspected that these fires proceeded from the auxiliaries of the Ægiratæ, led back their army. The city, therefore,
from this circumstance came to be called Ἠγίρα, from aigeis, the Greek word for goats; and in that place, in which the most beautiful of them, and the leader of the rest, laid himself down, they raised a temple of Diana Agrotera, or the huntress; as they were of opinion, that the stratagem which they employed against the Sicyonians, was the result of inspiration from Diana. However, this city was not immediately called Ἠγίρα instead of Hyperesia: for even at present, those that dwell in Oreus in Euboea, call Oreus by its ancient name Hestiea. But in Ἠγίρα there is a temple of Jupiter which deserves to be mentioned, in which there is a statue of the god in a sitting posture, of Pentelician stone, and which was made by the Athenian Euclidas. In this temple, too, there is a wooden statue of Minerva, the face of which, and the extremities of the hands and feet, are made of ivory; the rest of the statue is gilt and variegated with colours.

In Ἠγίρα also there is a temple of Diana, and a statue in it which was made in my time. A virgin acts as priestess to the goddess, till she is fit to marry. In this temple there is an ancient statue, which, according to the Ἠγίραται, is the statue of Iphigenia the daughter of Agamemnon. And if this be the case, it is evident that this temple was dedicated at first to Iphigenia. There is a very ancient temple here of Apollo, the ornaments, too, on the roof of which are ancient: and this is the case with the statue of the god which is wooden, naked, and of no great magnitude. The inhabitants cannot tell by whom it was made: but he who has seen the Hercules in Sicyon may infer, that the Apollo in Ἠγίρα was made by the Phliasian Laphaes. In this temple there are statues of Æsculapius in an upright position; and in another part of the temple of Serapis and Isis, all which are of Pentelician stone. They particularly reverence Celestial Venus; into whose temple men are not permitted to enter. But into the temple of the goddess whom they de-
THE DESCRIPTION

nominate Syria, they do not enter except on stated days, and previous to this, they purify themselves both in other respects, and in the article of diet. I remember, too, to have seen a building in Ægira, in which there is a statue of Fortune holding a horn of Amalthea; and near her there is a winged Love. The meaning of this is, that the success of men in love affairs depends more on the assistance of Fortune than the charms of beauty. I am persuaded, too, with Pindar (to whose opinion I subscribe in other particulars), that Fortune is one of the Fates, and that in a certain respect she is more powerful than her sisters. In Ægira, and in this building there is a statue of an old man weeping; and besides this, there are three women taking off their bracelets, and three young men. One of these is clothed with a coat of mail. The Achaians report, that he surpassed all the Ægiratae in military virtue; that he fell fighting; and that when his brothers carried the news of his death home, his sisters, through grief, laid aside the ornaments of their attire. The natives call the father Sympathy, because misery is expressed in his image.

There is a straight road from Ægira, which leads from the temple of Jupiter through lofty mountains to Phelloe. This road is about forty stadia in length: and Phelloe is an obscure little town, which was not constantly inhabited by the Iones, when they were in possession of this country. The land about Phelloe is very well adapted to the cultivation of vines; and in that part of the country which mostly abounds with stones, there are oak-trees and savage beasts, stags, and wild boars. But if any Grecian city abounds with water, this may certainly be said of Phelloe. It contains, too, temples of Bacchus and Diana: and the statue of the goddess is made of brass, and is represented taking an arrow out of a quiver. But the statue of Bacchus is covered with vermilion. On descending from Ægira to the haven, and again proceeding to some distance from hence,
you will see on the right hand a temple of Diana the huntress; which is built, as they report, in the very place in which the goat laid itself down. The Pellenenses are contiguous to the Ægiratæ, and are the last of the Achaians that dwell between Sicyon and the boundaries of Argolis. The name of this city, too, according to the Pellenenses, was derived from Pallas, who is reported to be one of the Titans: but, according to the Argives, from an Argive whose name was Pellen, who was the son of Phorbas, and the grandson of Triopas. But between Ægira and Pellene there is a small city, in subjection to the Sicyonians, and which is called Donussa. This city was demolished by the Sicyonians: and they say, that it is mentioned by Homer, in his catalogue of the forces of Agamemnon, as follows:

	"Where Helice and Hyperesa lie,
And Gonoëssa's spires salute the sky."

But they add, that the name of this city was changed through ignorance, either by Pisistratus, when he collected into one regular poem the verses of Homer, which were scattered in different places, and mentioned in various writings, or by some one of his associates. The Pellenians, too, have a haven, which they call Aristonautæ, and which is about one hundred and twenty stadia distant from the maritime part of Ægira. But there is about half this distance from the haven to Pellene. They report, that the haven was called Aristonautæ, because those that sailed in the ship Argo drove to this port. The city Pellene is situated on a mountain, whose top rises to a sharp point. However, the steepest part of it is uninhabited: but in the lower part there is a city which is divided into two parts, and each part is situated under the summit of the mountain.
CHAPTER XXVII.

But as you go to Pellene, you will see in the road a statue of Mercury, who is called Dolios, and who is ever ready to accomplish the prayers of men. The figure of this statue is quadrangular, and it has a beard, and a hat on its head. In the same road, and near the city, there is a temple of Minerva, which is raised from the stone produced by the country, and which contains a statue of the goddess of ivory and gold. They say, that this statue was made by Phidias, and this before he made that for the Athenians which is in their tower, or that which is among the Platæenses. The Pelleni, too, assert, that the adytum of Minerva extends to the profundities of the earth: that this adytum is under the basis of the statue; and that a moist vapour ascends from the adytum, which is very serviceable to the ivory of the statue. Above the temple of Minerva there is a grove surrounded with a wall, and which is called the grove of Diana the Saviour. They swear by this goddess in affairs of the greatest moment; but no person except the priests is permitted to enter into this grove. The priests, too, are natives of Pellene, and are most illustrious for their birth. Opposite to this grove there is a temple of Bacchus Lampter, i.e. a shining torch, or a lamp. They celebrate a festival to this divinity which is called Lampteria: and during this festival they bring torches by night into the temple, and place bowls of wine in every part of the city. There is also a temple here of Apollo Theoxenius; and the statue of the divinity is made of brass. They celebrate games called Theoxenia in honour of this god: and silver is proposed as the reward of the conquerors. But the natives are alone permitted to contend.

Near this temple of Apollo there is a temple of Diana:
and the statue of the goddess is in the attitude of one discharging an arrow from a bow. In the forum you may perceive a receptacle of water, which is conducted through secret passages. They use rain water for washing: for below the city there are not many fountains of water for drinking. But that part of the city which contains these fountains they denominate Sweet. They have an ancient gymnasium, too, for the exercise of youth: nor is any one admitted as a member of the community, till he has gone through the exercises proper to youth. In this gymnasium there is a statue of the Pellenian Promachus the son of Dryon, who was once victorious in the Olympic, thrice in the Isthmian, and twice in the Nemean pancratium. The Pellenesi dedicated a brazen statue of him in Olympia, and one of stone in the gymnasium. They report, too, that this Promachus, in the war between the Pellenesi and Corinthians, slew with his own hand many of the enemies; and that he vanquished Polydamas the Scotuscean in the Olympic games, at that time when Polydamas, being restored to his country by the Persian king, came for the second time to contend in Olympia. But the Thessalians will not acknowledge that Polydamas was ever vanquished, and, among other arguments which they urge in confirmation of this opinion, they produce the following elegy upon Polydamas:

"Thee Scotoessa, as his careful nurse,
Polydamas, th' unconquer'd champion owns."

The Pellenesi, therefore, honour Promachus in the highest degree, and assert, that he was twice victorious in wrestling at Chæronæa, and four times in Olympia. They are not, however, as it appears to me, willing to mention his name, because he dissolved the polity in Pellene. For receiving most invidious gifts from Alexander the son of Philip, he rendered him the tyrant of his country.

In Pellenæ, too, there is a temple of Lucina: and this
THE DESCRIPTION

temple stands in the lesser part of the city. But that which is called Posidion, or the building of Neptune, was formerly a senate-house, but at present is a desolate place. This Posidion is under the gymnasiurn; and is considered even now as sacred to Neptune. The Mysœum, too, is distant from Pellene about sixty stadia. This building is a temple of Ceres Mysia: and they report, that it was established by one Mysius an Argive, by whom, according to the Argives, Ceres was hospitably entertained. In the Mysœum there is a grove full of all kinds of trees: and it contains fountains of copious water. They celebrate a festival to Ceres here, which lasts seven days. On the third day of the festival, all the men depart from the temple; and the women who are left within it perform in the night those ceremonies which are established by law. Nor are the men alone excluded on this occasion, but all dogs of the male kind. On the following day the men come into the temple, and much laughter and mirth takes place between the men and women. At no great distance from the Mysœum there is a temple of Æsculapius. This temple is called Cyros; and men are cured by the god of disease. There are some fountains here of gently flowing water: and near the greatest of these is the statue of the god. Certain rivers, too, descend from the mountains above Pellene. One of these which flows to Ægira is called Crius, from the Titan of his name. But that which, descending from the mountain Sipylus, flows to Hermus, is called Alsus. And in that part in which the Pellenenses border on the Sicyonians, the last of the Achaic rivers pours itself into the Sicyonian sea.
OF GREECE.

BOOK VIII.

ARCADICS.

CHAPTER I.

The Tegeatæ and Mantinenses possess that part of Arcadia which is situated towards Argia. These people, and all of an Arcadic name, dwell in the most inland part of Peloponnesus. For the Corinthians are the first people on the Isthmus. The Epidaurians are contiguous to those Corinthians that dwell near the sea: and the Argolic bay, and the maritime parts of Argia, are situated towards Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Hermione. The cities of the Lacedæmonians surround this country; and Messenia borders on these cities; for it descends to the sea as far as to Methone, Pylus, and Cyparissia. But the Sicyonians who dwell near the Corinthian Lechæum are the last inhabitants of this part of Argolis. After Sicyon those Achaïans follow that dwell on the shore: and the Eleans inhabit the other extremity of Peloponnesus which is opposite to the Echinades. The boundaries, too, of the Elean land are situated towards Messenia, in that part which contains Olympia, and the mouth of the river Alpheus: but the boundaries of the Dymæi are situated between the Elean and Achaic land. All the people which we have now enumerated belong to the sea: but the Arcadians that dwell in the more inferior parts are on all sides shut out from the sea; on which account, Homer says, that they came to Troy in ships which they
received from Agamemnon, and not in their own. The Arcadians assert, that Pelasgus was the first that dwelt in this land; but it is probable, that others dwelt with him, and that he did not reside alone. For over whom did Pelasgus reign? It appears to me, indeed, that Pelasgus excelled in magnitude, strength, and beauty of body; that he likewise surpassed others in the endowments of his mind; and that on this account the people chose him to rule over them. The poet Asius, too, thus speaks concerning him:

"Black earth on lofty mountains thick with leaves
Godlike Pelasgus once produced, that thence
A mercenary nation might arise."

Pelasgus, therefore, when he began to reign, first of all taught men to build cottages, in order to defend themselves from cold, rain, and heat. Besides this, he instructed them in the mode of making garments from the skins of swine, which even at present the poorer sort of inhabitants use in Euboea and Phocis. And as the inhabitants fed on nothing but grass, herbs, and roots, some of which were pernicious, Pelasgus made them relinquish this kind of food, and persuaded them to feed on acorns, though not indiscriminately, but only on those which grew on the beech-tree. This kind of diet, instituted by Pelasgus, continued for so long a space of time, that when the Pythian deity warned the Lacedæmonians not to war on the Arcadians, he addressed them as follows: "There are many men in Arcadia that feed on acorns, who will impede you; but I will not envy you the possession of any thing." They farther report, that in consequence of the reign of Pelasgus, the region came to be called Pelasgia.
CHAPTER II.

But Lycaon the son of Pelasgus invented some things in a wiser manner than his father. For he built the city Lycosura in the mountain Lyceus, called Jupiter Lyceus, and instituted in his honour Lycean games. It appears to me, that the Panathenaea of the Athenians was not instituted prior to this festival. For the Athenian festival was formerly called Athenaia, but was denominated Panathenaia by Theseus, because he collected the scattered Athenians into one city. With respect to the Olympic games, as they are referred by some to an age prior to that of men (for they say, that Saturn and Jupiter wrestled with each other in these games, and that the Curetes were the first that contended in the Olympic race), on this account their origin is foreign from the present discourse. But it appears to me, that Cecrops reigned over the Athenians, and Lycaon in Arcadia, at the same time; though they were far from being equally wise in divine concerns. For the one first denominated Jupiter the Supreme, and was of opinion, that nothing animated ought to be sacrificed to him; in consequence of which, he offered only on the altar of Jupiter those cakes, which the Athenians even at present call pelanoi. But Lycaon sacrificed an infant on the altar of Lycean Jupiter, and made a libation with human blood: on which account they report, that during the sacrifice he was changed into a wolf. The truth of this report, indeed, I can readily admit: for the same thing is asserted by the Arcadians from a very early period, and there is probability in the relation. For at that time men were guests of the gods, and fed at the same tables with them, on account of their justice and piety. Hence, without any delay, and in a very conspicuous man-
ner, the pious were honoured by the gods, and the impious punished.

Afterwards, too, the pious were changed from men into gods: and these are even honoured at present; such as Aristæus, the Cretan Britomartis, Hercules the son of Alcmena, Amphiarautus the son of Oicles, and Castor and Pollux. In consequence, therefore, of this, any one may rationally be persuaded, that Lycaon was changed into a wild beast, and Niobe the daughter of Tantalus into a stone. At present, however, when vice has spread itself through every part of the earth, the divine nature is no longer produced out of the human, or, in other words, men are no longer gods, but are only dignified with the appellation through immoderate flattery; and in consequence of their unjust conduct while living on the earth they experience the wrath of divinity when they depart from hence. Indeed, in all ages, as many things happened in a more early period, which are not found to exist afterwards, they are rendered incredible by means of the multitude, who build falsehood upon truth. For they report, that after Lycaon any one would be changed into a wolf, in consequence of sacrificing in the same manner to Lycaean Jupiter, but that he would not remain so through the whole of his life, if in the tenth year he abstained from human flesh, for then he would be again changed from a wolf into a man; but that if he always continued to feed on human flesh, he would always be a wolf. In a similar manner they assert, that Niobe in Sipyllum weeps in summer. I have likewise heard other fabulous relations, as that the skin of griffins is spotted like that of leopards; that the Tritons speak with the human voice; and that they blow a perforated shell. And thus those that are delighted with fabulous reports add something of their own to the marvellous which they possess, and by this means injure truth, through mingling with it falsehood.
CHAPTER III.

But in the third age after Pelasgus this region had a great increase both of cities and inhabitants. For Nyctimus, who was the eldest of Lycaon’s sons, had all the power in his hands: but the other sons occupied different parts of the country, and each built a city in that part which pleased him best. Hence Pallas, Orestheus, and Phigalus, built the cities Pallantium, Oresthasium, and Phigalia. And Pallantius, indeed, is mentioned by Stesichorus Himeraeus in Jupiter Geryon. But Phigalia and Oresthasia in process of time changed their names. Hence Oresthasia was called Oresthum from Orestes the son of Agamemnon; and Phigalia was denominated Phialia from Phialus the son of Bucolion. But the other sons of Lycaon were Trapezeus, Eleatas, Macareus, Helisson, Acacus, and Thocnus. From this Acacus, too, according to the Arcadians, Homer denominated Mercury. But from Helisson both a city and a river were called Helisson. In a similar manner, Macaria, Dasea, and Trapeogus were denominated from the children of Lycaon. Other sons of Lycaon, too, built other cities, viz. Orchomenus built Methydrium, and established the Orchomenii, whom Homer calls rich in cattle. The Melanee and Hypsus were established by Hypsus, together with Thyreeum, which exists even at present. And in the opinion of the Arcadians Thyreea in the Argolic land, and the bay which is called Thyreeates, were denominated from Thyreeatas. With respect to the cities Mantinea, Tegea, and Mænalus, these were built by Mænalus, Tegeates, and Mantineus. Cromi was denominated from Cromus. Charisia was built by Charisius; Tricoloni by Tricolonus; Peræthenses by Peræthus; Assae by Assætes; Lyceatæ
by Lyceus; Sumatia by Sumateus; and lastly, two cities were denominated and built by Alphirus and Heræus.

But the youngest of his sons, Oenotrus, having received money and men from his brother Nyctimus, passed over with a fleet into Italy: and hence the country in which he settled was called Oenotria, from the name of its king. And this was the first army that left Greece, and became a colony: for neither do I find, after the most diligent search, that any barbarous nations prior to Oenotrus migrated to foreign lands. However, though Lycaon had so great a number of male children, yet he had but one daughter, whose name was Callisto. Jupiter, according to the Greeks, was enamoured, and had connexion with this Callisto; and Juno, on detecting the affair, changed her into a bear, which Diana pierced with her arrows out of regard to Juno. But Jupiter sent Mercury to save the boy that Callisto carried in her womb; and made the mother that constellation which is called the great bear, and which is mentioned by Homer, where he describes the departure of Ulysses from Calypso:

There view’d the Pleiads and the northern team,  
And great Orion’s more refulgent beam;  
To which, around the axle of the sky,  
The bear revolving points his golden eye.

This constellation, however, might be thus denominated in honour of Callisto; since the Arcadians exhibit her sepulchre.

CHAPTER IV.

On the death of Nyctimus, Arcas the son of Callisto reigned. This Arcas taught his people how to make bread from the mild fruit which he had received from Triptolemus, and how to weave garments, which art he had learnt from
OF GREECE.

Adrasta. From this king the land which was before called Pelasgia was denominated Arcadia, and the Pelasgi were called Arcadians. They report, that his wife was not a mortal, but one of the nymphs called Dryades; for the Arcadians call their Naiades Dryades and Epimelíades; and Homer makes particular mention of the nymphs Naiades. But this nymph who associated with Arcas was called Erato: and they report, that Arcas had by her Azan, Aphidas, and Elatus. Prior to his marriage, too, he had a bastard son Autolalus. As soon as his three sons were of age, he divided his kingdom between them. And from Azan, indeed, the part which he governed was called Azania: and they report, that all those that dwelt about the cavern in Phrygia which is called Steunos, and the river Peneala, migrated to this part. Tegea, and the country bordering upon it, fell to the lot of Aphidas. But Elatus obtained the mountain which is now called Cyllene; for then it was without a name. In after times, however, Elatus migrated to that country which is now called Phocis; assisted the Phocenses, who were oppressed by the arms of the Phlegyans; and built the city Elatea. The son of this Azan was Clitor; of Aphidas, Aleus: and Elatus, as they report, had five sons, Æpytus, Perceus, Cyllena, Iscys, Stymphalus. On the death of Azan, games were instituted for the first time; but I am not certain whether any other contest except that of horse-racing was adopted. Clitor, indeed, the son of Azan, dwelt in Lycosura; was the most powerful of all the kings of that time; and built a city, which was called from him Clitora. Aleus possessed that part of the country which was allotted him by his father. With respect to the sons of Elatus, from Cyllen the mountain Cyllene was denominated; and from Stymphalus, both a fountain and a city were denominated Stymphalus. The particulars respecting the death of Iscys, the son of Elatus, I have already related in my account of the Argolic affairs.
THE DESCRIPTION

As to Peræus, they say that he had no male offspring, but that he had a daughter Nesera, who was married to Autolycus, an inhabitant of the mountain Parnassus. This Autolycus is reported to have been the son of Mercury; but in reality he was the son of Dædalion. As Clitor, too, the son of Azan, had no children, the kingdom of the Arcadians came to Æpytus the son of Elatus. This Æpytus died in consequence of being bit by a small serpent called seps, as he was going to hunt. I once saw this serpent: it is very small, has an ashy colour, and is variegated with spots at some distance from each other. Its head, too, is broad, its neck slender, its belly large, and its tail short. This serpent, as well as another which is called cerastes, walks like a crab. After Æpytus, Aleus reigned. For Agamedes and Gortys, the sons of Stymphalus, were the fourth descendants from Arcas; and Aleus was the third son of Aphidas. This Aleus built that ancient temple of Minerva Alea in Tegea, and in that place fixed his palace. But Gortys, the son of Stymphalus, built the city Gortyna, near the river which is called from him Gortynus. The male children, too, of Aleus, were Lycurgus, Amphidamas, and Cepheus: and he had a daughter, Auge. With this Aige, according to Hecataeus, Hercules was connected when he came to Tegea. Aleus perceiving that this had been the case, from her being delivered of a boy, shut up her and her son in a chest, and threw them into the sea. The chest was carried to Teuthras, a powerful man in the land by the river Caicus: and he, being allured with the beauty of Auge, married her. At present, indeed, there is a monument of Auge in Pergamus, which is above the city Caicus. This tomb is a heap of earth surrounded with a wall of stone. On the tomb there is a naked woman of brass. After Aleus, Lycurgus, who was his eldest son, reigned. Of him nothing else is reported than that he cut off by stratagem, and unjustly, a warlike man whose name was Arethusa.
OF GREECE.

But he had two sons, Anœus and Eochus. Of these, Eochus died through disease; but Anœus, who sailed with Jason to Colchos, and afterwards opposed with Meleager the Calydonian boar, was slain by that savage beast. But Lycurgus arrived at extreme old age, and ended his days after being deprived of both his sons. And after Lycurgus the government of the Arcadians devolved on Echemus, the son of Areopus, the grandson of Cepheus, and the great-grandson of Aleus.

CHAPTER V.

During the reign of Echemus the Achaians vanquished in battle the Dorienses, who made a descent upon Peloponnesus under the command of Hyllus the son of Hercules: and in this battle Echemus having challenged Hyllus to a single combat, slew him. This account, indeed, appears to me much more probable than the one which asserts that at that time Orestes reigned over the Achaians, and that then Hyllus attempted to make a descent upon Peloponnesus. If my account, too, of this affair be admitted, it will be evident that Timandra, the daughter of Tyndareus, was married to Echemus, who slew Hyllus. But Agapenor, the son of Anœus, and the grandson of Lycurgus, reigning after Echemus, led the Arcadians to the Trojan war; and when Troy was taken, the tempest which dispersed the Greeks on their return home, drove the fleet of the Arcadians from their destined course to Cyprus. Here Agapenor established a colony in the city Paphos, and built in it a temple of Venus; for prior to this the goddess was worshipped by the Cyprians in a place called Golgi. But in after times Laodice, the daughter of Agapenor, sent a veil
THE DESCRIPTION

to TEGEAS to MINERVA ALEA. The epigram inscribed on this offering indicates at the same time the origin of Laodice:

Laodice, from Cyprus the divine,
To her paternal, wide-extended land,
This veil an offering to Minerva sent.

Agapenor, however, not returning home from Troy, Hippothous, the son of Cercyon, the grandson of Agamedes, and the great-grandson of Stymphalus, reigned over the Arcadians. During the whole course of the life of this Hippothous, they say nothing illustrious was accomplished by him, except the establishing his kingdom in Trapezus, and not in Tegea. But Æpytus, the son of Hippothous, reigned after his father: and during his reign Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, in compliance with the admonition of the Delphic oracle, migrated from Mycene to Arcadia. This Æpytus had the boldness to enter into the temple of Neptune, in Mantinea, into which both then, and even now, it is unlawful for any man to enter; and for this daring action was first struck blind, and not long after died.

After him his son Cypselus reigned; and during his reign an army of the Dorienses invaded Peloponnesus; not passing through the Corinthian Isthmus, as they had done three ages before, but sailing beyond the promontory which is called Rhion. But Cypselus learnt, by making diligent inquiry, that Cresphontes one of the sons of Aristomachus was not then married; in consequence of which intelligence he gave his daughter to him in marriage, and by this alliance placed both himself and the Arcadians beyond the dread of war. Laæas was the son of Cypselus: and he led to Messene Æpytus the son of his sister, and together with him the Heraclidae from Lacedæmonia and Argos. Bucolion was the son of this Laæas, and Phialus of Bucolion, who, depriving Phigalus of the honour of having built the city
Phigalia, called it after his own name Phialis; which name, however, is not generally adopted. But during the reign of Simus, the son of Phialus, the ancient wooden statue of black Ceres, which the Phigalenses possessed, was destroyed by fire. This event, therefore, signified, that Simus would die shortly after. After Simus, Pompus reigned; and in his reign the Æginetæ sailed to Cyllene for commercial purposes, and brought to the Arcadians their merchandise in carriages drawn by cattle. For this conduct Pompus greatly honoured them; and called his son Æginetas, through his friendship to the Æginetæ. After Æginetas, his son Polymestor reigned over the Arcadians; and then for the first time the Lacedæmonians and Charillus led an army against the Tegeæææ. These, however, not only the men of Tegea, but the very women, attacked by taking up arms, and both vanquished the Lacedæmonian army, and took Charillus prisoner. But we shall speak more fully about Charillus and his army in our account of the Tegeæææ.

Polymestor dying without children, he was succeeded by Æchmis, who was the son of Briacas the brother of Polymestor; for Briacas was the son of Æginetas, but younger than Polymestor. But during the reign of Æchmis the war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians took place. The Arcadians had been well disposed towards the Messenians from a very ancient period; and, in consequence of this, at that time they openly fought against the Lacedæmonians with Aristodemus king of the Messenians. Aristocrates, however, the son of Æchmis, perhaps, in other respects behaved insolently towards the Arcadians; but I cannot in this place refrain from mentioning his most impious conduct towards the gods. Between the boundaries of the Orchomenians and Mantinenses there is a temple of Diana Hymnia, who was venerated by all the Arcadians from the
most remote antiquity. At that time a virgin officiated as priestess to the goddess: and Aristocrates, who had often attempted to violate the virgin, but without success, at last ravished her as she fled for refuge to the altar of the goddess. As soon, however, as this impious action was publicly known, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and transferred the honour of the priesthood from the virgin to a married woman. Hicetas was the son of this Aristocrates: and another Aristocrates, who resembled his ancestor of the same name in the manner of his death, was the son of Hicetas. For he, too, was stoned to death by the Arcadians, for suffering himself to be bribed by the Lacedemonians; and it was through his treachery that the Messenians suffered that loss at the Great Moat. It was this unjust conduct, too, that caused the government of the Arcadians to be taken from the house of Cypselus. And thus much which I have related of the Arcadian kings is agreeable to the accounts of the Arcadian genealogists.

CHAPTER VI.

But the most ancient transaction of the Arcadians in common, is their engaging in the war against Troy. The next to this in antiquity is that of assisting the Messenians in their war against the Lacedemonians. They also partook of the engagement against the Medes in the battle at Platsea. But they assisted the Lacedaemonians against the Athenians more through necessity than inclination. They passed over, too, into Asia with Agesilaus, and were present in the battle at Leuctra. Indeed, that they always suspected the Lacedaemonians, they evinced on other occasions, and particularly after the loss of the Lacedaemo-
nians at Leuctra; for then they immediately joined themselves to the Thebans. But they did not fight in conjunction with the rest of Greece, either against Philip of Macedon at Chaeronea, or against Antipater in Thessaly. They did not, however, notwithstanding this, oppose themselves to the Greeks. They say, too, that they did not fight against the Gauls at Thermopylae, by reason of the Lacedaemonians; for they were afraid that, during the absence of their military force, the Lacedaemonians would plunder their land. But they joined themselves to the assembly of the Achaians the most readily of all the Greeks. And such were the transactions of the Arcadians in general; those of their respective cities we shall relate in their proper places.

From the borders of the Argives there is an entrance to Arcadia, which extends from Hysia along the mountain Parthenius to the Tegeatic land. But there are two other entrances about Mantinea, through Prinus and Climax. The latter of these is broader than the former, and is thus denominated, because formerly steps for descending were made in this entrance. Those that have passed beyond the Climax will arrive at a place called Melangea; from whence water fit for drinking flows into the town for the use of the Mantinenses. On proceeding from Melangea, you will see, at about the distance of seven stadia from the city, a fountain belonging to the Meliastæ, who celebrate the orgies of Bacchus. Near this fountain there is a temple of Bacchus, and a temple of Venus Melanis; or the black. The goddess is thus denominated for no other reason than because men for the most part have connexion with women in the night, and not like cattle in the day. But the other road is narrower than the Climax, and leads through Artemisium. Of this mountain I have before made mention, and have observed that it contains a temple and statue of Diana, and the fountains of the river Inachus. This river, where it flows through the mountain, is the boundary between the Argives and Mantinenses.
THE DESCRIPTION

But the water turning out of the road runs through the Argive land; and on this account others as well as Æschylus call Inachus an Argive river.

CHAPTER VII.

On passing from hence to the borders of the Mantinenses through Artemisium, you will arrive at a plain which is denominated, and is in reality, Argos, or sluggish. For the rain water, which falls into it from the mountains, causes the plain to become thus inert: and unless the water disappeared through a chasm of the earth, nothing would hinder this plain from becoming a lake. But the water which disappears in this part again ascends about Dine. This town Dine is situated about Genethlium in the Argolic land, and abounds with sweet water, which bursts forth through subterranean passages from the sea. The Argives formerly dedicated to Neptune in Dine horses adorned with bridles. But it is evident that sweet water ascends from the sea both in the Argolic land, and in Thespatria, near that place which is called Chimerion. The fervid water, however, in the river Meander, which flows partly from a rock which surrounds the river, and partly from the mud of the river, is yet more wonderful. But before Dictæarchia, a Tyrrenian town, the sea contains hot water, and through this they have formed an island, which abounds with hot baths. Among the Mantinenses, too, there is a mountain on the left hand of the plain Argos, in which the ruins remain of the camps of Philip the son of Amyntas, and of a town called Nestane. For Philip is said to have fixed his camps near this place: and they denominate even now the fountain which is near Nestane Philippion, from Philip. But Philip came into Arcadia, that he might separate the Arcadians
from the rest of the Greeks, and add them to his own dominions.

Any one, indeed, may be easily persuaded that Philip, by the magnitude of his undertakings, surpassed all the Macedonians prior and posterior to him; but no man of discernment would ever call him a good commander; for he always violated his oaths, acted contrary to his leagues, and dishonoured in the highest degree the faith of mankind. The wrath, however, of divinity was not slow in punishing him for his impious conduct. For Philip was the first we are acquainted with, that by not living longer than forty-six years verified the prediction of the Delphic deity, who, on his consulting about the success of the Persian war, gave this answer: "The bull is decorated with a garland of flowers, the end is arrived, the sacrificer is present." This oracle not long after plainly evinced, that it did not refer to the Persian king, but to Philip. After the death of Philip, Olympias took his little son, whom he had by Cleopatra the grand-daughter of the sister of Attalus, and together with Cleopatra tortured them to death in a brazen vessel surrounded with fire: and some time after this also she cut off Aridaeus. The daemon, therefore, destroyed the race of Cassander, by cutting off the sons which he had by Thessalonica the daughter of Philip. But both Thessalonica and Aridaeus were born of Thessalian mothers. As to Alexander and his children, it is well known how they died. Indeed, if Philip had paid any attention to what was said of the Spartan Glaucus, and had retained in his memory this verse upon him,

"The son his father's piety transcends,"

it appears to me, that he would not have occasioned some god to destroy the vigour of the Macedonians, together with the life of Alexander. But this digression is foreign from the present discourse.
CHAPTER VIII.

After the ruins of Nestane, you will see a holy temple of Ceres, in which the Mantinenses celebrate a festival every year. Under Nestane there is a place called Mæra, and which forms a part of the plain Argos. There is a passage affording an egress from this plain of ten stadia in length. Proceeding to no great distance, too, from hence, you will arrive at another plain, in which there is a fountain near the public road called Arne. The Arcadians give the following reason for its being thus denominated: When Rhea brought forth Neptune, she delivered him concealed in a sheep-cote to be brought up among the lambs. The fountain, therefore, was denominated from the lambs (arnes) feeding about it. But the goddess told Saturn that she had brought forth a colt, who swallowed it instead of his son; just as afterwards she gave him a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes to swallow, instead of Jupiter. For my own part, I have observed in the beginning of this work, that these Grecian fables are apparently full of folly: but that I may proceed to the Arcadian affairs, I am of opinion that these fictitious relations originated from the following cause: Such of the Greeks as were formerly reckoned wise, designedly concealed their wisdom in enigmas; and I conjecture, that what I have just now related concerning Saturn contains something of the wisdom of the Greeks. And we should consider things relative to divine concerns after this manner. But the city of the Mantinenses is distant from the plain I have just mentioned about two stadia at the farthest. Mantineus, indeed, the son of Lycaon, appears to have formerly built a city in another place, which even at present the Arcadians call after his name. But afterwards Antinoe, the daughter of Cepheus the son of Aleus, in consequence of a certain oracle,
removed the inhabitants to this place, following a serpent
(of what kind they do not mention) as her guide. And on
this account, the river which flows through the city at pre-
sent is called Ophis.

From Homer, indeed, it may be conjectured, that this
serpent was a dragon. For in his catalogue of the ships, he
informs us, that Philoctetes was left by the Greeks in Len-
nos, through a wound which he laboured under; but he
does not say, that the hydra by which he was wounded was
a serpent. He calls, however, the serpent which an eagle
dropped among the Trojans a dragon. It is probable,
therefore, that a dragon was the guide of Antinoe. But the
Mantinenses did not fight in the borders of the Dipæenses,
against the Lacedæmonians, with the other Arcadians: but
in the Peloponnæian and Athenian war, they fought with
the Eleans for the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians;
and, in consequence of their alliance with the Athenians,
thus opposed the Lacedæmonians. Through their friend-
ship, too, for the Athenians, they joined them in their ex-
pedition to Sicily. But in after times the Lacedæmonians,
led by Agesipolis the son of Pausanias, entered the domi-
nions of the Mantinenses in an hostile manner; and Agesi-
polis being victorious, he shut up the Mantinenses in their
walls, and not long after took the city, not indeed by force
of arms, but by military craft. For he turned the course
of the river Ophis towards the walls: and in consequence of
this the walls, which were raised from crude tiles, were dis-
solved by the water of the river continually dashing against
them. For though a wall of this kind stands the shock of
warlike engines, and is a better defence than a wall of stone,
(for stones are broken in pieces, and leap from their places,
through the force of these engines), yet it is dissolved by
water, no less than wax by the sun. Agesipolis was not the
inventor of this stratagem; but it was employed prior to him
by Cimon the son of Miltiades, when he besieged Eion near

VOL. II.
the river Strymon, Boe the Mede with his Persians defending the city. Agesipolis, therefore, hearing this stratagem of Cimon from the Pellonenses, determined to imitate it in his siege of the Mantinenses.

But as soon as Agesipolis took Mantinea, he left a small part of it to be inhabited, but entirely destroyed the greatest part of the city, and distributed the inhabitants into towns. The Thebans, however, after the battle at Leuctra, again brought back the Mantinenses from the towns into which they were scattered, to their pristine place of residence. But the Mantinenses, on their return, did not act in all respects justly. For finding that the Thebans had sent an ambassador to the Spartans, and that they endeavoured to enter into an alliance with them separately from the other Arcadians, they openly joined themselves to the Spartans through fear of the Thebans; and in the Mantinic battle they assisted the Lacedæmonians against Epaminondas. A difference, however, afterwards taking place, they revolted from these to the Achaians, and vanquished Agis the son of Eudamidas, and king of the Spartans; fighting against him in defence of their own dominions, and calling to their assistance for this purpose the Achaians, and their general Aratus. They likewise took up arms with the Achaians against Cleomenes, and broke the strength of the Lacedæmonians. But they both paid other honours to Antigonus while he was the guardian of Philip, who was the father of Perseus, because he was particularly subservient to the Achaians, and for his sake changed the name of the city Mantinea to Antigonea. In after times, too, the Mantinenses fought in conjunction with the Romans and Augustus, in the naval battle near the promontory of Apollo; while at the same time the rest of Arcadia fought on the side of Anthony; and this, as it appears to me, for no other reason than because the Lacedæmonians were on the side of Augustus.
OF GREECE.

city its adventitious Macedonian — ordered it to be again called Mantinea.

CHAPTER IX.

Among the Mantinenses there is a twofold temple, which is separated nearly about the middle by a wall. In one part of this temple there is a statue of Æsculapius, which was made by Alcamenes; in the other part there is a temple of Latona and her children. Praxiteles made the statues of these in the third age after Alcamenes. In the base of the statues a Muse and Marsyas playing on pipes are represented. In the same place, too, Polybius the son of Lycortas stands on a pillar, of whom we shall make mention hereafter. But the Mantinenses have other temples, one of Jupiter the Saviour, and another of Jupiter Epidotos, who is so called because he bequests things good upon mankind. They have also a temple of the Dioscuri, and in a different part of the city, of Ceres and Proserpine. In this last they enkindle a fire, which they are careful to keep continually burning. I likewise saw a temple of Juno near the theatre. Praxiteles made the statue of the goddess sitting on a throne, and Minerva and Hebe the daughter of Juno standing by her. Near the altar, too, of Juno there is a tomb of Arcas the son of Callisto. For they say, that the bones of Arcas were brought hither from Mænalus, in consequence of the following Delphic oracle: "Mænalia is a cold region, and there Arcas lies, after whom all the people are denominated. Into this country I order you to direct your steps, and with a joyful mind, to bring Arcas from thence into the lovely city, in which there is a triple, quadruple, and quintuple road. There plant a grove, and sacrifice to Arcas." This place, which contains the tomb of Arcas, they call the altar of the
workmen, in order to prevent any one from looking into the ancient temple, or taking away any of the ruins. He ordered the workmen, too, to build the new temple entirely round the old one; but the ancient temple of Neptune is said to have been raised by Agamedes and Trophonius, from pieces of oak aptly joined together: and in order to prevent men from entering into this temple, they did not raise any strong obstacle before the entrance, but only extended before it a linen thread. Perhaps they were contented with this slight impediment, because at that time divine concerns were much honoured, and they considered that the dread of acting improperly would restrain men from entering: or perhaps there was some occult strength in the thread. It appears, indeed, that Æpytus the son of Hippothous, when he found that he was neither able to creep under nor leap over this thread, cut it; and that when he entered the temple, and acted in an impious manner, he was blinded by water bursting on his eyes, and presently after died. According to ancient report, marine water was seen in this temple. The Athenians, too, have a similar relation respecting the water in their tower; and respecting the fountain in the temple of the deity in Mylasa (which is a Carian city), whom they call in their native tongue Ogea.

This city is distant from the Athenian haven Phaleron about twenty stadia; but the haven of the Myalenses is distant from it about eighty stadia. As the Mantinenses, therefore, are at a great distance from the sea, marine water could not have been brought into their temple without divine assistance. When you have passed beyond the temple of Neptune, you will see a trophy of stone, which the Mantinenses raised in consequence of having conquered the Lacedaemonians and their leader Agis. The manner of this engagement is said to have been as follows: The Mantinenses possessed the right wing of the army, and were composed of men of every age. Their leader, too, was Podares, the great
grandson of that Podares who fought against the Thebans. The Elean prophet Thrasybulus, the son of Eneas, and descended from the Iamids, was present at this engagement. This man predicted victory to the Mantinenses, and fought himself in their defence. The left wing of the army was composed of all the rest of the Arcadians. Each city, too, had its own leader; and the Megalopolitans had two leaders, Lydiades and Leocyes. In the middle of the army stood Aratus, who was the general of the Sicyonians and Achaianis. But the Lacedaemonians and Agis extended their phalanx, that they might face the enemy in every part: and Agis and those that stood round their king were stationed in the centre. Aratus, when the engagement began, in consequence of what he had previously determined on with the Arcadians, fled with his forces, as if he could not sustain the attacks of the Spartans: but he fled in such a manner that his army formed itself into a lunar shape. The Lacedaemonians, therefore, and Agis, hoping to gain the victory, pressed more collectively on Aratus and his forces. Agis, too, was followed by the wings of his army, who considered that they should accomplish a great undertaking, if they overturned Aratus and his troops. But they were ignorant that the Arcadians were attacking them behind; and the Lacedaemonians, in consequence of this, being surrounded on all sides, fell in great numbers, together with their king, Agis the son of Eudamidas.

The Mantinenses report, that in this battle Neptune was seen fighting in their defence: and on this account they have dedicated a trophy to this divinity. That gods, indeed, are accustomed to be present at battles, and at the slaughter of men, is evinced by those who have related the transactions of the heroes in the Trojan war. The Athenians, too, assert in their songs, that they were assisted by gods in the battles of Salamis and Marathon. And it is most evident, that the army of the Gauls was vanquished at Delphos by
THE DESCRIPTION

Apollo, and perspicuously by daemons. So that it will follow from hence, that the victory of the Mantinenses was not obtained without the assistance of Neptune. But they say, that Leocydas, who fought for the Megalopolitans in conjunction with Lydiades, was the descendant in the ninth degree of that Arcesilaus, who living in Lycosura saw that stag which is sacred to the goddess Desponde worn out with old age. This stag had a collar on its neck with the following inscription:

Caught young, when Agapenor sail'd for Troy.

By which it is evident, that a stag lives much longer than an elephant.

CHAPTER XI.

After the temple of Neptune, you will arrive at a place full of oaks, and which they call Pelagos: and there is a road through these oaks from Mantinea to Tegea. A round altar, too, in the public road, is the boundary between the Mantinenses and Tegeatae. But if you are willing to turn from the temple of Neptune to the left hand, after you have proceeded to the distance of about five stadia, you will arrive at the tombs of the daughters of Pelias. The Mantinenses report, that they fled hither in order to avoid the disgrace of their father's death; for as soon as Medea came to Iolcos, she employed herself in contriving how to destroy Pelias; in reality, indeed, acting for the benefit of Jason, but assuming the appearance of his enemy. She therefore told the daughters of Pelias, that, if they were willing, she would take away their father's old age, and restore him to youth. And in order to convince them of her ability to accomplish this, she cut the throat of an old ram, placed it with certain herbs in a kettle, and, by her arts, changed it into a living
lamb. After this, she took Pelias, and, having cut him in pieces, threw him into a kettle of boiling water. But his daughters, instead of finding their father restored to youth, found nothing remaining of his body which was even fit to be interred. This circumstance compelled the daughters to retreat to Arcadia; and when they died, sepulchres were raised for them by the Arcadians. But no poet that I am acquainted with has mentioned their names. Micon, however, the painter, writes on their pictures, that their names were Asteropea and Antinoë. At about the distance of twenty stadia from these tombs, there is a place called Phoezi: and there is a tomb here of the Phoezi, which is surrounded with a wall of no great height. Near this tomb there is a very narrow road, which, they say, contains the sepulchre of Areithous, who was called Corynetas, from the weapon which he used in battle. After this, on proceeding along that road which leads to Pallantium from Mantinea, to the distance of about thirty stadia, you will arrive at a grove, near the public road, which is called the grove of Pelagus. In this place the Athenian and Mantinensian horse fought with the Boeotian horse. And the Mantinenses report, that Epaminondas, who fell in this battle, was slain by Machærion, a Mantinean. But the Lacedæmonians say, that this Machærion was a Spartan: and the Athenians, with whom also the Thebans agree, assert that Epaminondas was slain by Gryllus; the picture in which the Mantinensian battle is represented confirming their opinion.

The Mantinenses, indeed, seem to be of this opinion, who buried Gryllus publicly, and fixed a statue in the very place where he fell, in honour of him, as the best of their associates in war. As to Machærion, though he is spoken of by the Lacedæmonians, yet in reality there never was any such person in Sparta, nor indeed among the Mantinenses, who was ever honoured for his valour. But Epaminondas, as soon as he was wounded, was taken out of the army, yet
THE DESCRIPTION

alive, having one of his hands placed on his wound, and being in great pain. In this condition he viewed the battle from that place which was afterwards denominated Scope, or the place of observation; till understanding that the battle was at an end on both sides, he removed his hand from the wound, breathed out his soul, and was buried in the place where he died. Over his tomb there is a pillar, with a shield, on which a dragon is carved. But the dragon signifies that Epaminondas descended from those who are called Sparti, because they originated from the teeth of a dragon. There are two pillars on his tomb; one of which is ancient, with a Boeotian inscription; but the other was dedicated by the emperor Adrian, who also added the inscription which is on it. Epaminondas, indeed, may be more justly ranked among the most illustrious Grecian commanders than among those of an inferior rank. For when the ancient dignity of the Lacedæmonian and Athenian cities subsisted in all its splendour, when their generals were renowned, and the bravery of the soldiers corresponded to the reputation of their leaders, Epaminondas rendered the Thebans illustrious, whom he found greatly dispirited, and in subjection to other Grecian cities.

Epaminondas, indeed, had been formerly warned by the Delphic oracle to beware of Pelagus: and on this account he was careful not to sail, either in a three-oared galley, or in any ship of burden. But the admonition of the god referred to the grove Pelagus, and not to the sea. This sameness of name between different places afterwards deceived the Carthaginian Hannibal; and, prior to this, the Athenians. For an oracle was given to Hannibal from the temple of Jupiter Ammon, signifying that when he died he would be buried in the city Libysas. In consequence of this, he hoped that he should destroy the Roman empire, return to Libya, and die worn out with age. But when Flamininus the Roman general was earnestly employed in endeavouring
OF GREECE.

to take him alive, he came as a suppliant to Prusias king of Bithynia; but being rejected by him, he mounted his horse, and, drawing out his sword, made a wound in his finger. After this, he had not travelled many stadia, before he was thrown into a fever through the wound, and died on the third day after. But the Nicomedenses called the place where he died Libyssa. In like manner the Athenians were ordered by an oracle from Dodona to colonize Sicilia: but not far from their city there is a hill of no great magnitude, which is called Sicilia. The Athenians, therefore, not understanding the meaning of the oracle, led an army beyond the boundaries of their country, and warred on the Syracusans. And many other examples of a similar nature may be easily found.

CHAPTER XII.

At the distance of about one stadium from the tomb of Epaminondas, there is a temple of Jupiter Charmon. In the groves, too, of the Arcadians there are different species of oaks. Of these, one species is remarkable for the breadth of its leaves; the second they call beechen; but the third is so dry, and its bark so light, that they make of it buoys for anchors in the sea, and for nets. Others of the Ionés, and Hermesianax the elegiac poet, call this species of oak phellos or cork. But there is a road from Mantinea to Methydrum which is no longer a city, but a town belonging to the Megalopolitans. After you have proceeded from hence, to the distance of about thirty stadia, you will arrive at a plain called Alcimedon, above which is the mountain Ostracina. In this mountain there is a cavern in which Alcimedon resided, who was one of those that are called heroes. The Phigalians report, that his daughter Phillus was rayished
by Hercules; and that as soon as Alcimedon perceived that she was delivered of a child, he exposed her on a mountain, together with the boy she had brought forth, and who is called by the Arcadians Aichmagoras. That the boy crying as he lay on the mountain, a magpie heard and imitated his crying: and that Hercules, who happened to be travelling that way, heard the bird, and in consequence of believing that it was the crying of a child, directed his steps to where the voice came from. Here, knowing both the mother and child, he freed them from their bonds, and thus saved the child. From this event, the neighbouring fountain is called Cissa, or the magpie. A place called Petrosaca is about forty stadia distant from this fountain, and is the boundary of the Megalopolitans and Mantinenses. But besides the roads which I have already mentioned, there are two others which lead to Orchomenus. In one of these there is a stadium, which they call Ladas, because Ladas was accustomed to exercise himself here for the race; and near it there is a temple of Diana.

On the right hand, too, of the road there is a lofty pile of earth, which they say is the tomb of Penelope. For the assertion of the Arcadians by no means agrees with the poesy called Thesprotis. For in this it is said, that Penelope, after the return of Ulysses from Troy, brought forth a daughter Ptoliporthe: but according to the Mantinenses, Penelope was reproached by Ulysses for having voluntarily invited the suitors to the palace, and, being banished by him from Ithaca, immediately went to Lacedæmonia; but not long after migrated from thence to Mantinea, where she ended her days. After this tomb, there is a plain of no great extent, and a mountain in the plain, which contains the ruins of ancient Mantinea. This place is called at present Ptolis. On departing from hence, and directing your course towards the north, you will soon arrive at the fountain Alalcomenia. At the distance, too, of thirty stadia from the city, there are
ruins of a town called Mæra, from Mæra, if Mæra was really buried in this place, and not in the country of the Tegeatæ. For the report of the Tegeatæ is more probable than that of the Mantinenses; I mean, that Mæra, the daughter of Atlas, lies buried in their country. Perhaps, too, another Mæra, the descendant of Mæra, the daughter of Atlas, came into the Mantinic land. In the other road which leads to Orchomenus is the mountain Anchisia: and the sepulchre of Anchises is at the foot of this mountain. For when Æneas passed over into Sicily, he drove with his ships to the Laconic land; and there building the cities Aphrodisias and Æetis, he buried there his father Anchises, who came for some particular reason into this country, and ended his days in it: the mountain, therefore, was called from Anchises, Anchisea. This account of the matter is confirmed from hence, that the Æolenses, who at present inhabit Troy, do not any where show the tomb of Anchises. Near the tomb, too, of Anchises there are ruins of a temple of Venus, and the boundaries of the Mantinenses and Orchomenians are in the Anchisian territories.

CHAPTER XIII.

But in the region belonging to the Orchomenians, and on the left hand of the road from the Anchisii, there is a temple of Diana Hymnia, in the shelving part of the mountain. The Mantinenses sacrifice in this temple: and it is a law with them, that a priestess and a priest shall lead a chaste and pure life, not only so far as pertains to venereal congress, but in all other respects, and this as long as they live. They are, besides, prohibited from bathing and eating with the multitude, and from entering into the house of any private person. I know that the same customs are adopted
every year, but not always, by those who preside over the sacred rites of Diana Ephesia, and who are called by the citizens Eusebes, or kings. They, likewise, celebrate yearly festivals in honour of Diana Hymnia. There was formerly a city belonging to the Orchomenians, on the summit of the mountain; in which place the ruins of a forum and walls yet remain. But the city which remains at present, is under the inclosure of the ancient wall. There is a fountain in this city from which they draw water, and which deserves to be inspected. There are, likewise, temples here of Neptupne and Venus; and stone statues of these divinities. Near the city, too, there is a wooden statue of Diana, which is inclosed in a large cedar-tree: and the goddess is denominated from the tree Cedreatis. Below the city there are tombs formed from stones piled in a heap: these tombs are separated from each other, and were raised in honour of those men that fell in battle. But who the Peloponnesians or Arcadians were, that they fought with, is neither signified by the inscriptions on the tombs, nor known to the Orchomenians.

Opposite to this city is the mountain Trachys; and rain water being received between the mountain and the walls of the city, through an opening of the earth, falls into another plain of the Orchomenians. This plain is of a great extent, but it is mostly a marsh. On proceeding from Orchomenus, at about the distance of three stadia, a road presents itself, which leads in a direct line to the city Caphya, either by the opening I have before-mentioned, or by the marsh on the left hand. When you have crossed the water which runs through the opening, you will see a road under the mountain Trachys: and along this road there is first a sepulchre of Aristocrates, who once ravished the virgin that was the priestess of Diana Hymnia. But after the tomb of Aristocrates are the fountains Tenæ: and Amilus, which they say was once a city, is seven stadia distant from these
fountains. Near this place the road is again bisected; and one part of it leads to Stymphalus, and the other to Pheneos. As you proceed to Pheneos a mountain will present itself to your view; and in this mountain the boundaries of the Orchomenians, Pheneatæ, and Caphyatæ are conjoined. Above the boundaries there is a steep precipice, which they call Caphyatice. After the boundaries there is a valley under the cities, which we have just mentioned; and there is a road through it to Pheneos. In the middle of this valley there is a fountain; and towards its extremity the town Caryæ.

CHAPTER XIV.

But the plain of the Pheneatæ lies under Caryæ; and they say, that the ancient Pheneos was once destroyed through the inundation of water in this plain. At present, indeed, there are marks of this deluge on the mountains, upon which, they say, the water ascended. The mountains, too, Orexis, and Scathis, are five stadia distant from Caryæ. At the bottom of each mountain there is a deep chasm, which receives the water from the plain. The Pheneatæ report that these profundities were made by Hercules, and with his own hands, when he dwelt in Pheneos with Laonome, the mother of Amphitryon. For they say, that Amphitryon was the offspring of Alceus from Laonome the daughter of Guneus, and not from Lysidice the daughter of Pelops. If this account, indeed, of Hercules be true, I mean that Hercules migrated to the Pheneatæ, it may easily be believed, that being driven from Tiryntha by Eurystheus, he did not go immediately to Thebes, but came first of all to Pheneos. And Hercules, indeed, brought this chasm through the middle of the plain belonging to the Phe-
neatae, that the river Olbios, which some of the Arcadians call Araonius, might flow through it. This chasm is fifty stadia in length; but its profundity, where the banks are entire, is not less than thirty feet. But the river does not at present fall into this chasm, but flows in its ancient channel. On proceeding to the distance of about fifty stadia from the chasms under the mountains, you will arrive at the city Pheneos, which was built, according to the Pheneatae, by Pheneus, one of their countrymen. They have a tower on all sides steep, which is partly defended by the nature of the place, and partly by the assistance of art. In this tower there was a temple of Minerva, who is called Tritonia; but at present the ruins of it only remain. There is a brazen statue, too, in it of equestrian Neptune, which they say was dedicated by Ulysses. For Ulysses having lost his horses, and wandered over all Greece in order to find them, built a temple of Diana in the place where he found them, called the goddess Eurippa, and dedicated a statue of equestrian Neptune. They farther add, that when he had found his horses, he suffered them to feed in the land of the Pheneatae, just as he did his oxen in the continent opposite to Ithaca.

To me, indeed, the letters inscribed on the basis of the statue of Ulysses evince the mandate which was given to those that fed the horses. And in all other respects I can assent to what the Pheneatae report; but I cannot believe that a brazen statue was dedicated by Ulysses, because in those times they did not know how to make statues of solid brass, but fabricated them from laminae placed one over another, similar to the manner in which a garment is wove. But how they used to work in brass I have already shown in my account of the Spartan affairs, and in that place where I mentioned the statue of Jupiter the supreme, Rhæcous, the son of Philæus, and Theodorus the son of Telecles, both Samians, first taught how to cast brass, and melt
OF GREECE. 257.

it into statues: and the seal made of an emerald, with which Polycrates the Samian tyrant was particularly delighted, was made by this Theodorus. On descending from the tower of the Pheneaæ, you will arrive at a stadium and a hill, on which there is a sepulchre of Iphicles, the brother of Hercules, and father of Iolaus. The Greeks assert, that this Iolaus was the companion of Hercules in many of his labours. But Iphicles the father of Iolaus, being wounded in the first battle of Hercules against Augeas king of the Eleans by the sons of Actor, who were called Molionides from their mother Molione, was brought by his kin
dred to Pheneos. Here one of the inhabitants, Bupal
gus, and his wife Promne, paid him great attention, and when he died of his wound, buried him. Indeed, even at present they perform funeral sacrifices to Iphicles as to a hero.

But the Pheneaæ reverence Mercury above all the gods, and celebrate Hermaic games. They have a temple, too, of Mercury, in which there is a stone statue, the work of the Athenian Euchir, the son of Eubulidas. Behind this temple is the tomb of Myrtilus, who, according to the Greeks, was the son of Mercury, and the charioteer of Oenomaus. They report, too, that when any one of the suitors of the daughter of Oenomaus contended for her pos-
session, Myrtilus used to drive the chariot with so much art, that Oenomaus could pierce the suitor with his spear. And lastly, they say, that Myrtilus himself fell in love with Hippodamia; that not daring to try his fortune in the race, he acted the part of charioteer to Oenomaus; and that he at length betrayed Oenomaus, after he had compelled Pelops to promise by an oath, that he would let him sleep with Hippodamia for one night. However, Pelops, when Myrtilus reminded him of his oath, threw him out of a ship, into the sea: and the Pheneaæ are said to have buried his
THE DESCRIPTION

body, which was thrown upon their land by the waves. Indeed, the Pheneatæ every year perform funeral rites to Myrtilus. But it is evident, that Pelops did not sail far; but only from the mouth of Alpheus to the haven of the Eleans. Hence, the sea called Myrtoon was not denominataed from Myrtilus, the son of Mercury, since this sea commencing from Euboea extends as far as to the desert island Helene, which is in the Ægean sea. It appears, therefore, to me, that the account of the Eubœensian antiquaries is more probable, who say that this sea was denominated from a woman whose name was Myrto. Among the Pheneatæ, too, there is a temple of Ceres Eleusinia; and they perform the same mystic ceremonies in this temple as are performed at Eleusis, and say, that they instituted these ceremonies. For they report, that one Naus came to them in consequence of a Delphic oracle; and that this Naus was the great grandson of Eumolpus.

CHAPTER XV.

Near this temple there are two great stones aptly joined together, which they call Petroma. When those anniversary sacred rites take place, which they call the greater mysteries, they separate these stones, and take out of them writings belonging to the mysteries. When the persons that are concerned in the mysteries have heard these writings recited, they are at night restored to the place from whence they were taken. I know, too, that the greater part of the Pheneatæ swear upon these stones. This Petroma has a round coverlid, within which there is an effigies of Ceres Cidaria. With this effigies the priest invests himself in the greater mysteries, and strikes the infernal powers with rods,
after a certain particular manner. The Pheneatæ, too, report, that Ceres came wandering into their country before Naus, and that she gave to those that liberally received her all kinds of leguminous plants except beans: but why they consider beans as impure, belongs to their arcane narrations. But those, as the Pheneatæ report, who kindly received the goddess, who built a temple to her under the mountain Cyllene, and who instituted her mysteries, which they now celebrate, were Trisaules and Damithales. This temple of Ceres, who is called Thesmia, is about fifteen stadia distant from the city. But as you go from Pheneos to Pellene, and Ægira, after having travelled to the distance of about fifteen stadia, you will arrive at a temple of Pythian Apollo. At present, however, nothing but the ruins of it remain, and a large altar of white stone. Upon this altar the Pheneatæ even now sacrifice to Apollo and Diana: and they report, that Hercules dedicated this temple when he took Elis. There are monuments, too, here of those heroes who were the associates of Hercules in this battle, and died fighting. Of these, Telamon is buried very near the river Aroanius, and at a small distance from the temple of Apollo: but Chalcodon is interred not far from the fountain Ónoe.

Let no one, however, deceive himself, by supposing that this Chalcodon was the father of Elephenor, who sailed with a fleet to Troy; or, that this Telamon was the father of Ajax and Teucer. For how could Chalcodon follow Hercules in this war, when prior to this he was slain by Amphitryon? And this is evinced, and deserves to be credited, from the Theban monuments. Or, why should Teucer build the city Salamis in Cyprus, when no one hindered him from returning home from Troy? And who but Telamon could prevent him from returning? It is evident, therefore, that those who assisted Hercules against the Eleans, were different from the Euboic Chalcodon, and Telamon Æginetes.
THE DESCRIPTION

But both at present, and in all ages, obscure men have had the same names with such as have been illustrious. One boundary, however, only does not separate the Pheneate from the neighbouring Achaian: for towards Pélene is the river Perinæus, and towards Ægiratis, Dianium. But in the country of the Pheneate, after you have proceeded to no great distance from the temple of Pythian Apollo, you will enter into a road which leads to the mountain Crathis. In this mountain the fountains of the river Crathis are contained. This river flows into the sea through Ægeæ, which is at present a desolate place, but was formerly an Achaian city. From this river the Italian river Crathis in Brutii is denominated. But in the mountain Crathis there is a temple of Pylonian Diana, from which in former times the Argives brought fire to Lerna.

CHAPTER XVI.

On proceeding from Pheneos towards the east, you will see the summits of the mountain Geronteus, and a road near the mountain. This mountain is the boundary of the Pheneate and Symphalians. But on the left hand of it, as you go through the Pheneatic land, you will see those boundaries of the Pheneate, which they call Tricrena, from the three fountains which are contained in these parts. The Nymphs, the inhabitants of the mountain, are said to have washed Mercury, as soon as he was born, in the water of these fountains: and on this account the inhabitants consider these fountains as sacred to Mercury. Not far from Tricrena, there is another mountain called Sepia, in which they say Æpytus, the son of Elatus, died from the bite of a serpent, and in which he was buried, because they were not
able to carry his dead body any farther. The Arcadi-
ans report, that even at present serpents of the same kind are
produced in this mountain, but that there are not many of
them, and that they are rarely to be seen. For as the
mountain is covered with snow for a great part of the year,
they either die through the snow in the open air, or, if they
hide themselves in their places of retreat, they are destroyed
by cold. I viewed, too, with great attention the tomb of
Æpytus, because it is mentioned by Homer in his verses
respecting the Arcadians. This tomb is a mass of earth of
no great magnitude, and is surrounded with a wall of stone.
But it was deservedly admired by Homer, because he had
never beheld a more illustrious sepulchre. It is thus that he
compares the dance fabricated by Vulcan in the shield
of Achilles, to the dance of Ariadne, made by Daedalus,
because he had never beheld a more exquisite piece of art.
Indeed, I know many sepulchres worthy of admiration; but
in this place I shall only mention two, one of which is in
Halicarnassus, and the other in the land of the Hebrews.
The former of these was raised for Mausolus, who reigned
in Halicarnassus: and its magnitude is so prodigious, and
its ornaments so magnificent, that the Romans in conse-
quence of the great admiration which it produced in them,
call all their illustrious sepulchres Mausolea. But the latter
belonging to the Jews was raised in honour of Helene,
a woman that dwelt in Solymae, which was destroyed even
to its foundation by one of the Roman emperors. There is
a door in this tomb which is made of marble, as well as the
other parts of the tomb. This on a stated day and hour
every year is opened by some secret artifice, and soon after
shut again. But if you attempt to open it at any other
time, you cannot succeed without violence and breaking the
door.
CHAPTER XVII.

After the sepulchre of Æpytus you will arrive at Cyllen, which is the most lofty of all the mountains in Arcadia. On its summit there is a temple of Mercury Cyllenius, but it is in a ruinous condition. It is, however, evident, that both the mountain and the god were denominated from Cyllenas the son of Elatus. Formerly, too, as far as I have been able to learn, men used to form the statues of the gods from no other materials than ebony, the cypress-tree, cedar, the oak, the yew, and the lotethree. But the statue of Mercury Cyllenius, is made from the citron-tree; and is, as I conjecture, about eight feet in altitude. The mountain Cyllene, too, which is an admirable circumstance, abounds with white black-birds. For the birds which are called black-birds by comic writers, are of a different kind, and do not sing. I have seen besides in Sipylum, near the lake of Tantalus, as it is called, eagles which they denominate Cygniæ, and which in their whiteness resemble swans. Private persons, too, at present possess white boars, and white Thracian bears. The Libyans have white hares; and I saw with admiration white stags at Rome, but did not think to inquire whether they came from very inland places, or from islands. The above relations were made by me, in order to produce belief in what I have said of the Cyllenian black-birds. Another mountain which is called Chelydorea, is near to the mountain Cyllene: and Mercury is said to have found in it a tortoise, and to have made a lyre of its shell. In this part the boundaries between the Pheneatae and Pellenenses are contained: and the greatest part of the mountain Chelydorea is possessed by the Achaians. But on proceeding from Pheneos towards the west, you will
OF GREECE.

see on the left hand a road which leads to the city Clitor; but on the right hand, a road which leads to Nonacris and the water of Styx. Formerly Nonacris was a small Arcadian city, and was denominated from the daughter of Lycaon. But at present nothing more than the ruins of it remain: and most of these are no longer to be distinguished. Not far from these ruins there is a steep precipice, which surpasses in altitude any thing I ever saw: and water trickles down it, which the Greeks call the water of Styx.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Hesiod, indeed, in his Theogony, makes mention of Styx: for there are some who consider Hesiod as the author of this piece. In the Theogony, therefore, he says, that Styx is the daughter of Ocean, and the wife of Pallas. They report that the poet Linus, too, says nearly the same of Styx in his verses. It appears to me, however, after the most accurate perusal of these poems, that they are adulterated. But the Cretan Epimenides says, indeed, that Styx is the daughter of Ocean: but instead of making her the wife of Pallas, he says, that from Piras (whoever he was) she brought forth Echidna. Homer, too, particularly mentions Styx in his Iliad: for in that part where he relates the oath of Juno, he represents the goddess thus speaking:

"Let earth, the wide-expanded, lofty heav'n,
And Styx, whose waters glide beneath, know this."

In these verses he seems to have had an eye to the trickling water of Styx, which we have just mentioned. But in the catalogue of those that followed Guneus, he says, that the water of the river Titaresius flows from Styx. And lastly, he says that Styx is in Hades, in that part of the Iliad
THE DESCRIPTION

where he represents Minerva reproaching Jupiter, as not remembering that it was through her Hercules was not destroyed by the labours imposed on him by Eurystheus:

"Oh, had my wisdom this event foreseen,
When to dire Pluto's solid gates he went,
To drag from Erebus the triple dog,
He had not then, by me preserved, escaped
The dangerous waters of deep-flowing Styx."

But the water which trickles from the precipice near Nonacris, falls first of all upon a lofty rock: and from thence, passing through the rock, it falls into the river Crathis. It is said, that this water is destructive both to men and animals of every kind. In after-times, indeed, it was found that goats perished through drinking of this water.

The following also is a wonderful circumstance respecting this water. Crystal and porphyry vessels, and indeed all vessels made of stone or earth, are broken by the water of Styx. Vessels, too, of horn and bone; likewise brass, lead, pewter, silver, and amber, are dissolved by this water. Even gold is not able to resist its dissolving quality; though the Lesbian poetess asserts, and gold itself evinces, that it is incapable of being defiled by rust. Divinity, however, confers on more abject substances a power superior to what those possess which are the most esteemed by men. Thus pearls are dissolved by vinegar: and the blood of a goat liquefies a diamond, which is the hardest of all stones. In like manner the water of Styx is not able to yanquish the hoof of a horse; for when thrown into this water it remains undivided. Whether or not Alexander the son of Philip died through this poison, I am not perfectly certain. Above Nonacris there are mountains which are called Aroania; and in them there is a cavern, into which the daughters of Proetus are said to have fled through insanity; and who were taken from thence, and brought to the place called Lusi by Melampus, who employed for this purpose arcane
OF GREECE.

sacrifices and purifications. A great part of these mountains is inhabited by the Pheneae; for Lusi is within the boundaries of the Clitorii, and is said to have been formerly a city. Agesilaus, indeed, the Lusian, was proclaimed victor with the vaulting horse, when the Amphictyons instituted the first Pythian games after the tenth. But at present even the ruins of Lusi do not remain. Melampus, however, brought the daughters of Proetus to Lusi, and liberated them from their insanity in the temple of Diana: and from that circumstance the Clitorii call this Diana Hemeresia, or the mild.

CHAPTER XIX.

But there are certain persons of an Arcadian origin, who are called Cynæthaenses, and who dedicated in Olympia a statue of Jupiter, holding thunder in each of its hands. These people dwell at about the distance of forty stadia from the temple of Diana. In their forum there are altars of the gods, and a statue of the emperor Adrian. But the temple of Bacchus, which these people possess, deserves particular notice. In this temple they every year celebrate a festival in the winter season. Certain persons during this festival are anointed with fat, and carry on their shoulders a bull to the temple, chosen out of the herd, and which the god himself inspires them to select. At about the distance of two stadia from this town there is a fountain of cold water, and above the fountain a plane-tree. If any person happens to be hit by a dog, or is wounded, or injured by any other means, he is cured by drinking of this water: and on this account they call the fountain Alysson, alluding to its curing canine insanity. And thus it appears, that the water called Styx is noxious to the Arcadians, in the borders of the Phe.
THE DESCRIPTION

neatæ; and that the fountain belonging to the Cynæthænæs
is beneficial, and an antidote as it were to the noxious quali-
ties of Styx. But of the roads which lead from Pheneus to
the west, and which are on the left hand, one leads to Clitor,
and extends as far as to that work of Hercules which renders
the river Aroanius a lasting stream. Near this river there
is a road which leads to a place called Lycuria, and which
forms the boundaries between the Clitorii and Pheneatæ.

CHAPTER XX.

On proceeding from hence to the distance of fifty stadia,
you will arrive at the fountain Ladon. I have heard, in-
deed, that the water which forms a lake in the Pheneatic
land, after descending into the profundities of the neighbour-
ing mountains, ascends in this place, and makes the foun-
tains of Ladon. But whether or not this is the case, I am
not able clearly to determine. The river Ladon, however,
affords a water the most excellent of all the rivers in Greece.
It is also celebrated on another account, I mean for the sake
of Daphne, and what is sung by poets respecting her. I
shall, indeed, pass over in silence what the Syrians, who
dwell on the mountain Orontes, affirm respecting Daphne:
for the following different account is given of her by the Ar-
cadians and Eleans. They say, then, that Leucippus was
the son of Oenomaus king of Pisa; that this Leucippus was
enamoured of Daphne; and that considering he should never
be able to obtain her for his wife, by demanding her in mar-
riage openly, because she avoided all connexion with the
male species, he employed the following stratagem:—He
took care to increase the length of his hair, and plaiting it
after the manner of a virgin, he went to Daphne in a female
garb, and pretended that he was the daughter of Oenomaus,
OF GREECE.

and that he desired to be her associate in hunting. Daphne, therefore, believing him to be a virgin from his appearance, and perceiving that he surpassed all his companions both in the nobility of his birth, and his skill in hunting, and that he was particularly attached to her, conceived a strong friendship for him. But those that celebrate the love of Apollo towards Daphne say, in addition to the above, that Apollo envying the felicity of Leucippus in his love, caused Daphne with her train of virgins to bathe in the river Ladon, and Leucippus to be led thither against his will. Here, as soon as his clothes were taken off, and it was perceived that he was no virgin, the companions of Daphne slew him, by piercing him with their daggers and darts.

CHAPTER XXI.

At the distance of about sixty stadia from the fountains of Ladon is the city of the Clitorians. But the road which leads from the fountains of Ladon, towards the river Arnoanion, is narrow; and the river Clitor flows near the town of the Clitorians. This river pours itself into Arnoanion, at no greater distance than seven stadia from the city. There are other fishes in the Arnoanion, besides those which are called various. They say that these fishes emit sounds similar to those of a thrush. I have seen these fishes, indeed, taken, but I never heard any sound proceed from them, though I staid near the river till sun-set, at which time these fishes are said to be particularly vocal. But this city of the Clitorians was denominated from the son of Azan. It is situated, too, in a plain, and is surrounded with mountains of no great altitude. The most illustrious of its temples are those of Ceres, Æsculapius, and Lucina. Homer, indeed, mentions many Lucinas, and introduces them without any limited
THE DESCRIPTION

number. But Lycius Olen, who was more ancient than Homer, and who was a Delian, composed hymns to other divinities, and one to Lucina, whom he calls *Eulimnon*, or the spinther; evincing by this that she is the same with *Peprome*, or Fata; and that she is more ancient than Saturn. The Clitorians, too, have a temple of the Dioscuri, whom they call mighty gods. This temple is about four stadia distant from the city, and contains brazen statues of the Dioscuri. But on the summit of a mountain, which is thirty stadia distant from the city, there are a temple and statue of Minerva Coria.

CHAPTER XXII.

But the order of my discourse requires that I should return to Stymphalus, and to a mountain of the Pheneate and Stymphalians, which is called Geronteum. The Stymphalians, indeed, do not at present belong to the Arcadians, but to the Argolic dominions, to which they voluntarily transferred themselves. That they are, however, of an Arcadian origin, is evinced by Homer; and Stymphalus, who built their city, was the grandson of Arcas the son of Callisto. They affirm, too, that the city at first did not stand in the same place as at present: and that in ancient Stymphalus, Temenus the son of Pelasgus dwelt, by whom Juno was educated, and who dedicated three temples to the triple name of the goddess. For while she was a virgin he called her *Pais*, or a girl; when she was married to Jupiter, *Teleia*, or perfect; and when she was divorced from Jupiter, and returned to Stymphalus, *Chera*, or desolate. And such are the reports of the Stymphalians respecting Juno; but the present city contains none of the aforesaid particulars. In the present city, however, there is a fountain, from which
the emperor Adrian brought water into the city of the Corinthians. But in Stymphalus there is a fountain, which in winter becomes a lake of no great magnitude; and the river Stymphalus is formed from this lake. But in summer the lake is dried up, and the river flows from the fountain. After this it falls into a chasm of the earth, and rising again in the Argolic land, it changes its name, and is called Erasinus, instead of Stymphalus. It is said that birds which fed on human flesh were produced near this river, and that Hercules pierced them with his arrows. But Pisander Camirensis does not say that these birds were slain by Hercules, but that he drove them from this place by the sound of a cymbal. The deserts of Arabia, indeed, besides other wild animals which they produce, contain the birds called Stymphalides, which are in no respect more mild than lions and leopards; as they fly on the fowlers that come to catch them, and wound and destroy them with their beaks.

Indeed these birds will even wound men that are defended with brass or iron: but if you wrap yourself in the bark of a certain tree, the beaks of the Stymphalides will be held so fast in the garment of bark, that they will be as unable to escape as little birds whose wings are detained by bird-lime. These Stymphalides are as large as cranes, but their form resembles that of the ibis. Their beaks, however, are stronger, and not crooked like the beak of the ibis. But whether or not there ever were in Arcadia birds of the same name, though not of the same form with those which are at present found in Arabia, I am not certain. If, indeed, the Stymphalides always have been like hawks and eagles, then it appears to me that these birds are natives of Arabia; and it is very possible that some of them may have flown into Arcadia to the river Stymphalus. And if this be admitted, they might at first have been called by the Arabians by a different name, and not Stymphalides: but the renown of Hercules, and the superior reputation of the Greeks to that
THE DESCRIPTION

of the Barbarians, may have been the reason that the birds which are produced in the deserts of Arabia are to this day called Stymphalides. In Stymphalus, too, there is an ancient temple of Diana Stymphalia: but the statue of the goddess is made of wood, and is, for the most part, gilt. Near the roof of this temple the birds called Stymphalides are represented; but it is not easy to know clearly whether they are made of wood or plaster. I should rather, for my own part, conjecture that they are made of wood. In the back part of the temple, too, there are statues made of white stone, of virgins with the legs of birds. The following prodigy is said to have happened in my time in this temple: The festival of Stymphalian Diana was celebrated in Stymphalus in a careless manner, and many things pertaining to this festival were omitted. In consequence of this, mud fell in such abundance into the mouth of that cavern under which the river Stymphalus flows, that the water was excluded a passage, and four hundred stadia of the plain became a lake. They farther add, that a hunter happening to pursue a stag, the animal threw itself into the mud of the lake, and the hunter plunged in after it, and continued his pursuit, till the same chasm swallowed up both the stag and the hunter. But some time after, this stagnant water followed the course of the river, and the marsh was totally dried up in the space of one day. After this event, the festival of Diana was celebrated with greater earnestness and care.

CHAPTER XXIII.

After Stymphalus, Alea succeeds, which also partook of the Argolic assembly. They say, that Aleus the son of Aphidas built this city. It contains temples of Diana Ephesia, of Minerva Alea, and of Bacchus, in which last
there is a statue. They every year, too, celebrate a festival to Bacchus, and scourge women in this festival, in consequence of a Delphic oracle, in the same manner as the Spartan youth are scourged at the altar of Orthian Diana. We have shown in our account of the Orchomenian affairs, that there is a road near the chasm; and that on the left hand of this road there is a lake. But in the plain of the Caphyenses there is a heap of earth piled up, through which the water from the Orchomenians is prevented from injuring the fertile fields of the Caphyenses. Within this mass of earth other water flows, which in quantity is equal to that of a river; but, being received into a chasm of the earth, bursts forth again near those streams which are called Nasi. The place where this water ascends is called Rheunus. Gliding away from hence, it forms the perpetual river Tragus. It is evident that the name of this town was derived from Cepheus, the son of Aleus: but it came at length to be called in the Arcadian tongue, Caphyæ. The Caphyenses, too, affirm, that they originated from the Attic land, but that they were expelled from thence by Ægeus; and that flying as suppliants to Cepheus, they were permitted by him to fix their residence in this place. The small city is situated in the extremity of a plain, and at the foot of mountains of no great altitude. It contains temples of Neptune and Diana Cnacesia. For they have a mountain called Cnacalus, in which they perform every year sacred mysteries to Diana. A little above the city there is a fountain, and over the fountain a large and beautiful plane-tree, which they call Mene-lais. If, indeed, in conformity to what the Greeks assert, it were requisite to enumerate such trees as yet remain, and are in a flourishing condition, the most ancient of all is the willow or hemp-tree in the temple of Juno among the Samians. The next to this in antiquity is the oak in Dodona; then the olive in the tower of Athens, and that which the
THE DESCRIPTION

Delians possess. But the Syrians consider the laurel as the third in antiquity. This plane-tree, however, is the most ancient of all trees.

At the distance of about one stadium from Caphyæ is a place called Condyleæ; in which there is a grove and temple of Diana, who was formerly called Condyleatis. They say, that the name of the goddess came to be changed on the following account: Some boys once happening to play about the temple (the number of them is not mentioned), took hold of a rope which they found tied round the neck of the statue of Diana, and said they would strangle the goddess. But the Caphyenses, understanding what the boys had done, stoned them to death. They were punished, however, for this action: for women with child were infected with a disease, which caused them to be delivered of dead children; and no remedy could be found for the evil, till they were ordered by an oracle to bury the murdered boys, and perform funeral sacrifices to them every year, because they were unjustly put to death. The Caphyenses, too, even at present observe the mandate of the oracle, and call Diana in Condyleæ (for this also was enjoined them by the oracle) Apanchomiene, from this circumstance. On departing from Caphyæ, at about the distance of seven stadia, you will descend into a place, which, as I have before observed, is called Nasi. And at the distance of fifty stadia from hence, you will arrive at the river Ladon. Passing over this river, a grove of oaks will present itself to your view, which is called Soron; and the road to which lies through Argeathæ, Lycurtes, and Scotane. Soron, too, leads to Psophis. This grove of oaks, as well as other Arcadian woods, abounds with boars, bears, and tortoises, of the largest size; from which last lyres might be formed equal to those which are made from the Indian tortoise. Near the extremity, too, of Soron are the ruins of the town Paus: and far-
OF GREECE.

ther on, though at no great distance, there is a place called Siræ, which forms the boundary between the Clitorians and Psophidians.

CHAPTER XXIV.

According to some, Psophis the son of Archon was the builder of Psophis; and he derived his origin in a continued series from Erymanthus, Aristas, Parthaon, Periphetes, and Nyctimus. There are others again who say that the city was founded by a Psophis who was the daughter of Xanthus, the grand-daughter of Erymanthus, and the great granddaughter of Arcas. And such are the particulars which the Arcadians relate of their kings. But the truest of these reports is this, that Psophis was the daughter of Eryx, who reigned in Sician. Her father not thinking it proper to take her mother home after he had been connected with her, left her when she was with child at the house of Lycortas, in the city Phegia, which, prior to the reign of Phegeus, was called Erymanthus. Here the daughter of which she was delivered was educated; and Echephon and Promachus, who were the offspring of this Sicanian woman by Hercules, called the city Phegia Psophis, after the name of her mother. The tower, too, of the Zacynthians is called Psophis, because Zacynthus, a Psophidian, and the son of Dardanus, was the first person that passed over with a fleet into that island. Psophis is about thirty stadia distant from Sirææ. Near it flows the river Aroanius, and at a small distance from the city the river Erymanthus. The fountains of Erymanthus are in the mountain Lampea, which is said to be sacred to Pan: and perhaps Lampea is a part of the mountain Erymanthus. According to Homer, there used to be hunting both in Taygetus and Erymanthus. From Lampea the river Erymanthus flows through Arcadia, having on its

VOL. II.
right hand the mountain Pholoe, and on its left the country Thelpusa, and last of all pours itself into the Alpheus.

It is also said that Hercules, in consequence of the mandate of Eurystheus, slew the boar in Erymanthus which was so remarkable for its magnitude and strength. The Cumæi among the Opici assert, that they have the teeth of the Erymanthean boar suspended in a temple of Apollo; but there is not the least probability in their assertion. The Psophidians have within their city a temple of Venus Erycina, of which the ruins only remain at present. They report that Psophis the daughter of Eryx dedicated this temple; and the assertion is probable. For in Sicily there is a temple of Venus Erycina, in the vicinity of the mountain Eryx: and this temple is both most holy from its antiquity, and not less wealthy than the temple in Paphos. At present, too, the heroic sepulchres of Promachus and Echephon, the sons of Psophis, remain; but they are not remarkable for the excellence of their structure. Alcmæon likewise, the son of Amphiaraus, lies buried in Psophis; but his sepulchre is neither remarkable for its magnitude nor ornaments. This tomb is surrounded with cypress-trees, which are so lofty that a mountain which is near Psophis is darkened by their leaves. They are not willing to cut down these trees, because they consider them as sacred to Alcmæon: and they are called by the natives Virgins. But Alcmæon, when he fled from Argos, after having slain his mother, came to Psophis, which was then called Phégia from Phegeus. Here he married Alphesiboea, the daughter of Phegeus, to whom he gave various gifts (as it was likely he should), and among the rest a necklace.

But when he had taken up his residence among the Arcadians, finding that his disease of insanity was not mitigated, he fled to the oracle at Delphos. Here the Pythian deity ordered him to migrate to that land which was the most recent of all others, and which the sea had exhibited, after he
OF GREECE.

became defiled with the blood of his mother Eriphyle. The oracle added, that the daemon who revenged his mother's death would not then pursue him any farther. Alcmæon, therefore, having found that land which was formed from the overflowing of Acheulous, fixed his residence there, and married Callirhoe, who, according to the Acarnanes, was the daughter of Acheulous. By her he had two sons, Acarnan and Amphoterus. They say, too, that the inhabitants in this continent were denominated from Acarnan; for prior to this they were called Curetes. Many men, indeed, are found to give way to foolish desires; but the insane desires of women are much more vehement. Callirhoe desired to possess the necklace of Eriphyle, and in order to obtain it sent Alcmæon, though he was unwilling to take the journey, to Phegia, where falling into the snares of Temenus and Axion, the sons of Phegeus, he lost his life. But the sons of Phegeus are said to have dedicated the necklace to Apollo at Delphos. The Psophidii, too, affirm, that the Greeks marched against Troy while the city was yet called Phegia, and possessed its own kings; but that they did not partake of this expedition on account of the enmity which subsisted between their kings and the Argive leaders; for many of them were allied to Alcmæon, and joined themselves to the army which he led against Thebes.

But that the islands called the Echinades, do not at present join to the continent, is owing to the Ætolians: for being driven from their proper places of abode, the country became entirely desolate. The river Achealous, therefore, in consequence of Ætolia remaining unprolific, did no longer deposit its mud in the Echinades as it used to do. What I now assert is confirmed from hence: The river Meander, flowing through the cultivated lands of the Phrygians and Cares, makes in a very short time a continent of the sea between Priene and Miletus. The Psophidii, too, have a temple near Erymanthus, of the river Erymanthus, and in
THE DESCRIPTION

it a statue. In this temple, besides the Egyptian Nile, there are images of white stone of other rivers: but it is usual to form the image of the Nile of black stone, because it falls through Æthiopia into the sea. I cannot, however, be induced to believe the report which I have heard in Psophis, that Aglaus the Psophidian, as likewise Croesus the Lydian, were happy during the whole period of their present existence. For though a man may be found who is afflicted with less evils than his contemporaries, just as one ship may be less agitated by tempests than another; yet we shall never be able to find a man perpetually free from calamity, any more than a ship which always sails with prosperous winds. In confirmation of this opinion, Homer places two urns by the throne of Jupiter, one of which is full of good, and the other of evil. And this is evinced by the Delphic Apollo, who called Homer both miserable and blessed, as being one who was equally born to evil and good.

CHAPTER XXV.

As you proceed to Thelpusa from Psophis, the first place you will arrive at on the left hand of Ladon is Trophæa. After this there is a grove which is called Aphrodisium: and in it there is a column on which ancient letters are cut, signifying, that this place forms the boundaries between the Thelpusians and Psophidians. But in the Thelpusian land there is a river called Arse. After you have passed over this river, at the distance of twenty-five stadia, you will arrive at the ruins of a place called Caous, and which they denominate the temple of Æsculapius, from a temple of this god being raised in the road. At the distance of forty stadia from this temple is the city Thelpusa, which they say was denominated from the nymph Thelpusa, who was the
daughter of Ladon. But the water of the river Ladon commences from the Clitorian land, as I have before observed. It flows, too, first of all through Leucasium and Mesoboa, and through Nasi, to Oryx, and that place which they call Halus. But from Halus it passes on to Thaliades, and the temple of Eleusinian Ceres. This temple is on the borders of the Thelpusians; and it contains statues, each of which is not less than seven feet in altitude, of Ceres, Proserpine, and Bacchus, all of which are made of stone. After the temple of Eleusinian Ceres, the river Ladon flows on the left hand of the city Thelpusa. This city is situated on a lofty hill, but at present it is for the most a solitary waste; so that the forum is now in the extremity of the city, which was formerly in its most interior parts. In Thelpusa, too, there is a temple of Æsculapius, and a temple of the twelve gods. But the greater part of this last is almost levelled with the ground.

After Thelpusa the river Ladon directs its course to a temple of Ceres in Oncium. The Thelpusii call the goddess Erinnys; and Antimachus agrees with them in that poem, in which he relates the expedition of the Argives against the Thebans. For in this poem there is the following verse:

"There fame reports Erinnys' Ceres' temple stands."

But the place in which the temple of Ceres stands was called Oncium from Oncus, who is said to have been the son of Apollo, and who reigned there. And the goddess was called Erinnys on the following account: During the wanderings of Ceres to discover her daughter, they report that Neptune desired to have connexion with the goddess. But Ceres turned herself into a mare, and fed with the horses at Oncium in order to elude the pursuit of Neptune. The god, however, discovered the deceit, and, changing himself into a horse, enjoyed the goddess. Afterwards, Ceres
was at first angry with Neptune for the action; but in process of time she laid aside her anger, and is said to have desired to bathe in the river Ladon. The goddess, therefore, was called Erinnys from this circumstance, because the Arcadians call the exercise of anger εριννεύειν, erinnuein: but she was denominated Lusia, from washing herself in the river Ladon. The statues in this temple are made of wood, except their faces, and the extremities of their hands and feet; for these are of Parian stone. But the statue of Erinnys holds a cista in its left hand, and a torch in its right hand; and, as I conjecture, is about nine feet in altitude. Lusia, however, does not appear to be more than six feet in height. But those who assert that this statue is the statue of Themis, and not of Ceres Lusia, are by no means to be credited. They say, too, that Ceres had by Neptune a daughter, whose name they do not think it lawful to reveal to the uninitiated, and a horse whose name was Arion. Neptune, likewise, was first called Equestrian by the Arcadians. In proof of this, they cite verses from the Iliad and Thebaid. From the Iliad the following respecting Arion:

"Not though thy rival drove Adrastus' steed,
Divine Arion, of celestial breed."

But from the Thebaid, where the flight of Adrastus is mentioned:

"With blue Arion clad in black he fled."

These verses, therefore, obscurely signify, that Neptune was the father of Arion. Antimachus, however, says that Arion was the offspring of the earth: "Adrastus, the son of Talaus and the grandson of Cretheus, was the first of the Grecians that became renowned for driving horses. But he drove the swift Cœrus, and the Thelpusian Arion, which the earth brought forth near the grove of Oneean Apollo, and which were reverenced by mortals when they beheld
them." If, therefore, these horses sprung from the earth, it is very probable that their origin was divine, and that their hairs were of a blue colour. The following particulars, too, are related: When Hercules warred on the Eleans, he requested Oncus to lend him Arion; and being carried to the battle on this horse, he took Elis. But afterwards, Adrastus gave Arion to Hercules. And lastly, Antimachus observes farther concerning Arion, that

"By the third king Adrastus he was tamed."

But the river Ladon, leaving the temple of Erinny the, directs its course on the left hand of the temple of Apollo Onceatas: but on its right hand it has the temple of the boy Æsculapius, near which there is a sepulchre of the nurse Trygon. They say, that this Trygon was the nurse of Æsculapius. For when the boy Æsculapius was left exposed in the Thelpusian land, Autolaus, the bastard son of Arcas, happened to meet with him, and preserved him. And I think it is more probable that Æsculapius was called a boy on this account, as I have shown in my account of the Epidaurian affairs. The river Tuthoa, too, flows into Ladon, near the borders of the Heraëenses; which place the Arcadians call the plain. But the place in which the Ladon pours itself into the Alpheus, is denominated Nasos Coracoou, or the Island of Crows. Some are of opinion, that the places Enispe, Stratia, and Ripe, which are mentioned by Homer, were once inhabited islands in the Ladon. But I should consider those who entertain this opinion as ridiculous persons; for though the Ladon is the most beautiful of all the rivers that flow either through Barbaric or Grecian land, yet it is not large enough to admit islands such as exist in the rivers Ister and Eridanus.
But Heræus, the son of Lycaon, built Heræa; and this city is situated on the right hand of the river Alpheus. The greater part, too, of the city has a gradual elevation; but the remaining part extends to the river Alpheus. Near the river there are places for racing, which are separated from each other by myrtle, and other planted trees. Here, too, there are baths: and two temples of Bacchus, one of which they call Polites, and the other Axites. They have besides a building in which they celebrate the orgies of Bacchus. There is also a temple of Pan in Heræa: for this god was a native of Arcadia. But of the temple of Juno nothing but ruins and pillars remain. Of all the Arcadian athletes, too, Demaratus Heræensis was the most illustrious, who first conquered in the armed course in Olympia. On proceeding from Heræa to the Elean land, to the distance of about fifteen stadia, and passing over the river Ladon, you will arrive at the distance of twenty stadia from thence at Erymanthus. According to the Arcadians, Erymanthus separates the borders of Heræa from the Elean land; but according to the Eleans, the sepulchre of Corœbus is the boundary of their country. For when Iphitus restored the Olympic games, which had been for a long time neglected, and only proposed the contest of the race, Corœbus was victorious. And there is an inscription on his tomb, which signifies that Corœbus conquered in the Olympic games, that he was the first who conquered, and that his sepulchre was raised in the extremity of the Elean land.

There is a small city, too, called Aliphra, which was abandoned by most of its inhabitants when the Arcadians collected themselves together in Megalopolis. On proceeding, therefore, to this city from Heræa, after you have crossed the Alpheus, and passed on to the distance of about
OF GREECE.

In ten stadia, you will arrive at a mountain; and at the distance of thirty stadia from hence, you will ascend through a mountain to the small city Aliphera, which was so called from Alipherus, the son of Lycaon. Here there are temples of Æsculapius and Minerva, which divinities they reverence above all others, because, as they assert, they were born and educated among them. There is also an altar here dedicated to Jupiter Lecheatas, because in this place he brought forth Minerva. They call the fountain, too, in this place Tritonis, in consequence of what is reported concerning the river Triton. But the statue of Minerva is made of brass, was the work of Hypatodorus, and deserves to be inspected both for its magnitude and the art displayed in its fabrication. They, likewise, celebrate a public festival, (Paneguris) in honour of a certain divinity, who appears to me to be Minerva. In this Paneguris they sacrifice first of all to Myiagrus, and promise to the hero, by a vow, the victims hereafter to be immolated. They invoke him, too, and believe that by performing these ceremonies they shall be in future free from the molestation of flies. But about the road which leads from Heraea to Megalopolis is the city Melæneæ. This city was built by Melæneus, the son of Lycaon: but at present it is destitute of inhabitants, on account of its being covered with stagnant waters. Above Melæneæ, and at the distance of forty stadia, Buphagium is situated; in which place the fountains of the river Buphagus, that pours itself into the Alpheus, are contained. And the boundaries between the Heraeenses and Megalopolitans are situated about the fountains of Buphagus.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Megalopolis, however, is the most recent, not only of all the Arcadian, but of all the cities in Greece, except such
as, in consequence of the calamity of the Roman empire, became colonized by the migration of inhabitants from their captured cities. But the Arcadians migrated into Megalopolis for the sake of its strength; for they knew that the Argives from very early periods, and almost daily, were infested with the hostile incursions of the Lacedaemonians; and that the Argives having lost some small cities of no great consequence, viz. Tiryntha, Hysiae, Orneæ, Mycenæ, and Midea, had so increased their city by the inhabitants which migrated from those towns, that they became afterwards less afraid of the Lacedaemonians, and had a stronger defence against their neighbouring foes. The Arcadians, therefore, collected themselves together, in consequence of perceiving the propriety of the Argives' conduct on a similar occasion. But the person that colonized this city may be very justly said to be the Theban Epaminondas. For he collected the Arcadians into one body, and sent to their assistance a thousand chosen troops of Thebans under the command of Pammenes, who were to fight in their defence in case the Lacedaemonians should endeavour to prevent their establishing a colony. Ten men, too, were chosen by the Arcadians, as their leaders in this undertaking, viz. from Tegea, Timon and Proxenus; from Mantinea, Lycomedes and Poleas; from the Clitorians, Cleolaus and Acriphiús; from Mænalus, Eucampidas and Hieronymus; and from the Parrhasians, Pasiprates and Theoxenus.

But the cities which were persuaded by the Arcadians to abandon their own countries, through the desire of new habitations, and hatred of the Lacedaemonians, were these: From Mænalus, Halia, Pallantium, Eutassium, Amasia, Jasea, Aperethes, Helesãon, Orethasium, Dipsea, Alycaea. From the Eutresians, Tricoloni, Zoetium, Charisia, Ptoledera, Cnauson, Parorea. From the Æpytians, Scirtonium, Malea, Cromi, Blénina, Leuctron. And besides these, of the Parrhasians, the Lycosurenses, Thocenses, Trapezuntii, Prosenses, Acacesium, Acomimacaria, and
OF GREECE.

Dasea. But from the Cynuraeans in Arcadia, Gortys, Thisea, near Lyceum, Lykote, and Aliphera. And of those who are ranked among the Orchomenians, Thisoa, Methydrion, Teuthis: to which were added, Tripolis, which is called Callia Dipoea, and Nonacris. Of all this multitude of people none refused to conform to the general decree of the Arcadians, but zealously collected themselves into Megalopolis, except the Lycosurenses and Trapezuntii, who revolted from the Arcadians, because they could not be induced to leave their ancient cities. Hence a great part of these were unwillingly, and by force, brought to Megalopolis. But those Trapezuntians, whom the anger of the Arcadians spared, entirely abandoned Peloponnesus, and arriving with their vessels safe at Pontus, were permitted to take up their residence among those who built the metropolis Trapezus on the coast of the Euxine sea. The Arcadians, however, spared the refractory Lycosurenses, in consequence of their flying for refuge to the temple of Ceres and Despoina. With respect to the other cities that we have mentioned, some are entirely at present desolate, and others are inhabited as villages by the Megalopolitans, viz. Gortyna, Dipoea, Thisoa near Orchomenus, Methydrion, Teuthis, Callia, Helisson. Pallantium alone of these towns felt the avenging hand of the daemon in a manner less severe. The Alipherenses, too, retain their ancient city even at present.

But Megalopolis was inhabited for the first time in the same year, and a few months after the Lacedaemonians suffered that great loss at Leuctra, and when Phrasischides was the Athenian archon; it being then the second year of the one hundred and second Olympiad, in which Damon the Thurian was victorious in the stadium. And then, indeed, the Megalopolitans, being the allies of the Thebans, feared nothing from the Lacedaemonians. But after the Thebans engaged in that war which was called sacred, and were vanquished by the Phocenses, who were assisted by their neighbours the Boeotians, and were in no want of money, in
consequence of having plundered the temple in Delphos;—then the Lacedaemonians drove from their cities, through the vigour of their exertions, both other Arcadians and the Megalopolitans. The citizens, however, making a sharp resistance, and being readily assisted by their neighbours, nothing was accomplished which deserves to be related. But Philip, the son of Amyntas, increased the empire of the Macedonians in no small degree, through the hatred of the Arcadians towards the Lacedaemonians. For the Arcadians were neither present in the battle at Cheronea, nor in the engagement at Thessaly. Not long after, however, the tyrant Aristodemus ruled over the Megalopolitans, who was a Phigalian, and the son of Artylas, but was adopted by Tritaeus, a man of no small account in his own country. This Aristodemus, during his reign, was called the frugal: and while he held the reins of government, the Lacedaemonians marched with an army against Megalopolis, having for their general Acrotatus, the eldest son of Cleomenes, whose genealogy, as well as that of all the Spartan kings, we have already related. Here a sharp engagement took place, and many fell on both sides, but the Megalopolitans left the field of battle victorious. Among others, too, that fell of the Lacedaemonians, was Acrotatus, who, therefore, did not succeed his father in the royal authority.

But almost two ages after Aristodemus, Lydiades succeeded to the tyranny, who was of an obscure family, but naturally ambitious; and, as he afterwards evinced, was a lover of his country. For he began his reign when but a young man; and as soon as he was capable of behaving with proper prudence, voluntarily resigned the royal authority, though his government was in a state of perfect security; and the Megalopolitans then joining themselves to the Achaic council, he was so much approved by his own people, and all the Achaians, that his reputation was equal to that of Aratus. But now, for the third time, the Lacedaemonians attacked Megalopolis during the reign of Agis,
the son of Eudamidas, who was of the other family, with an army much more numerous than before, when Acrotatus was their general. In this battle they slew the Megalopolitans who came out of their city to oppose them, and, placing strong machines against the walls, so vehemently shook a tower that stood on that part of the wall which they attacked, that they expected the next day to be able to throw down the walls. The north wind, however, which had more than once assisted the Greeks, was now beneficial to the Megalopolitans. For this wind, which dashed many of the Persian ships on the rocks of the promontory Sepias, threw down the machine of Agis, and by its violence and continuance entirely destroyed it. But this Agis, who was prevented by the north wind from taking Megalopolis, is the same person that took Pellene in Achaia, under the command of Aratus and the Sicyonians, and who afterwards fell in the battle at Mantinea.

Not long after this, Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, violated the league which had been made with the Megalopolitans, and oppressed their city. But of the Megalopolitans, some fell fighting in the night for the defence of their country, among whom was Lydiades, who died nobly in this engagement; and nearly two parts of the people, as well soldiers as boys and women, fled with Philopæmen to Messenia. But the rest were slain by Cleomenes after the city was taken. However, how the Megalopolitans recovered their dominions, and what they accomplished after their restoration, will be shown by me in my account of Philopæmen. The Lacedæmonian people, indeed, were in no respect the cause of the calamity of the Megalopolitans; as the blame is entirely to be laid on Cleomenes, who changed the Lacedæmonian polity from a kingdom into a tyranny. But the boundaries between the Megalopolitans and the Heraeenses are, as I have before observed, about the fountains of the river Buphagus. This river was de-
THE DESCRIPTION

nominated from the hero Buphagus, who was the son of Iapetus and Thornax. The name of Thornax, too, is celebrated in the Laconic region: but they report that Buphagus was pierced with the arrows of Diana, in the mountain Pholoe, in consequence of daring to be behave impiously towards the goddess.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

On proceeding from the fountains of the river, you will arrive in the first place at Maratha; and afterwards at Gortys, which is now a village, but was formerly a city. In this place there is a temple of Æsculapius, of Pentelican stone; and a statue of the god without a beard, and of Hygia, the work of Scopas. The natives assert, that a coat of mail and a spear were dedicated in the temple of Æsculapius by Alexander, the son of Philip: and even at present a coat of mail and the point of a spear are to be seen in this temple. A river runs through Gortys, which near its fountains is called Lysius, because Jupiter was washed here as soon as he was born: but that part of the river, which is at a greater distance from the fountains, is called Gortynius, from the village Gortys. This river Gortynius affords the coldest water of all rivers: for, in my opinion, the Ister, Rhine, Hypanis, Borysthenes, and other rivers whose waters are frozen in winter, ought rather to be called Brumal than cold; as these rivers flow through the earth for the greatest part of the year covered with snow, and are surrounded with a cold air. But those rivers that flow through temperate regions, and in summer refrigerate either by drinking or bathing in them, and are not even unfit for these purposes in winter—these rivers I do not denominate
cold. The water, however, of the river Cydnus, which flows through the land of the Tarsenses; of Melas, which flows through the Pamphylian Side; and of Ales at Colophon, which are celebrated for their coldness by poets—these I denominate cold. Gortynius, however, surpasses all these in coldness, especially in summer. But its fountains are in Thisoa, which borders on the Methydrienses; and they call the confluence of the Alpheus and Gortynius, Rhæteæ.

Teuthis, which is now a village, but was formerly a city, is near to Thisoa. In the Trojan war this place sent a general whose name was Teuthis; but others call him Ornytus. While the Greeks were detained at Aulis by adverse winds, a disagreement arose between Teuthis and Agamemnon; and in consequence of this, Teuthis, they say, was about to lead back his forces, but Minerva, in the form of Melas, the son of Ops, opposed his design. Teuthis, however, through the violence of his anger at that time, pierced the thigh of the goddess with his spear, and led back his army from Aulis. But when he returned home, the goddess appeared to him, and showed him her wounded thigh. From that time Teuthis was seized with a deadly kind of consumption: and the earth was barren in this part of Arcadia alone. Some time after, however, an oracle from Dodona admonished them to appease the goddess: in consequence of which they made a statue of Minerva, with a wound in the thigh. This statue I have seen with a purple bandage round its thigh. In Teuthis, too, there are temples of Venus and Diana. But in that road which leads from Gortys to Megalopolis, there is a sepulchre of those who died in the battle against Cleomenes. This sepulchre the Megalopolitans call Paræbasium, because Cleomenes violated the league which had been made with them. After Paræbasium there is a plain of sixty stadia in extent: and on the right hand of the road there are ruins of the city Brenthe, and a river running through them, which at the
distance of five stadia from hence pours itself into the Alpheus.

CHAPTER XXIX.

After you have passed over the Alpheus, you will arrive at a place called Trapezuntia, and the ruins of the city Trapezus. Proceeding from hence, on the left hand of the Alpheus, you will see, not far from the river, a place called Bathos, in which every third year they celebrate the mysteries of the Great Goddesses. There is a fountain here which is denominated Olympias, the water of which flows only every other year: and fire ascends near the fountain. The Arcadians report, that the battle between the giants and the gods was fought here, and not at Pellene in Thrace: in consequence of which they sacrifice here to lightning, storms, and thunder. Homer, indeed, makes no mention in the Iliad of the giants: but in the Odyssey, he says, that the Laestrygons, who resembled giants and not men, assaulted the ships of Ulysses. He also represents the king of the Phæacians saying, that the Phæacians dwelt near the gods as well as the Cyclops, and the race of giants. In these passages, therefore, he evinces that the giants were mortals, and not the offspring of the gods. And this he shows still more clearly in the following verses:

"Eurymedon's last hope, who ruled, of old,
The race of giants, impious, proud, and bold:
Perish'd the People in unrighteous war;
Perish'd the prince, and left this only heir."

For most are of opinion, that by Æs or people in these verses, Homer means the multitude of mankind.

But that the extremities of the giants were dragons, may be confuted by many arguments, and particularly by the
following circumstance: a Roman emperor once endeavoured to pass with a fleet from the sea to the city Antioch, through the Syrian river Orontes, which pours itself into the sea, not always through plains, but through shelving places, and with a precipitate course. Having, therefore, dug a moat with great labour and expense, he turned the river into it. But when the ancient channel of the river was dried up, an earthen urn was found in it, more than eleven cubits in altitude; and in the urn there was the dead body of a man of the same magnitude with the urn. The deity of Claros told the Syrians who consulted his oracle, that this was the body of Orontes, who was by birth an Indian. If, indeed, the earth at first, while it was yet wet, and full of moisture, produced the first men, through the heat of the sun, what region can be supposed to have been moist prior to India, or what part of the earth could produce larger men than that country, which at present is the nurse of beasts so prodigiously large, and of such wonderful shapes? But at the distance of about ten stadia from that place which is called Bathos, is the city Basilis, which was built by Cypsylos, who gave his daughter in marriage to Cresphontes, the son of Aristomachus. At present nothing but the ruins of Basilis remain; and among these there is a temple of Eleusinian Ceres. Proceeding from hence, when you have again crossed the Alpheus you will arrive at Thocnia, which was denominated from Thoconus the son of Lycaon. This place is at present entirely destitute of inhabitants. Thocnuus is said to have built this city on a hill, near which the river Aminius flowing, pours itself into the Helisson: and not far from this the Helisson runs into the Alpheus.
CHAPTER XXX.

With respect to the Helisson, it commences from a village of the same name, and from thence flows through the land of the Dipæenses and the region Lycæatis, and in the third place runs through the city of the Megalopolitans, and pours itself into the Alpheus at the distance of about thirty stadia from the city. But near the city there is a temple of Neptune Epoptas, or the Speculator: but the head of the statue alone remains. As the river Helisson, too, divides the city, just as the Euripi divide Cnidos and Mitylene, hence, on the right hand of the river, and near its more elevated parts, there is a forum towards the north, in which there is an inclosure of stones, and a temple of Lycean Jupiter, but without any entrance: for the contents of the temple immediately present themselves to the view. There are two altars here, and tables sacred to the god, together with two eagles, and a statue of Pan made of stone. This Pan is called Sinois from the nymph Sinoe, who together with other nymphs, and apart from them, is said to have been the nurse of Pan. Before the grove of this temple there is a brazen statue of Apollo well worthy of inspection, the magnitude of which is about twelve feet, and which was brought from villages belonging to the Phigaleans, for the purpose of contributing to the ornament of Megalopolis. But the place where this statue is dedicated, was called from the first by the Phigaleans, Basse. The appellation of the god attended the statue from the Phigaleans to Megalopolis: but on what account Apollo came to be called Epicurius, I shall explain in my description of the Phigalean affairs. On the right hand of this statue of Apollo there is a statue of no great magnitude of the Mother of the Gods; but nothing of the temple remains
but the pillars. Before the temple, too, of the Mother of the Gods there is no longer any statue; but the steps remain on which the statues once stood. An elegy which is inscribed on one of these steps, signifies that the statue belonging to it was the image of Diophanes, the son of Dikeus, who first joined all Peloponnesus to the Achaic council. But the porch of the forum which is called Philippion, was not raised by Philip the son of Amyntas; but it was so denominated by the Megalopolitans, in consequence of their being in favour with the king.

Near this porch is the temple of Mercury Acacesius, of which nothing but the stone roof remains. Another porch follows the Philippian porch, but which is not equal to it in magnitude. The Megalopolitans have in this place six ancient buildings. In one of these there is a statue of Ephesian Diana; and in another there is a brazen statue of Pan, who is called Scolitas, of a cubit in magnitude. This last statue was brought hither from a hill within the walls, which is likewise called Scolitas. From this hill water falls from a fountain into the Helisson. Behind these ancient buildings there is a temple of Fortune, and a stone statue of the goddess, of about five feet in dimensions. But the porch, which they call Myropolis, or the porch of perfumes, is a part of the forum, and was built out of the spoils of the Lacedemonians, who under the command of Acrotatus, the son of Cleomenes, were vanquished by Aristodemus, who then tyrannized in Megalopolis. In the forum, too, of the Megalopolitans, and behind that inclosure which is dedicated to Lycean Jupiter, Polybius the son of Lycortas stands on a pillar. There is an inscription on him, which signifies that he wandered over every land and sea, that he was the ally of the Romans, and that he caused their anger towards the Grecians to cease. This Polybius wrote an account of the other transactions of the Romans, and of their war with the Carthaginians. In this history he relates
the origin of the Carthaginian war, and how at last, but not without great danger, the Romans ended the war by means of Scipio Africanus, and subverted Carthage from its very foundations. Indeed, whatever the Roman general undertook through the advice of Polybius, was crowned with success; but such of his actions as were the result of opinions contrary to those of Polybius, are said to have been always unfortunate. Those cities, too, which joined themselves to the Achaians found that Polybius was employed by the Romans as the founder of their politics, and the dictator of their laws. On the left hand of the statue of Polybius there is a place of consultation, which is called Bouleuterion. But that porch of the forum which is denominated Aristandrea is said to have been built by Aristander, a native of this place. Very near this porch, and opposite to the east, there is a temple of Jupiter the Saviour, which is on all sides surrounded with pillars. A statue of Megalopolis stands on the right hand of Jupiter, who sits on a throne; and on his left hand there is a statue of Diana the Saviour. These statues, which are of Pentelican stone, were made by the Athenians Cephisodotus and Xenophon.

CHAPTER XXXI.

But the other extremity of the porch, which extends towards the west, contains a sacred inclosure of the Great Goddesses. These Great Goddesses are, as I have shown in my account of the Messenian affairs, Ceres and Proserpine. But the Arcadians call Proserpine the Saviour. Before the entrance of the temple there are statues on bases of Diana, Æsculapius, and Hygia. Of the Great Goddesses, the statue of Ceres is entirely of stone: but that of the Saviour, in the part where she is veiled, is wooden. The mag-
nitude, too, of each statue is fifteen feet. Before these statues of Ceres and Proserpine there are two small virgins, clothed with garments reaching to their feet; and each has a basket on her head full of flowers. These are said to be the daughters of Damaphon. Others, however, refer them to something more divine: and, according to them, the two virgins are Minerva and Diana, gathering flowers together with Proserpine. Near Ceres, too, there is a statue of Hercules, of a cubit in magnitude. Onomacritus in his poems says, that this Hercules is one of the Dactyli Idaei. There are, besides, near Ceres two of the Seasons, Pan with a pipe, and Apollo playing on a harp. There is an inscription on these, which signifies that these rank among the first gods. Nymphs, too, are placed on a table, viz. a Naiad holding in her arms an infant Jupiter; Anthracia, an Arcadian nymph, holding a torch; Agno, with a water-pot in one hand, and a bowl in the other; and Archiree and Myrtoessa with water-pots, out of which the water is represented running. Within the inclosure there is a temple of Jupiter Phlius, or the guardian of friendship, and a statue resembling Bacchus, which was made by the Argive Polycletus; for the god has buskins instead of shoes; and in one hand holds a cup, and in the other a thyrsus. An eagle is represented perched on the thyrsus, though this particular does not correspond with what is asserted of Bacchus.

Behind this temple there is a grove of trees, which is not large, and is surrounded with a wall, within which men are not permitted to enter. Before this grove there are statues of Ceres and Proserpine, each of which is about three feet in altitude. But within the inclosure there is a temple of the Great Goddesses and of Venus. And before the entrance to it there are ancient wooden statues, viz. Juno, Apollo, and the Muses. They say that these were brought from Trapezus. In the temple there is a wooden statue of Mercury, and one of Venus, which were made by Damaphon.
THE DESCRIPTION

The hands, face, and extremities of the feet of Venus are made of stone. The appellation, too, of Mechanitis, or the artist, is, as it appears to me, very properly given to the goddess; because for the sake of Venus and her works most of the operations of art take place, and words capable of effecting persuasion are devised. There are, besides, statues of men in this building, viz. of Callignotus, Mentas, Sosigenes, and Polus. These men are said to have been the first that instituted for the Megalopolitans the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, which are imitations of the things performed in Eleusis. But within the inclosure there are statues of a square figure of the following gods: Hermes who is called Agetor, or the leader: Apollo, Minerva, Neptune; and besides these the Sun, under the appellation of the Saviour, and Hercules. There is a very large temple for these statues: and in this temple they perform the mysteries of the Great Goddesses. On the right hand of this temple there is a temple of Ceres and Proserpine, and a stone statue about eight feet in altitude. Fillets gird the base of this statue on all sides. Women are permitted to enter into this temple at all times: but men only once every year. There is a gymnasion, too, joining to the forum towards the west. But behind that porch, which they call the porch of Philip, there are two hills, but which do not rise to a steep. On one of these there are ruins of a temple of Minerva Polias; and on the other there is a temple of Juno the perfect: but of this, likewise, nothing more than ruins remains. Under this last hill there is a fountain called Bathyllus, which contributes to the magnitude of the Helisson. And such are the particulars which deserve to be related in this part.
CHAPTER XXXII.

But in that part of the city which is beyond the river, and is situated towards the west, there is a theatre, the largest of any in Greece, and in it a fountain of ever-running water. Not far from this theatre the foundations of a Bouleuterion remain, which was raised for select persons chosen out of all the Arcadians. It is called from its builder Thersilias. Near it there is a house, which at present belongs to a private person, but which was at first built for Alexander the son Philip. Before this house there is a statue of Ammon, which resembles the square figures of Mercury, and which has the horns of a ram on its head. But the foundations alone remain, and these not many, of that temple which was raised in common to the Muses, Apollo, and Mercury. One statue of the Muses is left, and a statue of Apollo, which is fashioned after the manner of the square figures of Mercury. Nothing likewise remains of the temple of Venus but the front, in which there are three statues; the first of these they call Celestial Venus; the second Venus the popular; and the third is without a name. Not far from hence there is an altar of Mars, which is said to have been raised to this god from the first. Above the temple of Venus there is a stadium, which reaches to the theatre: and there is a fountain here, which they consider as sacred to Bacchus.

In the other extremity of the stadium there is a temple of Bacchus, which they say was blasted by lightning two ages prior to the present time; and of which not many ruins remain. But the temple common to Hercules and Mercury, which stood before the stadium, no longer exists; the altar which belonged to it alone remains. In this part of the city, too, there is a hill situated towards the east, and on it a temple of Rural Diana, which was dedicated by Aristodemus.
THE DESCRIPTION

On the right hand of this temple there is a grove, and in it a temple of Æsculapius, which contains a statue of the god, and a statue of Hygia. On descending to a small distance from hence, you will see statues of gods made from square stones, and who are called Ergatai, or Operators. Among these divinities are Minerva Ergane, and Agyieus Apollo, who is thus denominated from presiding over roads. But with respect to Mercury, Hercules, and Lucina, employments are attributed to these from the verses of Homer. For Mercury is the minister of Jupiter, and the leader of souls to Hades from the present life; Hercules accomplishes many and difficult labours; and Lucina, according to the Iliad, takes care of pregnant women. Under this hill, too, there is another temple of the boy Æsculapius; and the statue of the god, which is about a cubit in magnitude, is in an upright position. But the statue of Apollo sits on a throne, and is about six feet in altitude. Bones are to be seen in this place, surpassing in magnitude those of a man, and which are said to have been the bones of one of the giants, whom Oplodamas called to the assistance of Rhea: of which affair I shall hereafter make mention. Near this temple there is a fountain, the water of which is received by the Helisson.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MEGALOPOLIS, indeed, which was built by the Arcadians with the utmost alacrity, and which raised among the Greeks the greatest hopes of its prosperity, having lost all its ornaments, and its ancient felicity, is now for the most part a heap of ruins. But this I by no means wonder at, as I know that a divine power is always desirous of producing something new; and that Fortune in a similar manner changes alike things strong, and things imbecile; such as are rising
OF GREECE.

into existence, and such as are verging to decay; and that she hurries them along through the force of powerful necessity. For Mycenæ, which in the times of the Trojan war ruled over all Greece, and Ninus, which was the royal city of the Assyrians, are now no more. In Bœotia, too, Thebes, which at one time was the first in dignity of all the Grecian cities, is now reduced to a tower, and has but few inhabitants. So again, the cities which formerly surpassed all others in wealth, such as the Egyptian Thebes, and the Minyean Orchomenus, are now inferior to the moderate fortune of a private man. Delos, too, which was once the common emporium of the Greeks, is now so fallen, that if the guard of the temple sent by the Athenians was removed, it would be deserted of inhabitants. All that remains of Babylon is the temple of Belus and the walls of the city; of Babylon, a greater city than which the sun formerly did not any where behold; and in like manner nothing of Tiryntha, an Argolic city, remains but the walls. All these the daemon has reduced to nothing. On the contrary, the city of Alexander in Egypt, and the city of Seleucus, near the river Orontes, which were but raised as it were yesterday, have arrived at such a degree of power and felicity, that Fortune seems to have received them into her embraces. The goddess, however, has in my time exhibited a much greater and more wonderful specimen of the calamity and prosperity of cities than the preceding instances afford. For there was an island Chryse, at no great distance by sea from Lemnos; and they say, that in this island the misfortune happened to Philoctetes from the hydra. The waves have overwhelmed this island, so that it has entirely disappeared, being merged in the profundities of the sea. But there is now an island called Hiera, which at that time had no existence. Thus fortuitous are human affairs, and by no means stable and sure.
CHAPTER XXXIV.

On proceeding from Megalopolis to Messenia, at the distance of about seven stadia, you will see on the left hand of the public road a temple of the goddesses, who, as well as the place about the temple, are called Maniai. It appears to me, that this is an appellation of the Furies: and they say, that Orestes became insane in this place, on account of the murder of his mother. Not far from this temple there is a small heap of earth, upon which there is a finger of stone: and hence this mass of earth is called the monument of the finger. They farther report, that Orestes, during his insanity in this place, cut off one of his fingers. Contiguous to this monument there is a place called Ace, because Orestes found in it the cure of his malady. There is also a temple here of the Furies. They say, that when Orestes was first seized with insanity, these goddesses appeared to him perfectly black; but that when he had cut off his finger, they again presented themselves before him entirely white; and that by beholding them, he recovered the use of his understanding. They add, that in consequence of this he performed funeral rites to them, under a black appearance, in order to avert their anger: but that he sacrificed to them under a white appearance. When they sacrifice, too, to the Furies, they also sacrifice to the Graces. Near Ace there is another temple, which they call Tonstrina, because Orestes, as soon as he was within the temple, shaved off his hair. But such of the Peloponnesians as apply themselves to ancient affairs affirm, that these things happened to Orestes in Arcadia, in consequence of the Furies punishing him for the murder of his mother, before he was judged in the Areopagus. They add, that his accuser was not Tyndareus, because he was not at that time among the living, but Peri-
laus, the cousin of Clytemnestra. For Perilaus was the son of Icarius, who had daughters after Perilaus was born. From the Mantinenses there is a road of about fifteen stadia in length, which leads to Alpheus; and in this road the river Gatheatas pours itself into the Alpheus: though, prior to this, the river Carnion flows into the Gatheatas. But the fountains of the Carnion are in Äepydis, under the temple of Apollo Cereatas; and those of Gatheatas are in Cromitis in Gatheæ. This village Cromitis is about forty stadia beyond the Alpheus, and contains the vestiges of the city Cromon, which is now almost abolished. But a place called Nymphas is at about the distance of twenty stadia from Cromon. It is well watered, and full of trees. From hence, at the distance of twenty stadia, you will arrive at Hermæum, which contains the boundaries between the Messenians and the Megalopolitans; and in which there is a Mercury standing on a pillar.

CHAPTER XXXV.

And such are the particulars in the road to Messene: but the other road leads to Carnasium, a town of the Messenians. Proceeding along this road, you will first of all arrive at the Alpheus; and at that part in which Mallus and Syrus, uniting their streams, pour themselves into the Alpheus. From thence, Mallus flowing on your right hand, at the distance of thirty stadia, after you have crossed the river, you will ascend near its extremity, through a steep path, to a place called Phædria. Hermæum is distant from Phædria about fifteen stadia, and is situated near the temple of Despoina. These two places are the boundaries between the Messenians and Megalopolitans; and they contain small statues of Despoina and Ceres, Mercury and Hercules. It appears to me, too, that the wooden statue of Hercules, which was made by Daedalus, formerly stood in the confines of
Messenia and the Arcadian land. But the road from Megalopolis to Lacedæmon leads to the river Alpheus, and is about thirty stadia in length. From hence you will arrive at the river Thius, which falls into the Alpheus. Leaving, therefore, Thius on your left hand, at the distance of forty stadia you will arrive at Phææsiae, which is distant twenty stadia from the temple of Mercury, near Belemina. The Arcadians assert, that Belemina formerly belonged to them, and that it was cut off from the Lacedæmonians. They appear, however, to me to speak improbably, both for other reasons, and particularly because the Thebans would not have neglected the Arcadians, if they had thought Belemina was their natural right. But there are roads from Megalopolis and to certain places within Arcadia. The first of these is to Methydrum, and is one hundred and eighty stadia in length: the second is to Scia, is not far from Megalopolis, and is thirteen stadia in length. This place contains the ruins of a temple of Diana Sciadis. This temple is said to have been raised by Aristodemus when he tyrannized over the Arcadians.

From hence, at the distance of ten stadia, some few remains are to be seen of the city Charisiae: and a road of ten stadia in length leads from thence to Tricoli, which was once a city. At present there is a temple of Neptune on a hill in this place; in which there is a square statue: and there is a grove of trees round the temple. They say that this city was built by the sons of Lycaon. Zoetion, too, which is distant from Tricoli about fifteen stadia, and which does not lie in a straight direction, but on the left hand, as you proceed from Tricoli, is said to have been built by Zoeteus. Paroreus, the younger son of Trocolinus, built Paroria, which is distant from Zoetion about ten stadia. Both these are at present desolate places. However, in Zoetion the temples of Ceres and Diana remain. There are also other ruins of cities: of Thyreum, which is distant from Paroria about fifteen stadia; and of Hypsus, which is situ-
OF GREECE.

A mountain above the plain, and which as well as the city is called Hypsus. But the country between Thyraeum and Tricolini is wholly mountainous, and abounds with wild beasts. We have above shown that Thyraeus and Hypsus were the sons of Lycaon. On the right hand of Tricolini there is a steep road to a fountain, which is called Cruni, or an aqueduct. At the distance of thirty stadia from Cruni is the tomb of Callisto. This tomb is a heap of earth, surrounded with many barren and many fertile trees. On its summit there is a temple of Diana, who is called Calliste. But it appears to me, that Pamphus, learning this name from the Arcadians, was the first poet that called Diana, Calliste. At the distance of twenty-five stadia from hence, but of one hundred from Tricolini, towards Helisson, and in a right line from Methydrum, (for this place belonging to Tricolini is yet left) is a place called Anemosa, and a mountain Phalanthum. On this mountain are the ruins of the city Phalanthum. They say that Phalanthus was the son of Agelaus, and the grandson of Stymphelus. Under this mountain there is a plain called Palus; and near it is the town Schœnus, which was denominated from one Schœneus a Bœotian. But if this Schœneus ever dwelt in Arcadia, it may be inferred, that the places for running, which are called the curricula of Atalanta, and which are near the town Schœnus, were denominated from the daughter of Schœneus. It appears to me, that formerly there were other towns after these: and it is universally agreed, that all these places belong to the Arcadians.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Methydrum, however, of all the above Arcadian towns, is alone left at present. To this town, from Trocolini,
there is a road of one hundred and thirty-seven stadia in length. But it was called Methydrium, because Orcho-
menus formerly built it on a high hill, between the rivers Ma-
loetas and Mylaeon. The Methydriones, indeed, before they belonged to the Megalopolitans, had their victors in
the Olympic games. But in Methydrium there is a temple of Equestrian Neptune, by the river Mylaeon: and the
mountain which is called Thaumasios, or the admirable, is
situated above the river Molossus. According to the Me-
thydriones, Rhea, when she was pregnant with Jupiter,
came to this mountain, having called Hoplodamus, and the
other giants, who were his associates, to attend her in order
to prevent Saturn from offering any violence to her. And
they confess, indeed, that Rhea was delivered in a certain part of Lycaeus; but they assert, that the deception re-
specting Saturn, and the substituting a stone instead of the infant Jupiter, as related by the Greeks, happened in this
mountain. Near the summit of the mountain is the cavern of Rhea, into which none are permitted to enter, except the
priestesses of the goddess. At the distance, too, of thirty stadia from Methydrium is the fountain Nymphasia: and the boundaries between the Orchomenians, the Caphyates, and the Megalopolitans, are as many stadia distant from the
Nymphasia. But there is a road for the Megalopolitans, through the gates to Helos as they are called, to Mænalus;
and this road is near the river Helisson. On the left hand of this road there is a temple of the Good God. If, indeed,
the gods are the sources of good to mankind, and Jupiter is the supreme god, it will be agreeable to reason to conclude
that this is an appellation of Jupiter.

On proceeding to no great distance from hence, you will see a heap of earth, which is the tomb of Aristodemus, who,
during his tyranny, did not even obtain the appellation of a good tyrant. There is also a temple here of Inventive
Minerva, who was so called because she invented all arts
and counsels. On the right hand of the road there is an altar, dedicated to Boreas, to whom the Megalopolitans sacrifice every year; nor do they pay greater honours to any other divinity, because this deity preserved them from the Lacedaemonians and Agis. After this, the sepulchre of Oicles, the father of Amphiaras, will present itself to your view; if, indeed, he died in Arcadia, and not during his expedition with Hercules against Laomedon. Near this there is a temple of Ceres in Helos, as it is called, together with a grove, at the distance of about five stadia from the city, Women alone are permitted to enter into this temple. At the distance of thirty stadia from hence there is a mass of earth, which is called Paliscius; and on proceeding from Paliscius, and leaving the river Elaphus on the left hand, which is not a perpetually-running stream, at the distance of about twenty stadia, you will arrive at the ruins of Perætheus, among which a temple of Pan remains. But if you pass over the torrent, you will arrive in a straight line at a plain, which is distant from the river about fifteen stadia; and leaving this, you will arrive at a mountain, which, as well as the plain, is called Mænalus. At the bottom of this mountain are the vestiges of the city Lycon, together with a temple and brazen statue of Diana Lycoatis.

In the southern part of the mountain, there was formerly a city called Sumatia. In this mountain, too, there is a place which is denominated Trivia, in which the bones of Arcas, the son of Callisto, lie buried, being brought hither by the Mantinenses, by order of the Delphic oracle. The ruins of Mænalus, and of a temple of Minerva, yet remain; and besides these, there is a stadium for the contests of the athlete, and another for horse races. They are of opinion, that the mountain Mænalus is particularly sacred to Pan: and hence the inhabitants affirm, that they have heard Pan playing on his pipe.
the city of the Megalopolitans there is a distance of forty stadia; at about half this distance the river Alpheus flows along. At the distance of two stadia from the Alpheus are the ruins of Macarae; and seven stadia from hence are the ruins of Daseae. The hill, too, called Acacesius is just at the same distance from Daseae. The city Acacesium once stood under this hill: and upon the hill there is even at present a stone statue of Mercury Acacesius. The Arcadians assert, that Mercury, when a boy, was educated in this place; and that Acacus, the son of Lycaon, was his nurse. The Thebans, however, dissent from the Arcadians in this particular; and the Tanagreis again from the Thebans. At the distance of four stadia from Acacesius is the temple of Despoina. In this place, the first temple of Diana Hegemone, or the leader, that was ever seen, stands. The statue of the goddess is of brass, and holds a torch; and its magnitude is about six feet.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

From hence there is an entrance to the sacred inclosure of Despoina. But as you proceed to the temple, there is a porch, on the right hand, and in the wall of it there are statues made of white stone. In one part of the wall are the Fates, and Jupiter Moiragetes, or the leader of the Fates: but in another part there is a Hercules taking away a tripod from Apollo. The particulars which I have heard respecting these, I shall relate in that part of the history of the Phocenses which pertains to Delphi. In the porch near the temple of Despoina, between the above-mentioned images, there is a table, in which the particulars belonging to the mysteries are painted. Nymphs in the third place, and Pans, are between the images; and in the fourth place there is Polybius the son of Ly cortas. An inscription on him
signifies, that Greece would not from the first have been molested, if it had followed the counsels of Polybius, and that now they were afflicted, he was their helper. Before the temple there is an altar to Ceres, another to Despoina, and a third to the Great Mother of the Gods. The statues of Despoina and Ceres, and the throne on which they sit, as likewise the basis under their feet, are all but one stone. For neither their garments, nor the ornaments of the throne, are formed from another stone, fastened to the former with iron and glue, but all consist of one stone. Nor was this stone brought hither from some other place; but they say, that it was found by digging up the earth within the enclosure, in consequence of a vision in a dream. But the magnitude of each of the statues appears to be nearly that of the Mother of the Gods at Athens. These, too, are the works of Damaphon. Ceres holds a torch in her right hand, but she extends her other hand to Despoina. But Despoina holds a sceptre, and that which is called a cista on her knees; and her right hand is on the cista. By the side of the throne, Diana stands clothed in a stag's hide, and with a quiver hanging from her shoulders: but in one of her hands she holds a lamp, and in the other two dragons. A dog fit for hunting stands by the side of Diana. But near the statue of Diana, Anytus stands, representing a man in armour.

Those who live about the temple say, that Despoina was educated by Anytus, and that he was one of the Titans. Homer, indeed, was the first poet that introduced the Titans into his verses; and according to him they are subtartaric gods. The verses about them are in the oath of Juno. But Onomacritus, receiving the name of the Titans from Homer, instituted the orgies of Bacchus, and makes the Titans to be the authors of the sufferings of Bacchus. And such are the particulars about Anytus which are circulated by the Arcadians. But Æschylus the son of Euphorion
taught the Greeks, from the traditions of the Egyptians, that Diana is the daughter of Ceres, and not of Latona. With respect to the Curetes (for those are carved under the statues), and the Corybantes who are carved under the basis, I shall designedly omit all the particulars belonging to them. The Arcadians bring into this temple, the fruit of all mild trees except the pomegranate. On departing from the temple, through the passage on the right hand, there is a mirror fitted into the wall. Whoever looks into this mirror will at first either perceive himself but very obscurely, or behold nothing at all: but he will very clearly behold the statues of the goddesses, and the throne. Near the temple of Despoina, on ascending a little, you will perceive, on the right hand, that which is called the Megaron, or the magnificent abode. They celebrate the mysteries here; and the Arcadians sacrifice in it to Despoina many victims in a very unsparing manner. Every one, too, sacrifices according to his possessions. But they do not cut the throats of the victims, as in other sacrifices, but every one cuts off the limb which he first happens to meet with.

The Arcadians, too, venerate Despoina above all the divinities, and assert that she is the daughter of Neptune and Ceres, and is called Despoina by the multitude, just as the offspring of Jupiter and Ceres is generally called Core, though her proper name is Persephone, which is usurped by Homer, and prior to him by Pamphus. But I am afraid of disclosing the name of Despoina to the uninitiated. Above the building called Megaron there is a grove sacred to Despoina, which is surrounded with a wall of stone. Within this grove there are, among other trees, olives and oaks, which grow from one root; and this is not the result of agricultural skill. Above the grove there is a temple of Equestrian Neptune, he being the father of Despoina; and there are altars of other gods. On the last of these altars there is an inscription, which indicates that this altar is com-
OF GREECE.

mon to all the gods. From hence, through a pair of stairs, you ascend to the temple of Pan. There is a porch adjacent to the temple; and a statue is in the porch, but not of large dimensions. Pan, in the same manner as the most powerful gods, crowns the prayers of mortals with success, and inflicts just punishments on the unworthy. A fire, which is never suffered to be extinguished, burns in honour of Pan. It is also said, that in more ancient times this god gave oracles, and that his prophetess was the Nymph Erato, who was married to Arcas, the son of Callisto: and they relate of this nymph the particulars which we have just now mentioned. In the same place, too, there is an altar of Mars, and within the temple there are two statues of Venus, one of white stone, and the other, which is more ancient, of wood. In a similar manner, there are wooden statues of Apollo and Minerva: and there is a temple raised in honour of Minerva.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A little above this place is the inclosure of Lycosura, which does not contain many inhabitants. Lycosura, indeed, is certainly the most ancient of all the cities which are either contained on the continent or in islands: and this was the first that the sun beheld. Hence, from this city, men learnt how to build other cities. But on the left hand of the temple of Despoina is the mountain Lycaeus, which they call Olympus; and by others of the Arcadians it is demominated the sacred summit. They say that Jupiter was educated on this mountain; and there is a place in the mountain, which is called Cretea, and which is on the left hand of the grove Parrhasius, which is sacred to Apollo. The Arcadians contend, in opposition to the Cretans, that
this was the place in which Jupiter was nursed, and not the island Crete. They say, too, that the names of the nymphs by whom Jupiter was nursed, were Thisoa, Neda, and Agno. And from Thisoa, indeed, a city was formerly denomi-nated in Parrhasia: but the village Thisoa is now a part of Megalopolis. A river is called by the name of Neda; and a fountain in the mountain Lyceus, which produces water in winter and summer, like the river Ister, is called by the name of Agno. If it ever happens that the ground is dry, through long-continued heat, and in consequence of this, seeds in the earth, and trees, are destroyed, then the priest of Lycean Jupiter, praying near this water, and sacrific-ing such particulars as are instituted by law, extends a branch of an oak over the surface, but does not merge it in the depth of the fountain. The water being moved in con-sequence of this, a vapour resembling a dark mist ascends from the fountain; shortly after a black cloud arises: and lastly, this being followed by other clouds, causes rain to fall on the earth, agreeably to the wishes of the Arcadians.

In Lyceus, too, there is a temple of Pan, which is sur-rounded with a grove of trees, a hippodrome, and with a stadium before the hippodrome. The Lupercalia were from the first celebrated in this place. Here, too, there are the bases of certain statues, the statues themselves being removed. An elegy on one of these bases signifies, that the statue which belonged to it was the image of Astyanax, who de-rived his origin from Arcas. But the mountain Lyceus, among other wonderful particulars with which it abounds, has the following: There is a grove in it of Lycean Jupiter, into which men are not permitted to enter. If any one, however, despising the law, enters into it, he is sure to die within the space of a year after. They farther report, that both men and beasts which happen to come into this place, cast no shadow from their bodies: and on this account the huntsman is not willing to pursue beasts that fly into this
OF GREECE.

grove; but waiting on the outside, and perceiving the beast, he does not behold any shadow from his body. Indeed, in that part of the year in which the sun is in Cancer, there is no shadow either from trees or animals in Syene, a city near Æthiopia. But in this grove of the mountain Lyceus, this circumstance respecting shadows takes place perpetually, and during every season of the year. On the highest summit, too, of this mountain there is a heap of earth, which forms an altar of Lycean Jupiter, and from which the greatest part of Peloponnesus may be seen. Before this altar there are two pillars which stand towards the east; and on them there are golden eagles of very ancient workmanship. Upon this altar they sacrifice in an arcane manner to Lycean Jupiter. I was not permitted to investigate this sacrifice accurately, therefore, let these things remain as they are, and as they were from the beginning.

In that part of the mountain which is situated towards the east, there is a temple of Apollo, who is called Parrhasius: they likewise denominate him Pythius. They celebrate a festival in honour of this god every year, and during the festival sacrifice a boar to Apollo Epicurus in the forum. After they have sacrificed here, they immediately carry the victim to the temple of Parrhasian Apollo, marching to the sound of the pipe, and with solemn pomp. Here cutting off the thighs of the victim they burn them, and consume the entrails in the same place. And such is the mode of sacrifice which they think proper to adopt. But in that part of the mountain which looks towards the north there is a place called Thisoaia. The inhabitants of this place principally venerate the nymph Thisoa. These rivers, too, flow through Thisoaia into the Alpheus, viz. Mylaon, Nus, Achelous, Celadus, and Naphilus. There are, likewise, two other rivers of the same name, with the Arcadian Achelous, but much more illustrious. One of these, which runs to the Echinades, through the land of the Acarnanians and Æto-
THE DESCRIPTION

lians, is called by Homer in the Iliad the Prince of Rivers: but the other, which flows from the mountain Sipyllum, is mentioned by the same poet, together with the mountain, in that part where he relates the calamities of Niobe. There is a third river, too, of the name of Achelous, which flows about the mountain Lycaeus. The mountains called Nomii are on the right hand of Lycosura; and there is a temple in them of Nomian Pan. They call this place Melpea, because, say they, Pan first discovered here the melody of the pipe. But the mountains were called Nomii, from the pastures of Pan, as may be easily conjectured by any one. The Arcadians, however, say, that they were thus denominated from the name of a certain nymph.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Near Lycosura, and towards the west, the river Plataniston flows. He who is going to Phigalia must necessarily cross this river. But after the Plataniston there is an ascent which is about, or however not much more than thirty stadia. But the particulars respecting Phigalus the son of Lycaon (for he was the first that built the city Phigalia), and how some time after the city was denominated from Phialus the son of Bucolion, and again recovered its pristine appellation, we have already related. Other reports, likewise, are circulated, but which do not deserve to be credited: for some say that Phigalus sprung from the earth; and that he was not the son of Lycaon; and others say that Phigalia was one of the nymphs called Dryades. But when the Laecedæmonians warred on the Arcadians, and led an army against Phigalia, they vanquished the natives; and having nearly taken the walls which they besieged, the Phigalenses fled, and the Laecedæmonians consented to their flight on
OF GREECE.

certain conditions. Phigalia, therefore, was taken, and deserted of its inhabitants, when Miltiades was the Athenian archon, and in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, in which Chionis Lacon was the third time victorious.

But such of the Phigalenses as escaped in this battle thought proper to consult the oracle of the Delphic Apollo, respecting their re-establishment in Phigalia: and the Pythian deity answered them, that if they endeavoured to return to Phigalia by themselves alone, they would not succeed in their attempt; but that if they took a hundred chosen men from Oresthasion, these hundred would fall in battle, but they would by their means recover Phigalia. The Oresthasians therefore, as soon as they understood the answer of the oracle, endeavoured to rival each other in contending to be chosen on this occasion, and to partake of the expedition against Phigalia; and when they encountered the Lacedæmonian guard, in every respect verified the prediction of the oracle: for they died fighting valiantly; and having driven away the Spartans, though with the loss of their own lives, restored the Phigalenses to their country. But Phigalia is situated on a steep eminence, and the greater part of the wall is built under the rocks. However, when you have ascended this eminence, you will arrive at a smooth surface, in which there is a temple of Diana the Saviour, and a stone statue of the goddess in an upright position. From this temple they send a solemn pomp after the manner of their ancestors. But in the gymnasion there is a statue of Mercury resembling a man clothed. This statue, however, does not end in feet, but in a square figure. There is also a temple here of Bacchus, who is called by the natives Acratophoros. The inferior parts of this statue cannot be seen, on account of the laurel and ivy leaves with which they are covered. But those parts of the statue which are visible, shine in consequence of being rubbed over
with cinnabar: and cinnabar is said to be found by the Iberians together with gold.

CHAPTER XL.

In the forum of the Phigalenses there is a statue of the pancratist Arrhachion, which is in other respects ancient, and particularly as to its figure. The feet are at no great distance from each other; and the hands adhere to the sides, and reach as far as to the hips. This statue is made of stone; and they say, that there was an inscription on it, which has become obliterated by time. Arrhachion was twice victorious in the Olympic games prior to the fifty-fourth Olympiad; and these victories were obtained, as well by the just decisions of the presidents of the games, as by the virtue of Arrhachion. For as he was contending for the olive crown with the only antagonist that was left, his antagonist endeavoured to prevent him from gaining the victory by entangling him with his feet, and grasping his neck with his hands. But Arrhachion broke one of his adversary's toes; and at the very moment that he expired, being strangled to death, his adversary, through the pain of his broken toe, fell to the ground. The Eleans therefore crowned, and proclaimed the dead body of Arrhachion victorious. I know, too, that a similar judgment was passed by the Argives upon Creugas the Epidamnian pugilist. For the Argives crowned his dead body in the Nemean games, because his adversary Damoxenus the Syracusan violated the compact which had been formed between them. For previous to their contending with each other, they had agreed, in the hearing of all the spectators, to receive each other's blows on one side only: and at that time pugilists had not a
OF GREECE.

sharp leather thong tied about the wrist of each of their hands, but they fought with thongs made of a bull's hide, which were platted together by a certain ancient art, and bound under the hollow of their hands. These thongs they called Meilichai, which being bound in this manner left the fingers naked. Creugas therefore first wounded Damoxenus on the head; and then Damoxenus ordered Creugas to keep his hand unmoved. This he accordingly did, and Damoxenus with his fingers stretched out struck Creugas on the side: and such was the hardness of his nails and the violence of the blow, that his hand pierced his side, seized on his bowels, and drawing them outwards gave instant death to Creugas. But the Argives drove Damoxenus out of the stadium, because he had transgressed the compact, by striking his adversary with many blows instead of one. They gave therefore the victory to dead Creugas, and made a statue of him in Argos, which is even at present to be seen in the temple of Lycean Apollo.

CHAPTER XLI.

In the forum of the Phigalenses there is a common sepulchre of that chosen band of Oresthasians which we have mentioned before: and to these, as to heroes, they perform funeral sacrifices every year. But the river which is called Lymax pours itself into the Neda, and flows near Phigalia. They say that this name was given to the river on account of the purifications of Rhea. For as soon as the goddess was delivered of Jupiter, the nymphs purified her from the pollution attending delivery, and threw the sordes into this river. Homer confirms the truth of this account, when he says that the Greeks purified themselves from the corruption of a pestilence, and threw the dregs into the sea. But the
The fountains of Neda are in the mountain Cerausius, which is a part of Lycaeus. In that part, too, of Neda, which is nearest the city of the Phigalenses, boys cut off their hair as a sacrifice to the river. And those parts of Neda which are near the sea are full of small ships. But the Maeander flows with the most winding stream of any river that we are acquainted with, bending itself upwards, and again pouring along in numerous windings. The second to this in the obliquity of its stream is the Neda. At the distance of about twelve stadia beyond Phigalia there are hot baths; and the Lymax falls into the Neda not far from these. Where these streams meet there is a temple of Eurynome, holy from ancient institutions, and which is difficult of access, through the roughness of the place in which it stands. About this temple there are many cypress-trees, which are likewise close to each other. The common people of the Phigalenses believe that Eurynome is an appellation of Diana: but such as are curious in investigating antiquities say, that Eurynome is the daughter of Ocean, of whom also Homer makes mention in the Iliad, and says that Vulcan received her together with Thetis. On one day in every year they open the temple of Eurynome; but they do not open it at any other time. On that day they sacrifice to her both publicly and privately. I had not however an opportunity of being present when it was opened, nor could I see the statue of Eurynome. I have heard the Phigalenses say, that the statue is bound with golden chains, and that it resembles a woman as far as to the top of the thighs, but that the remaining parts resemble those of a fish. A figure of this kind, therefore, cannot with any probability be ascribed to Diana.

Phigalia, too, is surrounded with mountains; on the left hand by Cotylion, and on the right by the mountain Elaion. The mountain Cotylion is about forty stadia distant from the city. In it there is a place called Bassae, and a temple of Apollo the helper, the roof of which is of stone. This
OF GREECE.

315

temple surpasses all the temples in Peloponnesus, except that which is in Tegea, for the beauty of the stone from which the roof is built; and the symmetry of its construction. But Apollo was thus denominated, because he gave them assistance when they were afflicted with a pestilence; just as among the Athenians he is called Alexicacos, because he averted from them a pestilent disease. The Phigalenses, however, did not experience the favour of the god in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, nor indeed at any other time than this. This is evinced by both these appellations of Apollo, which have a similitude of signification; and Ictinus, the architect of the temple of Phigalia, was contemporary with Pericles, and built the Parthenon for the Athenians. But I have before shown that this statue of Apollo is in the forum of the Megalopolitans. In Cotylion there is a fountain; and the historian, who says that the river Limax commences from this fountain, relates what he has neither himself beheld, not even has heard from those that have seen the fountain. For I have both seen the river and water flowing in no great abundance from the fountain in Cotylion: and this water entirely disappears under the ground, within a small distance from the fountain. It did not however occur to me, to investigate in what part of Arcadia the fountain of Lymax is contained. Above the temple of Apollo the helper there is a place called Cotylon, and in it a temple of Venus without a roof, and a statue of the goddess.

CHAPTER XLII.

But the other mountain Elaion is about thirty stadia distant from Phigalia. Here there is a sacred cavern of Ceres the black. And the particulars, indeed, which are re-
ported by the Thelpusians of the connexion of Neptune with Ceres, agree with the relations of the Phigalenses in this particular. The Phigalenses, however, do not say that Ceres was delivered of a horse; but they report, that she brought forth that divinity who is called by the Arcadians Despoina; that she assumed a black garment, both on account of her anger towards Neptune, and her grief for the ravishment of Proserpine; and that she came to this cavern, and concealed herself in it for some time. When therefore all the fruits of the earth were corrupted, and a great part of the human race was destroyed by famine, the retreat of Ceres was concealed from all the other gods; but Pan coming to Arcadia, and wandering upon different mountains, at last met with Ceres on the mountain Elaion in this figure, and thus clothed. But Jupiter understanding this from Pan, sent the Parcae to Ceres, who at length was persuaded by them to lay aside her anger, and banish her grief. The Phigalenses further report, that they considered this cavern as sacred to Ceres on this account, and that they dedicated to her a wooden statue, which was made in the following manner: The figure of a woman in every other part except the head, was represented sitting on a rock; but she had the head and mane of a horse, and the images of dragons and other wild beasts were represented as naturally belonging to her head. A garment with which she was clothed, reached to the extremities of her feet; and in one of her hands she held a dolphin, and in the other a dove. Why the statue was made after this manner, will be obvious to a man who is not destitute of sagacity, and who is endued with a good memory. But they say that she was called black, because she clothed herself in a black garment. They cannot however tell either the name of the person by whom the statue was made, or in what manner it was destroyed by fire.

But the Phigalenses, having lost this ancient statue, did
OF GREECE.

not dedicate another statue to the goddess, and neglected a
great part of the ceremonies pertaining to her festivals and
sacrifices, in consequence of which the land became barren;
and on their supplicating the Pythian deity, he answered
them as follows: "Azanian Arcadians, who inhabit Phig-
galea, the concealed cavern of horse-delivered Ceres, you are
come hither inquiring a remedy for distressful famine, you
who alone are twice Nomades, who alone are fed with rustic
food. Ceres has deprived you of your food, and she will
again compel you to feed on the sweet beech-tree and acorns,
taking from you the gifts of your ancestors, and your an-
cient honours; and still more, she will compel you to devour
each other, and your own children, unless you appease her
anger by public libations, and adorn with divine honours the
profundities of her cavern." The Phigalenses, having re-
ceived this answer, venerated Ceres in a more august man-
ner than before, and inquired of Onatas Æginetes, the son
of Micon, how much money they should give him to make
a statue of Ceres for them. Among the Pergamenians there
is a brazen Apollo, made by this Onatas, which is admirable
in the greatest degree, both for its magnitude, and the art
displayed in its fabrication. This man, therefore, finding at
that time either a picture, or an imitation of a wooden statue,
made this brazen statue for the Phigalenses; and it is said
that he fashioned the greater part of it agreeably to a vision
in a dream. This statue, too, was made by him after the
irruption of the Medes into Greece. And that this is true,
is evident from hence, that Xerxes came into Europe at the
time when Gelon the son of Dinomenes tyrannized over the
Syracusans, and the rest of Sicily; and after the death of
Gelon, his brother Hiero succeeded to the empire. Hiero,
too, dying before he had dedicated his offerings to Olympian
Jupiter, for his equestrian victories, his son Dinomenes de-
dicated them instead of his father.

These offerings likewise were made by Onatas; and there
are inscriptions in Olympia, among which is the following, on the offering of Dinomenes:

Hiero, who conquer'd in thy games august,
Olympian Jove! this gift to thee had vow'd.
Once with the four-yoked car he gained the prize,
But with the vaulting courser twice; and hence
His son Dinomenes devoted here
This gift, in memory of his Syracusan sire.

But another of the epigrams is to this effect:

Onatas, Micon's son, this statue framed,
Who in the island of Ægina dwelt.

This Onatas was contemporary with the Athenian Hegias, and the Argive Agelades. I went indeed to Phigalia, principally for the sake of seeing this statue of Ceres; and though I did not sacrifice to the goddess any animals, yet, agreeably to the paternal rites of the inhabitants, I sacrificed to her planted trees, the fruit of the vine, the wax of bee-hives, and wool; not such wool indeed as is purified for the purpose of making garments, but such as was yet full of the sordes of sheep. All these they place on an altar, which is raised before the cavern, and pour upon them oil; and in this manner they sacrifice both privately and publicly every year. A female priestess presides over the sacred rites, and together with her the youngest of the sacrificers, whom they call Hierothyte, and who are three of the citizens. About the cavern there is a grove of oaks, and a cold water ascends from the earth. But the statue which was made by Onatas neither exists at present, nor is it known by the multitude of the Phigalenses whether or not it ever existed. An elderly man, however, whom I happened to meet, told me that three ages before his time, a stone from the roof of the cavern fell on the statue, and broke it so as entirely to destroy its shape. And indeed even at present, that part of the roof is very apparent from whence the stone fell.
OF GREECE.

CHAPTER XLIII.

But my discourse requires after this, that I should pass on to Pallantium, and describe whatever it contains worthy of notice, and on what account the emperor Antoninus made it a city instead of a village, gave the inhabitants their freedom, and an immunity from paying tribute. They say then, that a man whose name was Evander was the best warrior of all the Arcadians, and that he was the son of Mercury and a nymph the daughter of Ladon. This man being sent into a colony, and leading an army of Arcadians from Pallantium, built a city near the river Tiber. This city is at present a part of the Roman empire; but was called Pallantium after the name of an Arcadian town, by Evander and the Arcadians that followed him. But in after times the name was changed, by taking away the letters l and t. On account therefore of the particulars which we have related, the Pallantienses received gifts from the emperor Antoninus, who indeed was so benevolent towards them, that he never was the voluntary cause of the Romans warring on them. Besides, when the Moors who inhabit the greatest part of Libya, and who live according to their own laws, as being Nomades, and who besides this are so much the more powerful in war than the other Scythian nations, because they do not ride to battle in chariots, but on horseback, both they and their wives;—when these people began a war, Antoninus drove them entirely out of their country, and compelled them to fly to the extremities of Libya, to the mountain Atlas, and to the people that dwell near Atlas. But he took from the Brigantians in Britannia a great part of their land, because they had made hostile incursions on the Venuvian who were the allies of the Romans.

Besides, when the Lycian and Carian cities, and likewise
THE DESCRIPTION

Coos and Rhodes, were destroyed by an earthquake, the emperor Antoninus restored them at a prodigious expense, and repeopled them with great alacrity. But the money which he gave both to Grecians and Barbarians, whose cities had been ruined by earthquakes, and the magnificent manner in which he adorned Greece, Ionia, and Carthage, have been accurately related by other writers. This emperor, too, left behind him the following monument of his liberality: It was a law, that those who belonged to cities in subjection to the Romans, and who had foreign and Grecian children, should not leave such children their heirs, but should either leave a part of it to the treasury of the emperor, or to some Roman citizens with whom they had no connexion. Antoninus, however, abrogated this law, and permitted them to make their own children their heirs; as he was one who preferred the character of a philanthropist, to that of the guardian of a law relative to the acquisition of wealth. This emperor was called by the Romans the pious, because he appeared to venerate a divine nature in the highest degree. But, in my opinion, the elder Cyrus deserved to be called the father of mankind. This emperor Antoninus left as his successor a son of the same name, who subdued by the power of his arms the Germans, who were the most warlike and numerous of all the Barbarians in Europe, together with the nation of the Sauromatians, who had provoked him by their injurious conduct, and by beginning the war.

CHAPTER XLIV.

It is now however time that I should relate what remains of the Arcadian affairs. There is a road, then, from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea, which leads to that place which is called the Bank, or Causeway. Along this road
there is a place which is denominated Ladoce², from Lados-
cus the son of Echemus. Formerly the city Hæmoniæ stood
next to these, which was built by Hæmon the son of Lycaon.
And even at present there is a place which is called Hæmo-
niæ. After Hæmoniæ, on the right hand of the road, among
other remains of the city Orestasius there are columns of a
temple of Diana, who was called the priestess. But as you
proceed in a straight line from Hæmoniæ, you will first of
all arrive at Aphrodisium, and afterwards at Atheneæum.
On the left hand of this road there is a temple of Minerva,
which contains a stone statue. At the distance of about
twenty stadia from Atheneæum there are ruins of Asea.
There is a hill here which was formerly a tower; and the
vestiges of its walls remain even now. But at about the
distance of five stadia from Asea, and not far from the Al-
pheus, is the fountain of the Eurotas. Near the fountain,
too, of the Alpheus there is a temple of the Mother of the
Gods, which is without a roof; and in the same place
there are two lions of stone. The water of the Eurotas
mingles itself with that of the Alpheus, and both these rivers
flow together to the distance of about twenty stadia: but
falling in this place into a chasm, the Eurotas rises again in
the country of the Lacedæmonians, but the Alpheus in the
fountains of Megalopolis.

But there is an ascent from Asea to the mountain Boreum,
upon the summit of which there are vestiges of a temple.
Ulysses, when he returned from Troy, is said to have raised
this temple to Minerva the Saviour. And in that place
which they call the Causeway, the boundaries between the
Megalopolitans, Tegetæ, and Pallantienses are contained.
As you turn likewise to the left hand from the Causeway,
you will arrive at the Pallantic plain. But in Pallantium
there is a temple, and there are stone statues in it of Pallas
and Evander. There is also a temple of Proserpine and
Ceres; and not far from hence there is a statue of Polybius.
THE DESCRIPTION

But on the summit of that hill which is above the city, and which in former times they used for a tower, there is yet a temple of the gods, who are called Pure. By these gods they swear in things of the greatest moment. And they are either ignorant of the names of these gods, or else, knowing them, they are unwilling to indicate them. It may however be inferred, that they are called Pure, because Pallas did not sacrifice to them in the same manner as his father sacrificed to Lycean Jupiter. On the right hand of the Cause-way is the Manthure plain, which is in the boundaries of the Tegeatæ, and is about fifty stadia distant from Tegea. On the right hand, too, of this road there is a mountain of no great magnitude, which is called Cresius, and in which there is a temple of Aphneus. For, according to the Tegeatæ, Mars had connexion with Aerope the daughter of Cepheus, and the grand-daughter of Aleus. And Aerope, indeed, died in child-bed; but the boy of which she was delivered clung to his dead mother, and drew from her breasts milk in abundance. This circumstance happened by the will of Mars; and on account of it they called the god Aphneus: but the name of the boy was, they say, Aeropus. But near the road to Tegea there is a fountain called Leuconia from Leucone, who is said to have been the daughter of Aphidas: and not far from the city of the Tegeatæ there is a sepulchre.

CHAPTER XLV.

The Tegeatæ indeed say, that this region was alone denominated from Tegeatas the son of Lycaon, and that the inhabitante dwelt in separate towns, viz. the Garateæ, Phy- lacenses, Caphyates, Corythenses, Potachides, Manthurenenses, and Echeuethenses. They add farther, that while Aphidas reigned, the Aphidantes formed the ninth people who in-
OF GREECE.

habited a separate town. Aleus, however, built the city which remains at present. The Tegeatae, too, participated in common the glory of the Arcadians in the war against Troy, in the Persian war, and in the engagement between the Dipeenses and the Lacedaemonians. But the renown peculiar to the Tegeatae alone consisted in this, that Agestes the son of Lycurgus, though he was wounded, sustained the fury of the Calydonian boar, and Atalanta was the first that pierced this boar with her arrows, and on this account received as the reward of her valour the head and skin of the boar. But when the sons of Hercules returned to Pelo-
ponnesus, Echemus the son of Aeropus, and who belonged to the Tegeatae, engaged alone with Hyllus, and vanquished him in fight. The Tegeatae, too, the first of the Arcadians, fought with and conquered the Lacedaemonians, and made a great number of them prisoners. But Aleus built the ancient temple of Minerva for the Tegeatae; and some time after they built a new temple to the goddess, large, and worthy of being inspected. For the former temple was destroyed by fire, when Diophantus was the Athenian archon, and in the year which followed the ninety-sixth Olympiad, in which the Elean Eupolemus was victorious in the stadium. But the temple which remains at present far surpasses all the temples in Peloponnesus, both for its construction and magnitude.

The first ornament of this temple is a triple series of columns; the first of which are of the Doric order; the second of the Corinthian; and the third without the temple are of the Ionic order. The architect of this temple is said to have been the Parian Scopas, who made statues for many parts of ancient Greece, and for places about Ionia and Caria. On the front part of the roof, the hunting of the Calydonian boar is represented. The boar occupies the middle part; and on one side Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Pollux, and Iolaus, who was the com-
THE DESCRIPTION

panion of Hercules in most of his labours, stand; and besides these the sons of Thesteus, and the brothers of Althæa, Prothous, and Cometes: but on the other side Anæus is represented wounded, and lifting his axe, and Epochus supporting him. Near him stand Castor, Amphiaraus the son of Oicles, and Hippothous the son of Cercyon, the grandson of Agamedes, and the great grandson of Stympalus. The last person that is represented is Pirithous. But in the back part of the roof, the single combat of Telephus and Achilles in the plains of Caicus is represented.

CHAPTER XLVI.

But the Roman emperor Augustus carried away with him the ancient statue of Minerva Alea, and the teeth of the Calydonian boar, when he conquered Anthony and his allies, among whom were all the Arcadians, except the Mantinenses. It appears, however, that Augustus was not the first who took from the vanquished things dedicated to the gods; for this was usual with conquerors from a very early period. Thus when Troy was taken, and the Greeks divided the spoil amongst themselves, Sthenelus the son of Capaneus obtained a wooden statue of Hercean Jupiter; and many ages after, when the Dorienses migrated into Sicily, Antiphemus who built Gela, having plundered Omphace, a small city of the Sicanians, took away with him to Gela a statue made by Dædalus. We know, too, that Xerxes the son of Darius, and king of the Persians, besides the ornaments which he carried away from the city of the Athenians, took from Brauron the statue of Brauronian Diana; and the same person, accusing the Milesians of designedly and at the same time basely engaging with the Athenians in a naval battle, took from them a brazen Apollo which was among
OF GREECE.

the Branchidae; and which many years after Seleucus sent back again to the Milesians. So again among the Argives at the present time, the wooden statues which were taken from Tiryntha are replaced in the temples of Juno and Eleusis Apollo. The Cyziceni, too, when they conquered the Proconnesians, and compelled them to dwell in their country, carried away from Proconnesus the statue of the mother Dindymene. This statue was made of gold except the face, which was fashioned from the teeth of river horses instead of ivory. Augustus, therefore, did no more than what both Greeks and Barbarians had done long before him. But the Romans have placed the statue of Minerva Alea in the entrance of the forum which was raised by Augustus. This statue is entirely made of ivory, and was produced by the art of Endius. Those, too, to whose care these curiosities are committed, say that one of the boar’s teeth is broken off. But the other statue is dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, which stands in the gardens of Caesar; and its circumference does not exceed the length of a hand.

CHAPTER XLVII.

But the statue which is at present in Tegea, was brought from a town of the Manturiones who worship a goddess called Hippia, because in the battle of the gods against the giants she attacked Enceladus in a two-yoked car. However, this goddess is universally called Alea by the other Greeks, and by the Peloponnesians. On one side of this statue of Minerva Alea Æsculapius stands, and on the other Hygia, of Pentelic stone, and the works of the Parian Scopas. In the temple there are offerings which deserve to be mentioned: for there is the skin of the Calydonian boar, which is now rotten through length of time, and entirely
bare of bristles. Those fetters, too, are suspended here, except such as have been destroyed by time, with which the Lacedaemonian captives being bound, dug the plain for the Tegea. It likewise contains the sacred bed of Minerva, and an image of the goddess similar to a picture; and besides this, the shield of a Tegean woman, whose name was Chera, or the widow. Of this woman we shall afterwards make mention. A girl acts as priestess to Minerva. How long she preserves her virginity I cannot tell; but she abdicates the sacerdotal office before she arrives at the age of puberty. They say, that the altar was made for the goddess by Melampus the son of Amythaon. On the altar Rhea is carved, and the nymph Oenoe holding an infant Jupiter: and four nymphs stand on each side of her, viz. on one side Glaucé, Neda, Thisoe, and Anthracia; and on the other, Ida, Agno, Alcinoe, and Phrixo. There are statues here, too, of the Muses and Mnemosyne.

Not far from this temple there is a heap of earth, upon which they celebrate certain games, called Alaia from Minerva Alea, and Alotia, because they took many of the Lacedaemonians alive in the battle. But in that part of the temple which is towards the north there is a fountain; near which they say Auge was ravished by Hercules. This account, however, of the affair differs from that given by Hecateus. At the distance of about three stadia from this fountain there is a temple of Hermes Æpytus. The Tegea, too, have another temple of Minerva Poliatis. A priest enters into this once every year. They call it the temple of defence, and say that Minerva, as a gift to Cepheus the son of Aeus, caused Tegea to remain for ever unconquered, and that she presented him, as the means of preserving the city, with hair cut off from the head of Medusa. But of Diana Hegemone, or the leader, they report as follows: Aristomedidas tyrannized over the Orchomenians in Arcadia. He having gained by some means or other a
OF GREECE.

Tegean virgin, committed her to the care of one Chronius; but the virgin, before she was brought to the tyrant, slew herself through fear and shame. Diana after this excited Chronius by nocturnal visions to destroy Aristomelidas; which having accomplished, he fled to Tegea, and raised a temple to Diana.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

In the forum, which is for the most part in the form of a tile, there is a temple of Venus which is called the temple in a tile, and a statue of stone. There are two pillars here with statues on them. On the one, stand Antiphanes, Cresus, Tyronidas, and Pyrias, who gave laws to the Tegeatae, and on this account were thus honoured by them. But on the other pillar Iasius stands, in his left hand holding a horse, and in his right a branch of a palm-tree. They say, that Iasius conquered with the horse in Olympia, at that time in which the Theban Hercules instituted the Olympic games. But on what account the victor in Olympia came to be crowned with the leaves of the wild olive, has been explained by me in my account of the Elean affairs; and it will be shown by me hereafter, why they are crowned in Delphos with laurel. They think proper in Isthmus to crown the conquerors with pine-leaves, and in Nemea with parsley, on account of what happened to Palemon and Archemoras. A crown of palm, indeed, is given in most games; and every where the victors hold a branch of palm in their right hands. And this took place on the following account: They say that Theseus, when he returned from Crete to Delos, instituted games in honour of Apollo, and crowned the victors with palm. And, indeed, Homer mentions the Delian palm in the Odyssey, where he represents Ulysses as imploring the assistance of the daughter of Al-
cinous. In the forum, too, of the Tegeatas there is a statue of Mars, which is carved on a pillar, and which they call Gunaiakotheias. For during the Lacedaemonian war, when Charillus king of the Lacedaemonians marched against the Arcadians, the women took up arms, and stationed themselves under that hill, which at present they call the Guardian. But when the armies came to engage, and the men on each side gave many illustrious specimens of valour, the women rushed from their retreat, and caused the Lacedaemonians to fly. A woman, however, named Marpessa surpassed all the rest in valour: and this woman was surnamed the widow.

They say that Charillus was taken in this engagement; and that being dismissed without any ransom, and swearing to the Tegeatas, that he would never more lead an army against them, he afterwards violated his oath. But the women after this engagement sacrificed for this victory to Mars separate from the men, and would not suffer the men to partake of the victims which they offered; and from this circumstance Mars was denominated Gunaiakotheias. There is also an altar raised here to Jupiter the perfect, and a quadrangular statue. For the Arcadians appear to me to be particularly pleased with the square figure. In the same forum, too, there are sepulchres of Tegeatas the son of Lycaon, and of his wife Mara, who they say was the daughter of Atlas, and who is mentioned by Homer in that part of the Odyssey, where Ulysses relates to Alcinous the particulars respecting the way to Hades, and the souls which he beheld there. But the Tegeatas call Lucina (for they have a temple and statue of her in the forum) on the knees; because when Aleus delivered his daughter to Nauplius, he commanded those who led her away to throw her into the sea: but as they were leading her along, she fell on her knees, and was delivered of a son in the very place in which the temple of Lucina stands. This account of the affair, however, differs from their relation who say, that Auge was
delivered without her father knowing any thing of the matter, and that she concealed Telephus in the mountain Parthenion, who was suckled there by a hind. And this is the account given by the Tegeatæ. Near the temple of Lucina there is an altar sacred to Earth; and not far from it there are two pillars of white stone. On one of these there is a statue of Polybius the son of Lycortas; and on the other of Elatus, who was one of the sons of Arcas.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Not far from the forum there is a theatre, together with the bases of brazen statues; for the statues no longer exist. There is an elegy on one of these bases, which signifies that the statue which stood on it was that of Philopoemen. The Greeks preserve the memory of this man in the highest degree, both for the sake of the advice which he gave them, and his bold undertakings. As to the dignity of his origin, his father was Craugis a Megalopolitan, who was not inferior in rank to any of that city. But Craugis dying while Philopoemen was yet a child, Cleander the Mantinean, took care of his education. This Cleander, flying from Mantinea, became an inhabitant of Megalopolis, and used the house of Craugis in those calamitous times, as if it had been his father’s house. Philopoemen, among other preceptors, had Megalphanes and Ecdelus, who, they say, were the disciples of Arcesilaus. Philopoemen, too, in the magnitude and strength of his body, was not inferior to any one; but the form of his face was bad. He despised all contests where crowns were the reward of victory; applied himself to the cultivation of the land which he possessed; and was averse to the hunting of wild beasts. The works of the illustrious Grecian sophists are said to have been read by
him, together with such as treated on war, or contained any thing pertaining to the art of commanding an army. He imitated, too, in all his actions the counsels and conduct of Epaminondas, but he was not able to equal him in every respect. For Epaminondas had a beautiful soul, and was gentle in the highest degree; but Philoœmen was given to anger. But when Megalopolis was besieged by Cleomenes, Philoœmen was not at all alarmed at the unexpected calamity, but brought with safety into Messene two thirds of the men, that were in the flower of their age, together with the women and children; for at that time the Messenians were the friends and allies of the Arcadians.

When, therefore, the Spartan king exhorted a great part of the exiles to return to their country on certain conditions (because he now repented of his cruelty to the Megalopolitans), Philoœmen persuaded all the citizens in common to recover their country by force of arms, rather than by forming a league with Cleomenes. A battle therefore ensued in Sellasia, between the Spartans led by Cleomenes, and the Achaians and Arcadians from all their cities, together with an army brought by Antigonus from Macedonia. In this engagement Philoœmen commanded the horse; but when he saw that the strength of the battle consisted in the foot, he voluntarily fought on foot; and while he was thus valiantly fighting in heavy armour, was wounded in both his thighs. In consequence of this being prevented from acting with his usual vigour, he inclined his knees, and forced himself to move forward, till the spear was broken by the motion of his feet. After this, when the Lacedœmonians and Cleomenes were vanquished, he was carried to his camp, and the body of the spear was extracted from one of his thighs, and the head of it from the other. But Antigonus, as soon as he was acquainted with the daring courage of Philoœmen, earnestly endeavoured to take him with him into Macedonia. Philoœmen, however, rejected the solicitations of An-
tigonus, passed over into Crete, which was at that time engaged in a civil war, and led their mercenary troops. After this he returned to Megalopolis, and had the command given to him of the Achaian horse. Here, by his conduct, he rendered the horse which he commanded the best of all the Achaian and other horse, that were in the same expedition. When the Ætolians, too, in the battle at the river Larisus, assisted the Eleans on account of their alliance to them, Philopoemen first of all slew with his own hand Damophantus, the general of the enemy's horse, and afterwards vanquished the Ætolian and Elean horse.

CHAPTER L.

In consequence, therefore, of the Achaians looking to Philopoemen, and acting in every respect agreeable to his directions, he changed the armour of the foot under his command. For previous to this they used small spears, and more oblong shields, like the Celtic thurei, or the Persian gerra; but he persuaded them to cover their bodies with coats of mail, and their legs with greaves, and to use Argolic shields, and large spears. Besides, when Machanidas tyrannized in Lacedaemon, and the Spartans, led by him, began a new war with the Achaians, Philopoemen was chosen the general of the Achaians. A battle, therefore, ensuing near Mantinea, the light armed troops of the Lacedaemonians vanquished the light armed forces of the Achaians, and Machanidas pursued them as they fled. But here Philopoemen with his phalanx drove back the heavy armed foot of the Lacedaemonians, and meeting with Machanidas as he was returning from his pursuit of the Achaian, slew him. The Lacedaemonians, however, in being vanquished, were more fortunate than if they had been victo-
rious; for they were freed from subjection to a tyrant. Not long after this, when the Argives celebrated their Nemean games, Philopoemen happened to be present during the contention of the harpers. And then Pylades the Megalopolitan, who was the most renowned of the harpers, and who had borne away the Pythian palm, recited the following line out of those verses of Timotheus the Milesian, which are called Persae:

"Freedom's great ornament to Greece he gave."

But all the Greeks when he recited this verse cast their eyes on Philopoemen, and by a prodigious clapping of their hands, signified that the verse alone referred to him. I am informed that a similar circumstance happened to Themistocles in Olympia: for when he entered into the theatre all the spectators rose up. But Philip the son of Demetrius and king of the Macedonians, who destroyed the Sicyonian Aratus by poison, sent certain persons to Megalopolis, for the purpose of slaying Philopoemen. These, however, failing in their design, Philip procured himself the hatred of all Greece.

But when the Thebans had vanquished in battle the Megarenes, and had almost taken the Megaric walls, the consternation of the citizens was dissipated by the arrival of Philopoemen, and their enemies were so much terrified that they immediately abandoned their enterprize, and led back their army. In Lacedæmon, however, another tyrant Nabis arose, who molested the Messenians the first of all the Peloponnesians by his hostile incursions; and unexpectedly attacking them by night, he took all the city except the tower. But Philopoemen advancing with an army to the assistance of the Messenians on the following day, Nabis abandoned Messene on certain conditions. Philopoemen, too, when the time of his command was expired, and new
commanders were chosen by the Achaians, again passed over into Crete, in order to assist the Gortynians in their war. But the Arcadians being offended with his journey to Crete, he returned from thence, at the very time in which the Romans took up arms against Nabis; and the Romans preparing a fleet for this purpose, Philopoemen, through his alacrity in warlike concerns, was desirous of engaging in this expedition. However, as he was entirely ignorant of naval affairs, he ascended into a leaky three-oared galley. As soon as this was perceived by the Romans and their allies, they recollected those verses of Homer in his catalogue of the ships, in which he represents the Arcadians as ignorant of navigation. A few days after this naval battle, Philopoemen and the forces that were under his command, taking advantage of a very dark night, attacked and burnt the camps of the Lacedaemonians at Gythium. But here Nabis circumvented Philopoemen and his forces in an unfavourable situation. These forces of Philopoemen were good warriors, but were not many in number. Philopoemen, upon this, changed the order of his troops as they were retreating, and quickly gained a situation more favourable than that of the enemy. In consequence of this, Nabis being vanquished, and many of the Lacedaemonians slain on that night, the reputation of Philopoemen was increased among the Greeks. After this Nabis made a league with the Romans for a certain time; but before this time was expired, he was slain by a Calydonian, who came to him under a pretext of assisting him in his wars (for he had been suborned by the Aetolians), but proved himself in reality to be his enemy.
CHAPTER LI.

But Philopoemen making an irruption into Sparta, compelled the Lacedaemonians to join themselves to the council of the Achaians. And not long after this Titus Flaminius, who was the general of the Romans in the war against the Greeks, and Diophanes the Megalopolitan, and the son of Diæus, being chosen generals of the Achaian forces, marched with an army against the Lacedaemonians, whom they accused of engaging in new attempts prejudicial to the Romans. But Philopoemen, though he was then but a private man, took care to shut the gates against the enemy. The Lacedaemonians, therefore, on account of this action, and for his successful valour against both their tyrants, gave him the house of Nabis, which was worth more than one hundred talents. Philopoemen, however, despised the wealthy present, and exhorted the Lacedaemonians to conciliate to themselves the friendship of the most powerful person of the Achaic council by gifts, instead of endeavouring to purchase his esteem. They say, that the person he alluded to in this speech was Timoclus. But when he was again chosen as general by the Achaians, and the Lacedaemonians were at that time involved in a civil war, he expelled from Peloponnesus three hundred persons, who were the principal authors of the sedition, and sold about three thousand of the Helots. Besides this he demolished the wall of Sparta, and forbade the youth those exercises in which they employed themselves agreeable to the laws of Lycurgus; and ordered the Achaian youth to engage in them. The Romans, however, afterwards restored to the Spartan youth their accustomed exercises. But when Manilius and the Romans under his command vanquished at the Thermopylae Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, who was called Ni-
cator, and Aristænus the Megalopolitan exhorted the Achaïans to comply in every respect with the orders of the Romans, without the least opposition—then Philopæmen beheld Aristænus with an angry countenance, and told him that he hastened the fate of Greece.

Manilius after this endeavoured to bring back the exiled Lacedæmonians, but was opposed in this attempt by Philopæmen: but after his departure Philopæmen permitted the exiles to return to Sparta. Philopæmen, however, suffered the just punishment of his too great contempt of others. For when he was chosen by the Achaïans the eighth time general of their forces, he reproached one Lycurgus, a man by no means obscure, for suffering himself to be taken alive by the enemy; and, as there was then a disagreement between the Messenians and Achaïans, Philopæmen sent Lycurgus with an army to depopulate the land of the Messenians. The third day after this, Philopæmen, though he was seized with a violent fever, and was now eighty years of age, hastened to join himself to Lycurgus. He followed Lycurgus, therefore, with about sixty horse, and light-armed foot. Lycurgus, however, and his forces, who had neither accomplished anything great against the Messenians, nor sustained themselves any loss, returned safe home: but Philopæmen being wounded in the head in the engagement, and falling from his horse, was taken by the Messenians alive, and brought to Messene. Here an assembly being immediately called, there was a great diversity of opinions respecting the sentence which ought to be passed on Philopæmen. But Dinocrates, and the most wealthy of the Messenians, were of opinion, that he should be put to death. The common people, however, contended with the utmost eagerness for his safety, calling him by epithets, even more illustrious than that of the father of Greece. But Dinocrates, contrary to the will of the Messenians, destroyed him by poison. Lycurgus, however, not long after collecting
together a band of Arcadians and Achaians, the common people of the Messenians immediately surrendered themselves to the Arcadians, and punished all those that had been the authors of Philopómen's death, except Dinocrates, who slew himself: and the Arcadians carried the bones of Philopómen to Megalopolis.

CHAPTER LII.

Philopómen, indeed, may be called the last of the Greeks. For Miltiades the son of Cimon, by vanquishing the Barbarians at Marathon, and leading an army against the Medes, was the first, and Philopómen the son of Craugis was the last, that benefited Greece in common. But those, who prior to Miltiades, gave illustrious specimens of valour, were Codrus the son of Melanthus, the Spartan Polydorus, the Messenian Aristomenes, and whoever else deserves to rank among these. · However, each of these preserved his own country, but not one of them appears to have been the saviour of all Greece. After Miltiades, Leonidas the son of Anaxandrides, and Themistocles the son of Neocles, drove Xerxes out of Greece; the latter in two naval battles, and the former in the engagement at Thermopylae. But with respect to Aristides the son of Lysimachus, and Pausanias the son of Cleombratus, who commanded the Greeks at Platea, the latter of these cannot be called the benefactor of Greece, on account of his betraying the Greeks; nor yet the former, because through his means the Grecian islands came to be under contribution, though before his time all Greece was exempt from paying tribute. Xanthippus the son of Arhiphon destroyed the fleet of the Medes, when Leotychides reigned over the Spartans; and Cimon accomplished many things for the Greeks, and such as deserve to be emulated. But all those who had command in the
Peloponnesian war against the Athenians, and particularly the most illustrious of these, may be called the parricides and inundators of Greece.

Indeed, when Greece was in a very afflicted condition, Conon the son of Timotheus, and Epaminondas the son of Polymnis, restored it to some degree of vigour; the former by expelling the guards from the islands and places near the sea, which Harmostas and the Decurions had established; and the latter by driving them from cities remote from the sea. But Epaminondas rendered Greece more illustrious by the accession of two cities by no means obscure, viz. Messene and the Arcadian Megalopolis. Leosthenes, too, and Aratus, may be ranked among the benefactors of all Greece. For Leosthenes brought safe into Greece in ships about fifty thousand mercenary soldiers, who paid tribute to the Persians, and this even contrary to the will of Alexander. And the benefits which Greece obtained through Aratus may be known from my account of the Sicyonian affairs. But there is the following epigram in Tegea upon Philopæmén:

To the Arcadian Philopæmen, famed
Through Greece, for virtue, and for warlike skill,
Who by his untamed strength, and wise advice,
Accomplish'd many deeds of high renown,
Sparta two trophies for his valour raised,
Which freed her from two tyrants' galling yoke.
And Tegea, which blameless freedom gain'd
Through Craugia' mighty son, his statue here has fix'd.

CHAPTER LIII.

The Tegeatæ, too, say that they dedicated a statue to Apollo Agyieus on the following account: Apollo and Diana, say they, punished in every region, those who paid no re-
spect to Latona, during her wanderings when she was pregnant with them. When, therefore, these divinities came into the land of the Tegeates, Scephrus the son of Tegeates disdained to be present with Apollo. But Limon, who was one of the sons of Tegeates, began to suspect that this secret conference was nothing more than an accusation of his conduct. In consequence of this, he attacked and slew his brother; but being pierced with the arrows of Diana, he suffered the just punishment of the murder which he had committed. Tegeates, however, and Mæra, immediately sacrificed to Apollo and Diana; but a severe famine afterwards ensuing, an oracle was given to them from Delphos, commanding them to bewail Scephrus. Hence, in the festival of Apollo Agyieus, they perform certain ceremonies in honour of Scephrus, and the priestess of Diana pursues a certain person, so as to imitate Diana taking vengeance on Limon. They say, too, that Cylon, Careus, Archidamus, and Gortys, who were the children of Tegeates, voluntarily migrated from these places into Crete, Cydonia, Archidamion, and Gortyn; and that the cities Cydonia, Gortyn, and Catrea, were denominated from them. The Cretans, however, do not agree with this account of the Tegeates, but assert that Cylon was the son of Mercury and Acacallis the daughter of Minos; but that Careus was the son of Minos, and Gortys of Rhadamanthus. Homer, indeed, in the discourse between Proteus and Menelaus, says that Menelaus would arrive in the Elysian fields, where Rhadamanthus before this had fixed his residence. But Cinethon says in his verses, that Rhadamanthus was the son of Vulcan, Vulcan of Talus, and Talus of Cres. The writings of the Greeks, however, differ in most things, and particularly in what relates to genealogy.

But among the Tegeates there are four statues of Agyieus, each of which was dedicated by a separate tribe; and the names of these tribes were Clareotis, Hippothoitis, Apollo-
neatis, Athaneatis. These tribes were thus denominated from the lot respecting the country, which Arcas proposed to his sons, and at the same time from Hippothous the son of Cercyon. There is likewise a temple in Tegea of Ceres and Proserpine, whom they call fruit-bearing goddesses. Near this there is a temple of Paphian Venus, which was dedicated by Laodice, whose father, as I have before observed, was Agapenor, who led the Arcadians against Troy, and who dwelt in Paphos. Not far from hence there are two temples of Bacchus, an altar of Proserpine, and a temple of Apollo with a golden image of the god. These were made by Chрисophus the Cretan, whose age and master I am unacquainted with. The long stay, indeed, of Daedalus with Minos at Gnossus, rendered the Cretans renowned for the fabrication of statues. But near Apollo there is a stone statue of Chрисophus. The Tegeatæ, too, have a temple, which they call the common Vestae of the Arcadians. Here there is a statue of Hercules. The statue has a wound in the thigh, which happened from the first contest of Hercules with the sons of Hippocoon. But the more elevated part of the country, in which the Tegeatæ have many altars, is called the place of Jupiter Clarios. It is evident, that this appellation was given to the god from the allotment of the sons of Arcas. Every year the Tegeatæ celebrate a festival in this place: and they say, that the Lacedæmonians once led an army against them while they were celebrating this festival; that the god snowed upon the enemy, who, through the cold, together with their armour, became greatly fatigued; and that they secretly kindled a fire, and being by this means freed from the cold, attacked and conquered the enemy. I likewise saw in Tegea the house of Aleus, the sepulchre of Echmenus, and a representation on a pillar of the combat of Echmenus with Hyllus. As you proceed from Tegea towards the Laconic land, you will see on the left hand of the road an altar of Pan, and an altar of Ly-
T he river Alpheus forms the boundaries between the 
Lacedaemonians and Tegeatae. This water commences from 
Phylace; and not far from hence another stream falls into 
the Alpheus, from fountains which, though not large, are 
numerous; and on this account the place is called Sumbola, 
or the confluence. But the Alpheus appears to possess some-
thing different from other rivers; for it often hides itself in 
the earth, and again rises out of it. Thus it flows from 
Phylace and Sumbola, and merges itself in the Tegeatic 
land. Ascending from hence in Asaea, and mingling itself 
with the water of Eurotas, it falls a second time into the 
earth, emerges from hence, in that place which the Arcadians 
call the fountains, and running through the Pisaean and 
Olympian plains, pours itself into the sea above Cyllene, 
which is a haven of the Eleans. Nor can the agitation of 
the Adriatic sea restrain its course: for running through 
this mighty and violent sea, it mingles itself with the water 
of Arethusa in Ortygia a Syracusan island, retaining its an-
cient name Alpheus. In the straight road, too, to Thyrea, 
and those villages which belong to Thyreatis, there was a 
sepulchre of Orestes the son of Agamemnon, which deserves 
to be mentioned: and the Tegeatae say, that his bones were
taken from hence by a Spartan. At present, however, there is no sepulchre of Orestes within the gates. The river Garates flows along this road, which, when you have crossed, and have proceeded to the distance of about ten stadia, you will arrive at a temple of Pan, and a grove near it, which is sacred to the god. But the road to Argos from Tegea is very well adapted for carriages, and is a very public road. In this road there are, first a temple and statue of Aesculapius; and after these, on turning to the left hand, and proceeding to the distance of about one stadium, you will see a temple of Pythian Apollo, the whole of which, however, is nothing but ruins. Along the straight road there are many oaks; and in a grove of oaks there is a temple of Ceres the helmet-bearer. Near this there is a temple of Bacchus the mystic. From this the mountain Parthenius commences; in which there is a sacred grove of Telephus. They say that Telephus, when a child, was nourished here by a hind. At a little distance from hence there is a temple of Pan. They say, that Pan met Philippides in this place, and said to him what the Athenians relate as well as the Tegeatæ. The mountain Parthenius contains tortoises, adapted in the highest degree to the formation of lyres. The inhabitants, however, are afraid to catch these animals, and will not suffer them to be taken by strangers, because they consider them as sacred to Pan. When you have ascended to the summit of this mountain, you will see in the cultivated plains the boundaries between the Tegeatæ and Argives, just as in the parts about Hysia in Argolis. Such, therefore, are the parts of Peloponnesus, the cities in those parts, and the particulars in each city which are most worthy of commemoration.

END OF VOL. II.
THE

DESCRIPTION OF GREECE,

BY

PAUSANIAS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES,

IN WHICH MUCH OF THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE GREEKS IS UNFOLDED
FROM A THEORY WHICH HAS BEEN FOR MANY AGES UNKNOWN.

BY THOMAS JUNIOR

ILLUSTRATED

WITH MAPS AND VIEWS.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE AUGMENTATIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

Victa jacet Piktas—— Ovid.

£LONDON:
RICHARD PRIESTLEY, HIGH HOLBORN.

MDCCCXXIV.
1875, March 22.
Walker's Bequest.

Vol. III

Book IX. Bæothico-...h. 1
X. Phoeics...l. 90
THE
DESCRIPTION
OF
GREECE.

BOOK IX.
BOEOTICS.

CHAPTER I.

BOEOTIA borders on the Athenians, and the rest of the Attic land: and the Platæenses are near the Eleutherenses. But the whole nation of the Boeotians derived its name from Boeotus, who they say was the son of Itonus, and the nymph Melanippe. They add, that Itonus was the son of Amphictyon. Many of their towns too are denominated from men, but a still greater number from women. The Platæenses indeed were, as it appears to me, natives of Boeotia from the first; but they are of opinion that they derived their name from Platæa, the daughter of a river. It is, however, evident that the Platæenses reigned here in ancient times. For all Greece formerly was in subjection to royal authority, and there was no such thing as a democracy to be found among them. But the Platæenses do not know any thing of their kings except Asopus, and Cithæron who was prior to Asopus: and they say that one of these gave a name to a mountain, and the other to a river. It appears too to me that Platæa, from whom the city was denominated, was

VOL. III.
the daughter of king Asopus, and not of a river. Before
the battle which the Athenians fought at Marathon, the
Plataeenses performed nothing which deserves to be re-
corded. But in this battle they assisted the Athenians;
and after the irruption of Xerxes into Greece, had the
boldness to ascend their ships with the Athenians, and
punished in their own dominions Mardonius, the son of
Gobryas, who commanded the army of Xerxes. It happened,
however, that the Plataeenses were twice driven from Bœotia,
and again restored to it. For in the war between the
Peloponnesians and Athenians, the Lacedæmonians be-
sieged and took Platea: and when it was restored through
the peace which Antalcidas, a Spartan, made between the
Greeks and the king of the Persians, and the Plataeenses
that had fled to Athens returned to their native country, it
was again afflicted with the calamities of war. For at the
time when open war was proclaimed against the Thebans,
but the Plataeenses asserted that they were at peace with
them, because when Cadmea was taken by the Lacedæ-
momians, they neither assisted their counsels nor operations;
the Thebans, on the contrary, asserted that it was the
Lacedæmonians who made the peace, and who afterwards
acting contrary to the truce, caused it to be violated by the
other cities that had engaged in it.

The Plataeenses, therefore, suspecting the intentions of
the Thebans, strongly fortified their city; and those that
lived at some distance from the city did not venture into
the fields at all hours of the day; but knowing that the
Thebans were accustomed to protract their public assemblies
for a long time, they watched the time of their assembling
together, and, whenever this happened, cultivated their land
in peace. But Neocles the Theban, who was then the chief
magistrate of the Bœotians, perceiving the crafty conduct of
the Plataeenses, ordered each of the Thebans to come into the
assembly armed, and immediately led them, not in a direct
line from Thebes through the fields, but to Hysia, which is between the Eleutherans and Attica, and where the Plataeenses had no spies. This took place about the middle of the day: and the Plataeenses, supposing that the Thebans were engaged in their assembly, came into their fields as usual, having the gates of the city securely closed behind them. The Thebans therefore made the Plataeenses that were within the walls promise, that they would leave the city before sun-set; each man bringing with him one, and each woman two garments. At that time, indeed, the Plataeenses were oppressed in a manner very different from that which took place formerly through the Lacedæmonians, under the command of Archidamus: for then when they were besieged they were prevented from leaving the city by a twofold wall; but here the Thebans would not suffer them to enter into their walls. This second loss happened to the Plataeenses, in the third year prior to the battle at Leuctra, and when Asteus was the Athenian archon. Every part of the city at this time was destroyed by the Thebans, except the temples of the gods. But the manner in which the city was taken became the safety of the Plataeenses. For they were, in the first place, received by the Athenians; and afterwards Philip being victorious at Chaeronea, placed a guard over the Thebans, endeavoured by every possible means to accomplish their destruction, and at last restored the Plataeenses to their ancient habitations.

CHAPTER II.

On turning a little to the right hand from the straight road of the Plataean land under Citharion, you will see the ruins of Hysia and Erythrae. These were once cities of the Boeotians; and even now among the ruins of Hysia there is a temple of
THE DESCRIPTION

Apollo, the half of which is entire, and a sacred well. According to the Boeotians, formerly those that drank out of this well were endowed with the gift of prophecy. Proceeding from hence into the public road, you will again see, on the right hand, that which is called the sepulchre of Mardonius. Indeed that the dead body of Mardonius could nowhere be found after the battle in which he fell is generally acknowledged; nor can they tell by whom he was buried. It appears, however, that Artontes, the son of Mardonius, gave great gifts to Dionysophanes the Ephesian, and to others belonging to the Ionians, that they might not be negligent with respect to the interment of Mardonius. And this road leads from Eleutheræ to Plateæa. But as you proceed from Megarse, you will see on the right hand a fountain, and a little beyond this a stone, which they call the stone of Actæon: for they say that Actæon used to sleep on this, when he was weary with hunting; and that in this place he saw Diana washing herself in the neighbouring fountain. But Stesichorus Himéræus writes, that Diana threw upon Actæon a stag’s hide, and thus caused him to be slain by his dogs, that he might not marry Semele. For my own part, I can easily believe that Actæon might be torn in pieces by his dogs, without the interference of the goddess, in consequence of their rushing furiously upon him, without perceiving who he was.

In what part of Cithaeron the destruction of Pentheus the son of Echion happened, or where Oedipus when he was born was exposed, is not known by any one; though I am not ignorant of the bisected road belonging to the Phocenses, in which Oedipus slew his father. But the mountain Cithaeron is sacred to Jupiter Cithæronius, of which I shall speak more copiously when my discourse leads me to mention it again. Near the entrance to Plateæa, you may perceive the sepulchres of those that fought against the Medes. The other Greeks indeed have one common sepulchre; but the Lacedæmonians
OF GREECE.

and Athenians that fell in that battle have separate tombs; and upon them there are elegies composed by Simonides. Not far from the common sepulchre of the Greeks, there is an altar of Jupiter Eleutherius. The sepulchre is made of brass; but the altar and statue of Jupiter are of white stone. Even at present, every fifth year, they celebrate the festivals called Eleutheria, in which the greatest rewards are proposed for the race. They run before the altar armed. The trophy which the Greeks erected for their victory over the Plateenses is about fifteen stadia distant from the city. When you enter the city, in that part which contains the altar and statue of Eleutherian Jupiter, you will see the heroic monument of Platea. What the Plateenses report concerning her, I have already related. The Plateenses too have a temple of Juno which deserves to be inspected, both for its magnitude, and the ornament of the statues which it contains. On entering this temple, you will see a statue of Rhea presenting Saturn with a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, instead of the child of which she had been delivered. They call Juno, Teleia, or the perfect. There is a large statue of the goddess in an upright position: both these statues are made of Pentelican stone, and are the works of Praxiteles. There is another statue of Juno in a sitting posture in the same temple; and this was made by Callimachus. But they call the goddess Numpheuomene, or espoused, on the following account.

CHAPTER III.

They say, that Juno being angry with Jupiter, on what account it is not known, retired to Euboea; and Jupiter not being able to appease her, came to Cithæron, who then reigned over the Plateenses. This Cithæron was not second to any one in craft. He therefore persuaded Jupiter to
THE DESCRIPTION

make a statue of wood, to place it veiled in a car drawn by two oxen, and publicly assert that this was Platea, the daughter of Asopus, whom he was going to marry. As soon as Juno heard this, she immediately came to the car, and, cutting off the veil, perceived that what she supposed was a new married lady was nothing more than a wooden image; and in consequence of this became reconciled to Jupiter. In remembrance of this reconciliation, they celebrate a festival which is called Dædal, because the ancients called wooden statues Dædalian. But it appears to me that this name was usurped, before Dædalus the son of Palaimon was born; and that afterwards, from Dædalian statues Dædalus derived his name. The Platæenses therefore celebrate this Dædal festival, every seventh year, as an historian of this country told me: in reality, however, the interval of time between its celebration is not so long. But though I was desirous of accurately numbering the interval of time from one Dædal festival to another, I was not able to accomplish my design. They celebrate this festival in the following manner:—There is a grove, which is the greatest in Boeotia, not far from Alalcomene; and in this place there are many ancient oaks. The Platæenses coming into this grove, place in it portions of boiled flesh. And they have but little trouble indeed to defend it from other birds, but they are obliged to guard it diligently from the crows; and if any one of these birds carries off any portion of the flesh, they observe on what tree it perches, cut down this tree, and make from it a Dædalian statue: for they call the statue thus made Dædalian.

This festival the Platæenses celebrate privately, and call it the lesser Dædalas: for the Boeotians celebrate the greater Dædala in a very public manner, every sixtieth year. They say that the festival was omitted for so long a time when the Platæenses were driven from their native country. And in the lesser Dædala, indeed, they prepare fourteen statues
every year; and these the Plataeenses, Coronei, Thespiae, Tanagrae, Cherronenses, Orchomenii, Lebadenses, and Thebans, take away by lot. For these people thought proper to be reconciled with the Plataeenses, to partake of their common assembly, and to send a victim to the Deelia festival, when Thebes was restored by Cassander the son of Antipater. But those cities which are of less estimation bestow their gifts upon this festival according to lot. They carry the image to Asopus, and, having placed it in a car, commit it to the care of a bride-maid. After this, too, according to lots, they drive their cars from the river to the top of the Theban Cithernon. On the summit of this mountain an altar is prepared for them; and this altar is raised in the following manner:—They apply join together square pieces of wood, just as if they were raising a structure of twigs piled on these pieces of wood. But the cities sacrifice a cow of a proper age to Juno, and a bull to Jupiter, the victims being filled with wine and odoriferous herbs; and at the same time place the Deedala upon the altar. More wealthy individuals sacrifice a cow and an ox; but the poorer sort sacrifice small sheep. They burn all the victims in a similar manner, and the altar is, at the same time, burnt with them. I know that this flame is prodigious, and may be seen at a great distance. Beyond the summit of the mountain upon which they raise the altar, after you have descended about fifteen stadia, you will see the cavern of the nymphs called Citheronides. This cavern they denominate Sphregidion: and they say that formerly the nymphs used to prophesy in this cavern.
CHAPTER IV.

The Platæenses too have a temple of Minerva Areia, or the martial, which was raised from the spoils given to the Platæenses by the Athenians after the battle at Marathon. The statue of the goddess is made of wood, and is gilt, except the face, and the extremities of the hands and feet, which are of Pentelican stone. Its magnitude is nearly equal to that brazen statue of Minerva which the Athenians dedicated in their tower from the Marathonian spoils. Phidias too made this statue of Minerva for the Platæenses. In the temple there are pictures painted by Polygnotus, viz. Ulysses destroying the suitors; and the expedition, prior to this, of Onatas to the Argive Thebes. These pictures are in the vestibule of the walls. At the foot of the goddess there is a statue of Arimnestus, who was the general of the Platæenses in the engagement against Mardonius; and, prior to this, in the battle at Marathon. Among the Platæenses too there is a temple of Ceres Eleusinia, and a sepulchre of Leitus. This Leitus was the only one of all the Boeotian commanders that returned home from the Trojan war. But Mardonius, and the horse which he commanded, corrupted the fountain Gargaphia, because the army of the Greeks which stood opposite to them drank the water of this fountain. Afterwards, however, the water was purified by the Platæenses. As you proceed from Platæa to Thebes, you will see the river Porce. They say that Porce was the daughter of Asopus. But before you pass over the Asopus, on turning by the side of the river to the lower parts of the country, and travelling to the distance of about forty stadia, you will arrive at the ruins of Scolus. Among these ruins there is an imperfect temple of Ceres
OF GREECE.

and Proserpine, with half statues of the goddesses. Even now the Asopus separates the land of the Platæenses from that of the Thebans.

CHAPTER V.

They say that the first inhabitants of Thebes were the Ectenæ, whose king was Ogygus, a native of the place; and from whom many of the poets call Thebes Ogygias. They add, that these people were destroyed by a pestilence; and that the Hyantes and Aones, who, as it appears to me, were Boeotians and not foreigners, inhabited Thebes after the Ectenæ. But Cadmus and the army of the Phœnicians attacking these places, the Hyantes were vanquished, and fled the following night. Cadmus however suffered the Aones, who implored his protection, to remain, and mingle themselves with the Phœnicians. The Aones therefore fixed their habitations in different towns; but Cadmus built the city, which is even at present called Cadmea. The city, however, being afterwards increased, Cadmea became the tower of the lower Thebes. The marriage of Cadmus was certainly very illustrious, if, according to the assertion of the Greeks, he married Harmony, the daughter of Venus and Mars. His daughters too were renowned; for Semele was pregnant from Jupiter, and Ino was made one of the divinities of the sea. But during the reign of Cadmus, the Spartans, Cthonios, Hyperenor, Pelorus, and Udeus, were very powerful through his means. For Cadmus thought proper to make Echion his son-in-law, on account of his valour: and with respect to these men, as I cannot gain any farther intelligence about them, I must assent to the fable, which says, that they were called Spartans, from the manner in which they were produced. After the migration of
Cadmus to the Illyrians, and Encheleæ, a people of Illyria, his son Polydore reigned. Pentheus the son of Echion was powerful both through the dignity of his origin, and the friendship of the king; but as he was an insolent and impious man, he was punished by Bacchus for his impious behaviour towards him. Labdacus was the son of Polydore; and Polydore on his death-bed delivered up Labdacus and his kingdom to Nycteus. Other particulars belonging to this affair I have related in my description of Sicyonia; I mean, after what manner Nycteus died, and how the guardianship of his son was committed to Lycus the brother of Nycteus, and all the power of the Thebans.

Lycus indeed delivered up the reins of government to Labdacus when he was of age; but Labdacus dying not long after this, Lycus took Laius the son of Labdacus into his protection. And while he was again acting the part of a guardian, Amphion and Zethus collecting together an army, invaded the country; and those who were careful lest the race of Cadmus should become extinct, secretly conveyed Laius away. The sons of Antiope, however, vanquished Lycus in battle, and taking possession of the kingdom, joined the lower city with Cadmea, and called the whole Thebes, on account of their alliance with the nymph Thebe, the daughter of Prometheus. Homer, in the following verses in the Odyssey, confirms the truth of this account:

Though bold in open field, they yet surround
The town with walls, and mound inject on mound;
Here ramparts stood, there towers rose high in air,
And there through seven wide portals rush'd the war.

However, he makes no mention of Amphion raising the walls by the harmony of his lyre. But Amphion obtained his reputation in music, in consequence of having learnt from the Lydians, through his alliance to Tantalus, the Lydian harmony, and inventing three chords in addition to the four which had been already discovered. The author,
OF GREECE.

however, of the verses upon Europa says, that Amphion first learned the use of the lyre from Mercury, and that he drew along stones and wild beasts by his harmony. But Myron the Byzantian, who wrote heroic verses and elegies, says, that Amphion was the first that raised an altar to Mercury; and that for this he received a lyre from the god. It is also said that Amphion is punished in Hades for reviling Latona and her sons. This punishment of Amphion is mentioned in the poem called Minyas, and which is composed in common upon Amphion and Thamyris.

But after the house of Amphion was destroyed by pestilence, and Zethus had fallen a victim to grief, in consequence of his wife having slain his son for a certain offence, then the Thebans gave up the government to Laius. And Laius, during his reign, married Jocasta. He received too an oracle from Delphos, which told him that if he had a son by Jocasta, that son would be the means of his death. In consequence of this he exposed Oedipus as soon as he was born; and Oedipus, as soon as he arrived at manhood, slew his father, and married his mother. But that Oedipus had no children by his mother is evident from the following verses of Homer in the Odyssey:

There too Jocasta of a beauteous mien
I saw, the famed incestuous Theban queen;
With her own son she join'd in nuptial bands,
Though father's blood imbrued his murd'rous hands:
The gods and men the dire offence detest;
The gods with all their furies rend his breast.

For how could the report of his wickedness be immediately abolished, if he had four children by Jocasta? These children indeed were the offspring of Euryganea the daughter of Hyperphas: and this is evinced by the author of the verses called Oedipodia. Onasias painted for the Platæenses Euryganea, with a sorrowful countenance, on account of the battle between her sons. But Polynices, while Oedipus
was yet alive and reigned, left Thebes, fearing lest the
imprecations of his father should be accomplished. In con-
sequence of this he came to Argos, and married the daughter
of Adrastus; but after the death of Oedipus, returned
through the persuasions of his brother Eteocles to Thebes.
Here, however, a disagreement arising between him and his
brother, he was again exiled. After this he requested of
Adrastus to furnish him with an army against his brother.
This Adrastus complied with: but Polynices lost his army;
and the two brothers engaging each other in a single comb-
battle, were both slain.

Laodamas the son of Eteocles reigned after his father:
but till he was of age the government of the kingdom, and
the care of his education was committed to Creon the son of
Menoeceus. When Laodamas, therefore, was of a proper
age, and took upon him the royal authority, the Argives
led a second army against Thebes. The Thebans met this
army at Glissas, and when they came to an engagement,
Laodamas slew Ægialeus the son of Adrastus. But the
Argives being victorious in this engagement, Laodamas,
with the Thebans that followed him, fled on the following
night to the Illyrians; and the Argives delivered up Thebes,
which they had taken, to Thersander the son of Poly-
nices. As a great part, however, of the forces which Aga-
memnon led against Troy wandered during their voyage
from their destined course, and were shipwrecked about
Mysia, it happened that Thersander, who in valour sur-
passed most of the Greeks in that war, was slain by Tele-
phus. But the sepulchre of Thersander is in the plains of
Caicus, in the city Elaea. This sepulchre is of stone, and is
in that part of the forum which is in the open air; in which
place, as they say, the inhabitants perform funeral sacri-
fices in honour of him. After the death of Thersander, a
second fleet being fitted out against Paris and the Trojans,
the command of it was given to Peneleus; for Tisamenus
OF GREECE.

the son of Thersander was not yet old enough for this purpose. But Peneleus being slain by Euryalus the son of Telephus, they chose Tisamenus for their king, who was the son of Thersander and Demonassa the daughter of Amphiarus. This Tisamenus was free from the imprecactions of Laius and Oedipus; but Autesion the son of Tisamenus did not escape them, but was compelled on this account, in compliance with an oracle, to migrate to the Dorienses. After the departure of Autesion, Damasichthon, the grandson of Peneleus the son of Opheltes, was chosen king. Ptolemy was the son of this Damasichthon, and Xanthus of Ptolemy, I mean that Xanthus whom Andropompus slew in a single combat, by stratagem, and not in a lawful manner. Afterwards it appeared better to the Thebans to be governed by many, and not to commit the administration of affairs to one man alone.

CHAPTER VI.

With respect to the prosperous or adverse events of their wars, I have found the following to be the most remarkable particulars. They were vanquished by the Athenians in that battle, in which they assisted the Plataeenses, who fought for the boundaries of their land. They were a second time too vanquished at Plataea by the same Athenians, in consequence of seeming to prefer the friendship of Xerxes to that of the Greeks. The common people, however, were not culpable in this particular; for at that time an oligarchy was established among the Thebans, and not that form of administration which was natural to their country. If, therefore, the sons of Pisistratus had then tyrannized over the Athenians, there can be no doubt but that the Athenians themselves would have been attached to the Persians, and on this account would have been culpable as well as the
Thebans. Afterwards, however, the Athenians were vanquished by the Thebans at Delius, in the country of the Tanagréans; and Hippocrates the son of Ariphron who commanded the Athenian army was slain, together with a great part of his forces. But the Lacedæmonians, immediately after the departure of the Mede, were upon friendly terms with the Thebans, till the Peloponnesians warred on the Athenians. This war however being finished, and the fleet of the Athenians dissolved, the Thebans not long after, together with the Corinthians, took up arms against the Lacedæmonians; but being vanquished in a battle about Corinth, and in Chæronea, they afterwards obtained at Leuctra a victory the most illustrious of all the Grecian victories we are acquainted with. Here they put an end to the Decadarchs, or governors of companies, consisting each of ten men, which the Lacedæmonians had established in their cities, and to those prefects which they call Harmostai. After this, they carried on for ten years the Phocic war, which is called by the Greeks, Sacred. But I have already shown in my account of the Attic affairs, that the slaughter at Chæronea was the source of calamity to all Greece: and it was eminently afflicting to the Thebans. For they were obliged to place a guard within the walls of their city; which, however, after the death of Philip, and during the reign of Alexander, they drove out of their city. But, for this action, divinity gave them tokens of approaching destruction. For, during the time of the battle at Leuctra, the spiders in the temple of Ceres Thesmophoros wove white webs about the doors; but when Alexander and the Macedonians attacked their dominions, their webs were found to be black. It is also said, that divinity rained ashes on the Attic land, in the year prior to that in which Sylla led an army against the Athenians, and by this means caused them to suffer in such an eminent degree.
CHAPTER VII.

The Thebans, therefore, being then driven from their country by Alexander, fled to Athens, and were afterwards restored to it by Cassander the son of Antipater. Indeed the Athenians assisted the Thebans with the greatest alacrity in restoring Thebes to its pristine state; and they were joined in this by the Messenians and Megalopolitans. But it appears to me that Cassander rebuilt Thebes, principally through his hatred of Alexander: for he endeavoured totally to destroy all his house. Thus he delivered up Olympias the mother of Alexander to be stoned to death, by those Macedonians who violently hated her, and destroyed by poison Hercules the son of Alexander by Barsina, and Alexander his son by Róxana. He did not, however, depart rejoicing from the present life; for he was seized with a dropsy, through which he was devoured by vermin. Of his sons, too, the eldest, Philip, not long after he began his reign, was attacked with a tabid disease. Antipater who succeeded him slew his mother Thessalonice, who was the daughter of Philip the son of Amyntas by Nicasipolis. His reason for committing this parricide was her extreme fondness of Alexander, the youngest of Antipater’s sons. Alexander, however, calling to his assistance Demetrius the son of Antigonus, slew Antipater, and thus revenged the murder of his mother.

Some god, therefore, deservedly punished Cassander for his guilty conduct. However, all the ancient inclosure of Thebes was restored to the Thebans by Cassander. But it was requisite, that they should afterwards taste of the greatest evils. For when Mithridates warred on the Romans, the Thebans assisted him in this war, for no other
reason, as it appears to me, than their friendship to the Athenians. But when Sylla led his army into Bœotia, the Thebans were terrified, and, immediately changing their intentions, joined themselves to the Romans. Sylla, however, did not lay aside his anger against them, but invented other things destructive to their prosperity, and laid a fine on half their land; for which conduct this was his pretext: When the war against Mithridates commenced, Sylla was in great want of money. Hence, he collected together the sacred offerings from Olympia and Epidaurus; and from the temple of the Delphic Apollo, all that was left by the Phocæses. This treasure he distributed among his soldiers. But to the gods, instead of the riches which he had taken from them, he gave the half of the Theban land. The Romans, however, afterwards restored to the Thebans the land which had been taken from them. But in other respects they were reduced by Sylla to a very calamitous condition. And even at present the lower city is entirely desolate, except the temples of the gods: but the Thebans dwell in their tower, which is no longer called Cadmea.

CHAPTER VIII.

When you have passed over the Asopus, and have proceeded to about the distance of ten stadia from the city, you will arrive at the ruins of Potnææ, among which there is a grove of Ceres and Proserpine. The statues near the river are called by the inhabitants the goddesses Potnææ. At stated times they perform other established ceremonies in honour of these, and send sucking pigs into buildings which they call Megara. These pigs, they say, are seen at Dodona in the summer of the following year: which report may perhaps be credited by some. There is here too a
OF GREECE.

The temple of Bacchus Aigobolas, or the piercer of goats. For it once happened, that while the inhabitants of this place were sacrificing, they became so outrageous through intoxication, that they slew the priest of Bacchus. As a punishment for this action, they were afflicted with a pestilential disease; and at the same time were ordered by the Delphic Oracle to sacrifice to Bacchus a boy in the flower of his youth. However, not many years after this, they say, that the god changed the sacrifice of a boy for that of a goat. Among the Potniae, too, there is a well; and they report that the horses which are natives of Potniae become mad by drinking this water. As you go from hence to Thebes, you will see on the right hand of the road an inclosure, not very large, and in it certain pillars. They are of opinion that the earth opened in this place to Amphiaraus; and they say, that birds will not sit on these pillars, nor grass grow, nor any tame or savage animal feed in this place.

But the Thebans, in the inclosure of their ancient wall have seven gates, which remain even at present. I have heard that one of these gates was called Electra, from Electra, the sister of Cadmus, and another Proetus, from Proetus, a native of this place. I have not, however, been able to find at what time this Proetus lived. They call the third gate Neita, because Amphion is said to have invented that chord in a lyre called Nete, before these gates. I have also heard, that the son of Zethus, the brother of Amphion, was called Neis; and that from him this gate was denominated Neida. They denominate the gate Crenae from a fountain; but the gate Hyestre, from its proximity to the temple of Jupiter the highest. Besides these gates there is another gate which is called Ogygia; and the last gate is denominated Omolios. It appears to me, that this last name is the most recent of all, and Ogygia the most ancient. They say, too, that the gate Omolios was thus denominated on the following account: When the Thebans were van-
quished by the Argives near Glisas, many of them fled, to-gether with Laodamas the son of Eteocles. Of these, one part was unwilling to take refuge among the Illyrians, but turning towards the Thessalians, took up their residence in Omoloe, which is the most fertile and well-watered mountain of all that Thessaly contains. Afterwards, being recalled to their native country by Thersander the son of Polynices, they called the gate through which they entered into the city, Omoloi, from the mountain Omoloe. But as you come from Plateae, you will enter Thebes through the gate called Electra. They say that Capanes the son of Hipponous was struck with lightning at this gate, as he was attacking the walls with more vehemence than usual.

CHAPTER IX.

This war, indeed, which the Argives waged, deserves, in my opinion, to be celebrated beyond all the wars of the Greeks, during the heroic ages, as they are called. For the war of the Eleusinians against the other Athenians, and in like manner of the Thebans against the Minyæ, almost after one engagement, terminated in concord, and treaties of peace. But the army of the Argives came into the middle of Boeotia, from the middle of Peloponnesus; and Adrastus collected together his allied forces from Arcadia, and from the Messenians. In a similar manner, mercenary troops were sent to the Thebans from the Phocenses, and by the Phlegyians from Minyas. An engagement therefore taking place near Ismenus, the Thebans were vanquished, and fled within their walls. But as the Peloponnesians were unac-quainted with the art of besieging cities, and attacked the walls of Thebes more under the influence of anger than the direction of science, the Thebans slew many of them.
OF GREECE.

from their walls, and afterwards leaving their city, by a sudden incursion broke the enemy's ranks, and cut to pieces the whole army except Adrastus. This victory however cost the Thebans dear: and hence, victories obtained with a great loss are calledCadmean victories. Not many years after this, those whom the Greeks call Epigoni, or such as are of posterior origin, with Thersander for their leader, warred on Thebes. But it is evident, that not only the Argives, Messenians, and Arcadians, joined themselves to their standards, but that the Corinthians and Megarenses came to their assistance. The Thebans however were assisted by the cities bordering on Thebes; and a sharp engagement took place between the two armies near Glisas. Of the Thebans, many after they were vanquished fled with Laodamas, and the rest fortified themselves in their city. And this is the war which is celebrated in verse. Calænus, making mention of these verses, says that they were composed by Homer; and many celebrated persons are of the same opinion. Indeed, I consider these verses as next in excellence to the Iliad and Odyssey. And thus much concerning the war, which the Argives and Thebans waged for the sake of the sons of Oedipus.

CHAPTER X.

Not far from the gates there is a common sepulchre of those who fell in the engagement against Alexander and the Macedonians. Near it they show a place, in which they say (if it may be believed) the teeth of the dragon which was slain by Cadmus by the fountain were sown, and became men. There is a hill on the right hand of the gates, which is sacred to Apollo; and both the hill and the god are called Ismenios, from the river Ismenus flowing
THE DESCRIPTION

near this place. The first stone statues which present themselves to the view on entering the city, are those of Minerva and Mercury, whom they call Pronoai, or belonging to vestibules. That of Mercury was made by Phidias, and that of Minerva by Scopas. After this there is a temple, which contains a statue equal in magnitude to that of the Branchidæ, and in no respect different in its form. Whoever sees one of these statues, and knows whom it was made by, will, on beholding the other, perceive, without any great skill, that its artificer was Canachus. This statue, however, belonging to the Branchidæ is made of brass, but this of Apollo Ismenios of cedar. In the same place too there is a stone, upon which, they say, Manto the daughter of Tiresias sat. This stone is placed before the vestibule of the temple, and is called at present the seat of Manto.

On the right hand of the temple there are stone statues, which they say are images of Henioche and Pyrrha the daughters of Creon, who reigned while he was the guardian of Laodamas the son of Eteocles. I know, too, that at present the Thebans choose as the annual priest of Apollo Ismenios, a boy illustrious for his origin, and of great beauty and strength. This boy is called Daphnophoros, because he is crowned with laurel. But I am not certain whether all the boys that are crowned with laurel dedicate a brazen tripod to Apollo. It appears to me, that all are not obliged to do this by law; for I did not see many tripods dedicated here. The wealthier sort of these boys however dedicate tripods: and among these, that which Amphitrion dedicated, with Hercules on it crowned with laurel, is the most illustrious, both for its antiquity and the renown of the person by whom it was sent as an offering. Beyond this temple of Ismenian Apollo you will see a fountain, which they say is sacred to Mars: and they add, that a dragon is stationed here by Mars as the guardian of the fountain. Near this is the tomb of Caanthus, who they say was the
OF GREECE.

brother of Melia, and the son of Ocean; and who was sent by his father to seek his sister that was forcibly taken away. But when he found that she was in the power of Apollo, and that in consequence of this he was not able to take her away, he had the boldness to set on fire the grove of Apollo, which they call Ismenion; and for this action, as the Thebans say, the god slew him with his arrows. They say, too, that Apollo had two sons by Melia, Tenerus and Ismenius; and that Apollo endowed Tenerus with a prophetic power, but the river was denominated from Ismenius. However, prior to the birth of Ismenius this river was called Ladon.

CHAPTER XI.

On the left hand of the gate which is called Electra, are the ruins of a house which they say was inhabited by Amphitryon when he fled from Tiryntha, on account of the death of Electryon. The bedchamber of Alcmene is yet to be seen among these ruins. They say, that this bedchamber was built for Amphitryon by Trophonius and Agamedes; and that the following epigram was once inscribed on it: Amphitryon, when he designed to marry Alcmene, chose this for his bedchamber, which was made by Ancasius, Trophonius, and Agamedes. The Thebans, too, show the sepulchre of the children of Hercules by Megara: but the particulars which they relate concerning their death, do not in any respect correspond with those given by Stesichorus Himereus and Panyasis in their poems. The Thebans farther add, that Hercules, through his insanity, would have slain Amphitryon himself; but that before he could accomplish this he fell asleep through the blow of a stone; and that this stone was thrown by Minerva, whom they call Sophronister, or the restrainer. In this
place too there are images of women on a pillar, whose form is obscured through age. These images the Thebans call Pharmakides, or witches; and they say, that they were sent by Juno in order to prevent Alcmene from being delivered. However, Istonis the daughter of Tiresias deceived them while they were acting in this manner by Alcmene, by the following means: from a place whence she could easily be heard by the witches, she cried out with a loud voice, that Alcmene was delivered; and in consequence of their being deceived in this manner, Alcmene was in reality delivered.

There is a temple here of Hercules with a stone statue, which they call Promachos, or the defender: and this was made by the Thebans, Xenocrates and Eubius. But the Thebans are of opinion, that the ancient wooden statue in this place was made by Daedalus: and it appears to me, that this was really the case. They say that Daedalus dedicated this statue on account of the benevolent interposition of divinity in his favour. For when he had constructed for himself and his son Icarus a small ship, and had discovered the use of sails, which were unknown before, so that he was able, in consequence of being driven by a prosperous wind, to outstrip the vessel of Minos, he himself escaped in safety: but they say that Icarus, being unskilled in the art of piloting the ship, overturned it, and was by this means swallowed up by the waves, and driven to an island of Pergamus, the name of which is at present unknown. They add, that Hercules met with the dead body, and, knowing it, buried it, where even now there is a heap of earth not very large, in the promontory which extends to the Ægean sea. But the island and the sea about it were denominanted from Icarus. In the roof of this temple Praxiteles carved for the Thebans many of the twelve labours of Hercules. What he has omitted, are the birds called Stymphalides, and the purification of the Æolian land:
and instead of these he has represented the wrestling of Hercules with Antæus. But Thrasybulus the son of Lycus, and those Athenians who together with him dissolved the oppressive government of the thirty tyrants (for they descended from Thebes for this purpose), dedicated in the temple of Hercules colossal statues of Minerva and Hercules, of Pentelican stone, and made by Alcamenes. A gymnasium and stadium too of Hercules are contiguous to this temple. But above the stone Sophronister there is an altar of Apollo, who is called Spondios: and this altar is raised from the ashes of victims. Divination from omens is here established; which I know the Smyrnæans use beyond all the Greeks. For in the outward inclosure of their walls they have a temple, raised for the purpose of receiving omens.

CHAPTER XII.

The Thebans too, in ancient times, sacrificed bulls to Apollo Polios, or the hoary. But it once happened in this festival, that when the time for slaying the victim was at hand, and those that were sent for the bull did not come as they were expected, the sacrificers met with a car drawn by two oxen, one of which they sacrificed to the god; and from this circumstance they afterwards thought proper to sacrifice labouring oxen. The following circumstance likewise is related by the Thebans: When Cadmus came from the Delphi to Phocis, he followed an ox as his guide. This ox was bought of the herdsmen of Pelagos, and had on each of its sides a white spot resembling the full moon. It was necessary, therefore, that Cadmus and his army, by the command of an oracle, should fix their residence in that place in which the ox when weary laid itself down to rest. This place the Thebans exhibit even now; and in it there is an altar, in the
open air, of Minerva, and a statue, which they say were dedicated by Cadmus. Hence their opinion, who assert that the Cadmus who came to Thebes was an Egyptian, and not a Phœnician, may be confuted by the very name given to this statue of Minerva: for this goddess is called Siga in the Phœnician, and not Sais, as in the Egyptian tongue.

The Thebans too farther report, that where the forum of the tower now stands, the house of Cadmus formerly stood. Hence, they show the ruins of the bedchambers of Harmonia and Semele, into which last, even at present, men are not permitted to enter. According to the Greeks, the Muses celebrated the nuptials of Harmonia with songs: and there is a place in the forum here, where they say the goddesses sang. It is also said, that together with the thunder which descended into the chamber of Semele, a piece of wood fell from heaven, which Polydorus adorned with brass, and called Cadmean Bacchus. Near this there is a statue of Bacchus, which Onassimedes made entirely of brass; for the statue of Cadmus was made by the sons of Praxiteles. Here too there is a statue of Pronomus the piper, who allured many by his harmony. Before his time there were different pipes, for the Dorian, Lydian, and Phrygian measures; but he first invented pipes adapted to every kind of harmony, and was the first that played all the different measures at once on one pipe. It is also said, that he wonderfully delighted the spectators in the theatres, by the gesticulations of his face, and the motion of his whole body. His songs are yet extant which he composed for the Chalcidenses by the Euripus, in honour of Delos. The Thebans therefore have here placed a statue of this Pronomus, and of Epaminondas, the son of Polynnis.
CHAPTER XIII.

The ancestors indeed of Epaminondas were very illustrious; but his father, with respect to possessions, was but of the middle rank among the Thebans. However, he took care to have his son accurately instructed in all the disciplines belonging to his country: and Epaminondas himself, when he was but a youth, betook himself to Lysis the Tarantine, who was skilled in the doctrine of Pythagoras the Samian. But in the war which the Lacedæmonians waged with the Mantinenses, Epaminondas is said to have been sent with other Thebans to the aid of the Lacedæmonians. In this battle he saved Pelopidas, who, through a great wound which he received, was on the very brink of destruction; and afterwards being sent as an ambassador to Sparta, when the Lacedæmonians decreed to establish that peace which was called the peace of Antalcidas, Agesilaus asked him whether the Thebans had suffered the Boeotians in their respective cities to swear to the peace. To this interrogation Epaminondas replied, By no means, O Spartan, till we find that the cities which border on your dominions have sworn. But as soon as the war between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans commenced, and the Lacedæmonians, trusting both to their own power and that of their allies, pressed very much on the Thebans, Epaminondas with a part of the Theban army fixed his camps above the marsh Cephissis, as he perceived that in this part the Peloponnesians were disposed to make an attack. Cleombrotus, however, king of the Lacedæmonians, turned his forces to Ambryssus in the land of the Phocenses; and having slain Chæreas who guarded the passages in these parts, he penetrated as far as to Leuctra in Boeotia. But in this place divinity gave
certain portentous signs in common to Cleombrotus and the Lacedæmonians. For it was usual with the Spartan kings, when they marched to battle, to take along with them sheep, that they might sacrifice to the gods before the engagement began. The leaders of these sheep were goats, which the shepherds call Catoiades, or leaders of the flock. At that time, therefore, certain wolves rushed on the shepherd, and slew the goats that were the leaders of the flock, but did not in any respect injure the sheep.

It is also said, that the wrath of divinity was enkindled against the Lacedæmonians, through the daughters of Sceadasus. For when Sceadasus dwelt about Leuctra, he had two daughters, Molpia and Hippo. These, when they were in the flower of their age, were ravished by the Lacedæmonians, Parathemidas, Phrurarchidas, and Parthenius. The virgins, indignantly bearing this injurious treatment, strangled themselves to death. And Sceadasus when he came to Lacedæmon, and could obtain no recompense from the Spartans, slew himself. But then Epaminondas performed funeral rites to Sceadasus and his daughters, and solemnly declared, that he took up arms, not more for the safety of the Thebans, than for the sake of revenging the injuries which they had sustained. The opinion, however, of some of the Boötian commanders on this subject did not correspond with that of Epaminondas: for though Malgis and Xenocrates were of opinion, that war should be denounced against the Lacedæmonians with all possible celerity, yet Damocidas, Damophilus, and Simangelus thought this was by no means proper; but exhorted the Thebans to send away their wives and children to Attica, and prepare themselves for a siege. And after this manner six of them varied in opinion. But when the seventh of the Boötian chiefs, who guarded the passages at Citheron, and whose name was Branchyllides, voted in favour of the opinion of Epaminondas, the Thebans determined to try the fortune of war.
OF GREECE.

However, several of the Boeotians were suspected by Epaminondas, particularly the Thespians. Fearing therefore some treachery might ensue, he permitted all that were willing to leave the camps, and return home: and in consequence of this permission, the Thespians, and the other Boeotians, that were not attached to the interests of the Thebans, departed from the army. But as soon as an engagement took place, the allies of the Lacedæmonians, who previous to this were disaffected towards them, now openly declared their hatred: for they were unwilling to remain in their places, and turned their backs when attacked by the enemy. The battle however between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans was equal; for the former were incited by their pristine skill in warlike affairs, and the fear of destroying the dignity of Sparta; but the latter by the danger which they saw hung over their country, wives and children. But when, in the end, many principal persons among the Lacedæmonians and king Cleombrotus himself fell, necessity compelled the Lacedæmonians, though in such calamitous circumstances, to maintain their ground; for it appeared to them to be a most shameful circumstance, to leave the dead body of their king in the power of the enemy. Indeed the Thebans gained in this battle the most illustrious victory which one Grecian nation ever obtained over another. On the following day the Lacedæmonians sent heralds to the Thebans, and desired they might be permitted to bury their dead. Epaminondas, however, who knew that the Lacedæmonians always concealed their calamities, answered, that he would first of all permit their allies to take away their dead, and then the Lacedæmonians to bury their own people. As some of the allies, therefore, had not any dead to take away, and others had but a few, the Spartans were obliged to confess that the greatest loss was of their own people. In this engagement, of the Thebans and such Boeotians as remained, no more than forty-seven fell; but of the Lacedæmonians above a thousand.
CHAPTER XIV.

After this battle Epaminondas permitted the rest of the Peloponnesians to return home, but kept the Lacedæmonians shut up at Leuctra. But when he heard that the Spartans collected themselves together from all their cities in order to assist their own people at Leuctra, he suffered them to depart on certain conditions, asserting that it was much better to transfer the war from Boætia to Lacedæmonia. The Thespians, because they suspected the Thebans on account of their ancient hatred towards them, and their present good fortune, thought proper to leave their city, and fly to Ceressus. This Ceressus is a fortified town belonging to the Thespians, into which they formerly betook themselves when they were attacked by the Thessalians. But at that time the Thessalians, being frustrated in their attempts to take Ceressus, sent to Delphos in order to consult the god, and received the following oracle: "Shady Leuctra and the Alesian soil are the objects of my care. My attention likewise is directed to the sorrowful daughters of Scædusus. For on their account a lamentable war will arise. Nor shall any man survive to relate it, till the Dories shall lose a beautiful young virgin, when her fatal hour is arrived: for then, but not otherwise, Ceressus may be taken." Epaminondas, therefore, having taken Ceressus, and the Thespians who had fled thither for refuge being expelled, turned his attention to the affairs of Peloponnesus, the Arcadians with great alacrity calling upon him for this purpose.

On his first arrival therefore among the Peloponnesians, he voluntarily joined himself to the Argives, as his associates in war; brought back the Mantinenses to their ancient
OF GREECE.

city, who were dispersed in towns about Agesipolis; and persuaded the Arcadians to destroy their small towns, which, as they were unfortified, might easily be taken, and to assemble together in one city which he built for them, and which is even at present called Megalopolis. When the time of his command too was expired, and which to continue any longer was a capital offence, he despised the law by which this custom was established, as being then unseasonable, retained his command, and marched with an army to Sparta: but finding that Agesilaus was not willing to come to an engagement, he turned his attention to the restoration of Messene. Hence, Epaminondas was the restorer of those Messenians that exist at present; the particulars of which affair I have related in my Messenics. In the mean time, the Theban allies dispersing themselves over the Laconic land, greatly injured it by their depredations; and this induced Epaminondas to lead back his army to Boeotia. When therefore he drew near to Lechæus, and was about to pass through the difficult and narrow defiles, Iphicrates the son of Timotheus met him with troops armed with shields like a half moon, and with the other forces of the Athenians, which he led against the Thebans. These Epaminondas attacked, and put to flight; and pursuing them as far as to the walls of Athens, when he found that Iphicrates would not suffer the Athenians to fight, led back his army to Thebes. Here he was tried for continuing his Boeotian government after the expiration of the limited time; but not one of the judges would pass sentence upon him.

CHAPTER XV.

Afterwards, when Alexander who reigned in Thessaly imprisoned Pelopidas (who came to him relying on his
THE DESCRIPTION

private benevolence, and on the friendship of the Thebans in common), that he might punish his perfidy and insolence, the Thebans immediately marched an army against Alexander, and chose Cleomenes for the leader of this expedition; at the same time subjecting the Boeotian governor, who at that time presided over the army, to his command. Epaminondas upon this occasion was stationed among the common soldiers. The army having arrived at the narrow defiles of the Thermopylae, was unexpectedly attacked by Alexander in those parts most difficult of access; and in consequence of this, the forces despairing of success chose Epaminondas for their general, with the free consent of the Boeotian præfects. Alexander, therefore, perceiving that the command was transferred to Epaminondas, had not the boldness to come to an engagement, and voluntarily dismissed Pelopidas. But during the absence of Epaminondas, the Thebans drove the Orchomeniæns from their country. This violence Epaminondas bore indignantly, and said that the Thebans would not have dared to act in this manner if he had been present.

In the mean time, as no other Boeotian governor was chosen, Epaminondas led his army again to Peloponnesus, and vanquished the Lacedæmonians near Lechaæus; and together with them the Pellenenses from among the Achaians, and of the Athenians, those which had been led by Chabrias. It was an established custom among the Thebans to take a ransom for their prisoners, except such as were Boeotians; for these they condemned to death. But Epaminondas having taken a small city of the Sicyonians called Phœbia, and which contained the greatest part of the Boeotian exiles, enfranchised them on their paying down a certain sum of money; at the same time calling them by the names of different countries, just as they came into his mind. However, when he came to Mantinea with his army, and was then victorious, he was slain by an Athenian: and among
the Athenians in a picture of an equestrian battle, a man is represented slaying Epaminondas, and the writing under him shows that he is Gryllus the son of Xenophon. This was the Xenophon that attended Cyrus in his expedition against Artaxerxes, and who led the Greeks back again to the sea. On the statue of Epaminondas elegies are inscribed, which assert, among other things, that Messene was restored by him, and that he gave liberty to the Greeks. These elegies are as follow:

Our counsels Sparta's glory have destroy'd.
Through these, Messene shall in time receive
Offspring august. Through these, with Theban arms
Environ'd, Megalopolis is crown'd,
And its own laws Greece unrestrain'd enjoys.

And such are the particulars respecting the renown of Epaminondas.

CHAPTER XVI.

Nor far from this statue of Epaminondas there is a temple of Ammon. The statue in this temple was made by Calamis, and dedicated by Pindar, who also sent hymns in honour of Ammon to the Ammonians in Libya. At present there is a hymn composed by Pindar, inscribed on a triangular pillar, near the altar which Ptolemy the son of Lagus dedicated to Ammon. After this temple the Thebans have a building which is called the divining tower of Tiresias: and near it there is a temple of Fortune. The statue of the goddess in this temple holds an infant Plutus: and the Thebans say, that the hands and face of this statue were made by the Athenian Xenophon, but the other parts by Callistonicus a Theban. It certainly was a sagacious device to place Plutus in the hands of Fortune, as if she was his mother or nurse. Nor was the sagacity of Cephisodotus
less, who made for the Athenians Peace holding Plutus. The Thebans too have wooden statues of Venus so ancient, that they are said to have been dedicated by Harmonia. These were made from the beaks of the ships of Cadmus. One of these they call Celestial Venus, the second Popular, and the third Apostrophia.

Harmonia gave these names to Venus; the epithet Celestial, signifying pure love, and that which is liberated from the desire of body; the epithet Popular, alluding to venereal congress; and Apostrophia, signifying that this goddess turns the race of men from unlawful desire and impious coition. For Harmonia knew, that many impious actions both among the Barbarians and Greeks were committed through intemperate desire; such as afterwards were celebrated in verse, of the mother of Adonis, of Phaedra the daughter of Minos, and of the Thracian Tereus. But they say that the temple of Ceres Thesmophoros was once the house of Cadmus and his posterity. The statue of Ceres in this temple is only apparent as far as to the breast. Brazen shields are fixed in this place, which they say belonged to the Lacedaemonian noblemen that fell in the battle at Leuctra. Near the gates called Proetæ there is a theatre: and very near the theatre there is a temple of Lysian Bacchus. For when formerly the Thracians led away many captives from the Thebans, Bacchus freed them from their bonds, when they came near the borders of the Haliartians, and enabled them to slay the Thracians when oppressed with sleep. The Thebans, too, say that the other statue which is in this temple is the statue of Semele. Once every year, on stated days, they open this temple. Here likewise there are ruins of the house of Lycus, and a sepulchre of Semele; for it is not the sepulchre of Alcmene; as, according to report, she was changed after her death into a stone. For the Thebans do not give the same account of her as the Megarenses. The Greeks, too, in other re-
lations differ very much from each other. The Thebans have besides, in this place, monuments of the children of Amphion, the male being apart from the female offspring.

CHAPTER XVII.

Near these is the temple of Diana Eucleia, or the renowned: and the statue of the goddess in it was made by Scopas. They say that the daughters of Antipæus, Androcles and Alcida, are buried in this temple. For when the Thebans led by Hercules were about to engage with the Orchomenians, they were told by an oracle, that the army would be victorious out of which a citizen of the most illustrious birth should destroy himself. Antipæus, therefore, was the chief of all his fellow citizens with respect to the splendor of his origin; but he could not be persuaded to kill himself for the good of his country. His daughters, however, cheerfully devoted themselves for the accomplishment of this end: and for this they were publicly honoured. Before this temple of Diana Eucleia there is a lion of stone, which they say was dedicated by Hercules after he had vanquished the Orchomenians, and their king Erginus the son of Clymenus. Near this temple there is a statue of Boedromian Apollo, and a statue of Judicial Mercury, which was dedicated by Findar. The funeral pile of the children of Amphion is about half a stadium distant from their sepulchres. The ashes yet remain upon this funeral pile. Near the statue, too, of Amphitryon there are two stone statues of Minerva, who is called Zosteria. For Amphitryon is said to have armed himself in this place, when he was on the point of engaging with the Eubæenses and Chalcodon. But to put on armour was called by the ancients begirding. For when Homer makes the zone of Aga-
memonon similar to that of Mars, they say, that he means by this word the apparatus of his armour.

There is a common sepulchre here of Zethus and Amphion, which is not large, and is nothing more than a heap of earth. The inhabitants of Tithorea among the Phocenses are desirous of carrying away earth from this tomb, and this when the sun is in Taurus. For then, if they add the earth taken away from this tomb to the sepulchre of Antiope, their own land becomes more prolific, but the contrary happens to that of the Thebans. And on this account the Thebans at that time carefully guard the sepulchre. But these cities are persuaded that this will be the case from the oracles of Bacis; for the following lines are found among these oracles: "When the Tithorenses shall offer libations, prayers, and atonements to Amphion and Zethus, a bull being heated by the illustrious power of the sun, then beware of a malady of no trifling nature, which shall infest the city. For the fruits in the land shall perish, if you suffer any of your earth to be taken away, and placed on the sepulchre of Phocus." But Bacis calls it the monument of Phocus, because Dirce the wife of Lycus honoured Bacchus above all the divinities; and when she suffered that dire punishment from Amphion and Zethus, Bacchus was indignant with Antiope; and, as the punishments of the gods are always transcendent, afflicted her with madness, and by this means caused her to wander over all Greece. Phocus, however, the son of Ornyton, and the grandson of Sisyphus, freed her from her insanity, and married her: and on this account a sepulchre was built in common for Antiope and Phocus. The rude stones which are scattered about the tomb of Amphion, are said to be the very stones which followed the harmony of his lyre. It is also said of Orpheus, that wild beasts followed him when he played on his harp.
CHAPTER XVIII.

There is a road from Thebes to Chalcis, near the gates called Proetæ. In the public part of this road there is a sepulchre of Melanippus, who was the most excellent warrior of all the Thebans, and who, when the Argives besieged Thebes, slew Tydeus, and Meistessed the brother of Adrastus: but he himself is said to have been slain by Amphiaraurus. There are three rude stones near this sepulchre. But those that relate the antiquities of the Thebans say that Tydeus is interred here, and that he was buried by Mæon. In proof of this they cite the following verse from the Iliad:

"Tydeus, who buried lies in Theban earth."

After this are the sepulchres of the children of Oedipus. I have not, indeed, beheld the sacred rites which are performed in honour of these, but I can credit the reports of those that have seen them. For the Thebans say, that they perform funeral sacrifices to others that are called heroes, and to the children of Oedipus; and that while they are sacrificing to these, both the flame, and the smoke produced by the flame, become divided into two parts. I am induced to believe that this account is true, from what I have seen elsewhere. For in Mysia above Caicus there is a small city which is called Pionia. They say that this city was built by Pionis, who was one of the posterity of Hercules. While they are celebrating his funeral rites, a smoke rises spontaneously from the sepulchre: and of this I have been a spectator. The Thebans too exhibit the sepulchre of Tiresias, which is at the distance of about twenty stadia from the sepulchre of the sons of Oedipus. But they acknowledge that Tiresias died in Haliartia: they likewise own that the sepulchre
which they show of him is merely honorary. The Thebans too have a tomb of Hector the son of Priam, near the fountain which is called Oedipodia. For they say that his bones were brought hither from Troy, in consequence of the following oracle: "Thebans, who inhabit the city of Cadmus, if you wish to reside in your country, blest with the possession of blameless wealth, bring the bones of Hector the son of Priam into your dominions from Asia, and reverence the hero agreeably to the mandate of Jupiter." But the fountain Oedipodia was thus denominated, because Oedipus washed off in it the blood occasioned by the murder of his father. Near this fountain is the sepulchre of Asphodicus, who, according to the Thebans, slew Parthenopeus the son of Talaus in an engagement with the Argives. For the verses in the Thebaid, respecting the death of Parthenopeus, assert that he was slain by Periclymenus.

CHAPTER XIX.

In this same public road, too, there is a place called Teumessus, where they say Europa was concealed by Jupiter. It is likewise said of the Teumessian fox, that it was nourished by Bacchus for the purpose of destroying the Thebans; and that when it was on the point of being taken by that dog which Diana gave to Procris the daughter of Erechtheus, both the dog and the fox were changed into stones. There is also a temple of Minerva Telchinia in Teumessus; but it has not a statue of the goddess. It may be conjectured, that the goddess was thus denominated from the Telchinians, who formerly dwelt in Cyprus; for it is probable that a part of them, when they came among the Boeotians, dedicated this temple of Minerva Telchinia. On proceeding from Teumessus, on the left hand, and to the distance of about
seven stadia, you will arrive at the ruins of Glisas. Opposite to these there is a sepulchre of earth not very large, which can hardly be seen by reason of the trees which surround it, some of which are wild, and others have been raised by art. Those that followed Ægialeus, the son of Adrastus, to the Theban war, the Argive nobles, and among them Pro- machus, the son of Parthenopæus, are buried here. But that there is a sepulchre of Ægialeus in Page, I have before evinced in my account of the Megarensian affairs. On proceeding in a straight line from Thebes to Glisas, you will see a place surrounded with chosen stones, which the Thebans call the head of the serpent. They say that a certain serpent raised its head in this place out of a cavern, and that Tire- sias, who happened to come hither at that time, slew it with his sword, which occasioned the place to be thus denominated. Above Glisas there is a mountain which is called Supreme; and in it there is a temple with a statue of Jupiter the Supreme. But the torrent which is in this place they call Thermodon. On turning towards Teumessus, and into the road which leads to Chalcis, you will see a sepulchre of Chalcodon, who was slain by Amphitryon in the battle between the Thebans and Eubœenses. After this you will perceive the ruins of the cities Harmas and Mycalessus. The former of these was thus denominated, according to the Tanagreans, because Amphiaraus disappeared with his chariot in this place, and not in that mentioned by the The- bans. But it is acknowledged both by the Tanagreans and Thebans, that Mycalessus was so called, because the ox which was the guide of Cadmus and his associates, in their journey to Thebes, lowered there. After what manner too Mycalessus came to be a desolate place, I have shown in my account of the Athenian affairs.

In that part of Mycalessus which borders on the sea, there is a temple of Mycaessian Ceres. They say that this is opened and shut again every night by Hercules; and that
Hercules is one of those that are called the Idæi Dactyli. The following wonderful circumstance happens here: they place before the feet of the statue of Ceres all the fruit which autumn produces: and this remains entire through the whole year. Proceeding to a little distance from that part of the Euripus which divides Eubœa from the borders of the Bœotians, and keeping to the right hand of the temple of Ceres, you will arrive at Aulis, which they say was de-nominated from the daughter of Ogygus. There is a temple here of Diana, which contains two stone statues: one of these holds a torch, and the other is in the attitude of one shooting an arrow. They say, that when the Greeks, in consequence of the prophecy of Chalcas, were about to sacrifice Iphigenia on the altar in this temple, the goddess caused a stag to be the victim instead of her. Even at present, too, they preserve in this temple the remains of the trunk of that plane-tree, which is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad. It is likewise said, that when the Greeks were detained at Aulis by adverse winds, the wind on a sudden blew from the desired quarter; and then each person sacrificed to Diana whatever victims came to hand, both male and female: in consequence of this it became an established custom in Aulis, to approve victims of every kind. They show a fountain here, near which a plane-tree grows; and on a hill near the tent of Agamemnon there is a brazen threshold. But palm-trees grow before the temple, the fruit of which is not perfectly sweet to the taste, like that of the palm-trees in Palæstine; but yet these dates are milder than those which are gathered in Ionia. There are not many inhabitants in Aulis; and these are all of them potters. The Tanagraei, too, and those that dwell about Mycalessus and Harmo, cultivate this land.
CHAPTER XX.

In that part of the country of the Tanagreans which borders on the sea, there is a place called Delion, in which there are a temple of Diana and statues of Latona. The Tanagreans say that their city was built by Poemanderus, the son of Charesilaus, the grandson of Iasius, and the great grandson of Eleuther, who was the son of Apollo and Æthusa, the daughter of Neptune. This Poemanderus married Tanagra, the daughter of Æolus; though Corinna in her verses says, that Tanagra was the daughter of Asopus. However, she lived to so great an age, that she was called by her neighbours Graia, or the gray, instead of Tanagra; and, in process of time, this name was given to the city, and remained so long, that it is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue of the Greeks:

"Thespi, Graia, Mycalessus broad."

In after-times, however, it recovered its pristine name. There is a monument, too, of Orion in Tanagra, and a mountain Cercyius, in which they say Mercury was born. There is likewise a place called Poloson: and here they say Atlas sat, diligently investigating subterranean and celestial affairs. And that Homer, agreeable to this, says of Atlas:

"Atlas, her sire, by whose all-piercing eye
The depths of ev'ry sea are clearly seen,
And who the lofty pillars strenuous rears,
Which every way divide the earth from heaven."

But in the temple of Bacchus there is a statue which deserves to be inspected, of Parian stone, and which was made by Calamis. The statue of Triton, however, is still more wonderful: and there is a more venerable report concerning
him, which is as follows:—The Tanagrian women, that were first initiated in the orgies of Bacchus, descended to the sea, for the sake of purifications. But while they were swimming in it, they were assaulted by Triton; and on their imploring Bacchus to defend them, the god heard their prayer, engaged with and vanquished Triton. There is another report, which is not so venerable as the former, but which is more probable; and it is this:—Whatever cattle were driven to the sea were attacked and taken away by Triton, who used likewise to seize all small vessels, till the Tanagrians placed on the shore bowls of wine. For Triton, allured by the smell of this, drank it, was overpowered by sleep, and fell headlong from a steep part of the shore. After this a Tanagrian cut off his head with an axe; and this is the reason why his statue is without a head. But they are of opinion that, because he was seen intoxicated, he was slain by Bacchus.

CHAPTER XXI.

I have seen another Triton among the admirable curiosities of the Romans, but which is not so large as this of the Tanagrians. The form of the Tritons is as follows:—The hair of their head resembles the parsley which grows in marshes, both in its colour, and in the perfect similitude of one hair to another, so that you cannot distinguish any difference among them. The rest of their body is rough, with small scales, and is of the same hardness with the skin of a fish. They have the gills of a fish under their ears. Their nostrils are those of a man, but their teeth are broader than those of the human species, and are the teeth of a wild beast. Their eyes appear to me to be azure; and their hands, fingers, and nails, are of the same form with the
upper shells of shell-fish. They have fins under their breast and belly, like those of the dolphin, instead of feet. I have likewise seen the Ἕthiopian bull, which they call rhinoceros, because a horn projects from the extremity of its nostril, and another small one under it: but it has no horns on its head. I have seen, too, the Pæorian bulls, whose bodies are rough in every part, but particularly in the breast and chin. But the Indian camels resemble leopards in their colour. There is a wild beast called aelæ, which is of a species between a stag and a camel. This animal is found among the Gauls; and is the only wild beast we are acquainted with which can neither be hunted nor foreseen at a distance by the human species: but the daemon drives these into the hands of the hunter, while he is engaged in pursuing other wild beasts. They say that it smells a man at a great distance; and, after smelling him, hides itself in chasms and profound caverns. Hunters, therefore, when they have surrounded plains or mountain thickets with their toils, so as that they are certain of catching all the animals within the circumference of their toils, catch among the rest the aelæ. But if it happens that this animal is not in the part in which they have fixed their toils, they are unable to take it by any stratagem whatever.

With respect to that wild beast which Ctesias, in his history of the Indians, says, is called by them martiora, but by the Greeks androphagos, or the devourer of man, I am persuaded that it is no other than the tiger. This animal, he says, has a triple row of teeth in one of its jaws, and stings in the extremity of its tail, with which it defends itself when attacked near, and hurls them like arrows against its enemies at a distance. For my own part, I do not believe that this account of the animal is true, but that the Indians have been induced to fabricate it, through vehement dread of this wild beast. For they are deceived with respect to its colour, because the tiger, when it is beheld in the sun,
appears to be red, and of a colour similar to that of the sun. Or this deception may have arisen from the swiftness of the beast, or from its agility in turning its body when it is not running, which is so great, that its colour, particularly if beheld at a distance, cannot be ascertained. Indeed, I am of opinion, that whoever travels to the extremities of Africa, India, or Arabia, and is desirous of finding such animals as are produced in Greece, will, in the first place, discover that some of them are wanting; and, in the next place, will find others which vary in certain particulars from those in Greece. For man is not the only animal which varies in his form in a different air, and a different land, but other animals are subject to the same variety. Thus the Libyan asps are of the same colour with those in Egypt; but in Æthiopia they are black as well as the men. Hence we ought neither to believe in every report indiscriminately, nor yet refuse our assent to the existence of other things, merely because they are rare. I have never indeed seen winged serpents; but I am persuaded there are such animals, because a Phrygian once brought into Ionia a scorpion, which had wings similar to those of a locust.

CHAPTER XXII.

In Tanagra, near the temple of Bacchus, there are three temples; one of Themis, another of Venus, and a third of Apollo; in which last both Diana and Latona are worshipped. With respect to the two temples of Mercury, one of which is called the temple of Criophoros, or the bearer of the ram, and the other of Promachos, or the defender, they say that the first of these was thus denominated, because Mercury freed them from a pestilence, by carrying a ram round the walls; and that on this account Calamis made a statue of
OF GREECE.

Mercury for the Tanagreans, carrying a ram on his shoulders. He who surpasses in beauty all the other youths carries on the festival of Mercury, a ram on his shoulders round the walls. But they say that Mercury was called Promachos, because, when the Eretrienses from Euboea came with a fleet against the Tanagreans, this god led forth the youth to battle, and, being himself armed with a curry-comb like a young man, was the principal cause of putting the Euboeenses to flight. In the temple of Promachos the remains of a purl-slain-tree are dedicated, because, as they say, Mercury was educated under trees of this kind. Not far, too, from hence there is a theatre, and near it a porch is raised. In this particular indeed the Tanagreans appear to me to reverence the gods in a manner superior to the rest of the Greeks, because they are careful to build their temples separate from other edifices, in a pure place, and remote from the multitude.

In a celebrated part of the city there is a sepulchre of Corinna, who alone composed verses for the Tanagreans. In the gymnasion, too, there is a picture of her, in which her head is represented bound with a fillet, on account of her having vanquished at Thebes, Pindar, in the composing of verses. It appears to me, however, that she vanquished him by reason of the dialect which she employed, because her verses were not composed in the Doric dialect like those of Pindar, but in that dialect which the Æolians would most easily understand; and because she was the most beautiful woman, too, of her time, as may be easily inferred from her picture. Among the Tanagreans there are two kinds of cocks, the game, and those which they call cossuphoi, or black birds. The size of these cossuphoi is the same with that of the Lydian birds, but their colour resembles that of a crow. Their gills, too, and crests resemble an anemone: and they have white spots, not very large, on the extremity of their bill and tail. But in that part of Boeotia which is
THE DESCRIPTION

on the left hand of the Euripus, there is a fountain called Messapios, and under it is the maritime city of the Bœotians, Anthedon. According to some, the city was thus denominated from the nymph Anthedon; but according to others, from Anthan the son of Neptune, by Alecyone the daughter of Atlas, because Anthan once reigned in this place. Among the Anthedonians, near the middle of their city, there is a temple of the Cabiri; and about it there is a grove of Ceres, and a temple of Proserpine. The statue of the goddess is of white stone. Before the city, too, and towards the more interior part of the country, there is a temple of Bacchus, and in it there is a statue of the god. In this place likewise there are sepulchres of Iphimedia, and the sons of Alceus, who were slain by Apollo in Naxos, which is above Paros, both according to Homer and Pindar. The sepulchres of these too are in Anthedon. Near the sea there is a place which they call the thicket of Glaucus. This Glaucus was a fisherman, who, after eating a certain herb, became a demon of the sea: and that he predicts future events is both believed by others, and particularly by sailors, who relate many things every year respecting his divining power. Pindar, too, and Æschylus, relying on these reports of the Anthedonians, have celebrated Glaucus in their verses; the former indeed not relating many things of him, but the latter making him the subject of one of his dramas.

CHAPTER XXIII.

But among the Thebans, before the gate called Proetæ, there is that which is denominated the gymnasium of Iolaus: there is likewise a stadium, like that in Olympia, or that among the Laurians; for it is a heap of earth. In the same place, too, they show the heroic monument of Iolaus, who, as
OF GREECE.

the Thebans acknowledge, died in Sardinia; the Athenians and Thespianse passing over with him to that city at the same time. Having proceeded beyond the right hand part of the stadium, you will arrive at the Hippodrome, in which there is a sepulchre of Pindar. It is said of Pindar, that when he was a young man, as he was going to Thespie, being wearied with the heat, as it was noon, and in the height of summer, he fell asleep at a small distance from the public road; and that bees, as he was asleep, flew to him and wrought their honey on his lips. This circumstance first induced Pindar to compose verses. But when his reputation spread through all Greece, the Pythian deity raised his glory to a still greater height, by ordering the Delphi to assign to Pindar an equal part of those first-fruits which were offered to Apollo. It is also said, that when he was an old man he saw in a dream Proserpine standing by him, who at the same time told him, that she alone of all the divinities was not celebrated by him in his hymns, but that when he came to her, he would compose a hymn in her praise. And indeed he died on the tenth day after this dream. But there was at Thebes a certain old woman allied to Pindar, and who was very conversant with his verses, which she used to sing. To her Pindar appeared in a dream, and sang a hymn to Proserpine: and the old woman, as soon as she was awake, committed to writing all that she had heard Pindar singing in her sleep. In this hymn, among other appellations of Pluto, he is called Chrusenios, or possessing golden reins: and it is evident that this epithet pertains to the rape of Proserpine.

From the sepulchre of Pindar there is a road which is for the most part plain to Acræphnium. They say that this city was at first a part of the Theban land: and I have found that Theban exiles afterwards fled hither, when Alexander subverted Thebes. For these, through imbecility and old age, not being able to reach the Attic land, took up
THE DESCRIPTION

their residence in this place. This little city is situated in
the mountain Ptous; and contains a temple and statue of
Bacchus, which deserve to be inspected. On proceeding to
about the distance of fifteen stadia from this city, you will
see on the right hand a temple of Apollo Ptous. But Ptous
was the son of Athamas and Themistus; and from him both
Apollo and the mountain were denominated, according to
the poet Asius. Before Thebes was destroyed by Alexander,
there was an oracle in this temple, which was by no means
fallacious. They say that an European, whose name was
Mys, was once sent hither by Mardonius, for the purpose
of consulting the oracle; and that the god answered his
interrogations, not in the Grecian tongue, but in a Barbaric
dialect. After you have passed beyond the mountain Ptous,
you will arrive at Larymna, which is a maritime city of the
Boeotians. They say that it was thus denominated from
Larymna, the daughter of Cynus. But I shall relate who
were her more remote ancestors, in my account of the Locrian
affairs. Formerly Larymna belonged to the city Opus: but
when the power of the Thebans became very considerable,
then the inhabitants of Larymna voluntarily joined them-
selves to the Boeotians. There is a temple here of Bacchus,
and a statue in an upright position. There is likewise a
lake, whose profundity commences from its very margin:
and the mountains which are above the city afford wild boars
for hunters.

CHAPTER XXIV.

On proceeding from Aerasphium, in a straight line to
the lake Cephissis, which is called by some Copais, you will
arrive at a plain which is denominated Athamantioe. They
say that Athamas dwelt in this place. The river Cephissus
OF GREECE.

pours itself into this lake. This river commences from Lissæ among the Phocenses, and affords a passage for ships to Copæ, which is a small city situated near the lake, and which is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue of the ships. In this city there are temples of Ceres, Bacchus, and Serapis. The Boeotians, too, say, that formerly other small cities, Atheneæ and Eleusis, were inhabited near this lake, which were destroyed during the winter season by the overflowing of the lake. But the fish in the lake Cephissis are in no respect different from the fish which are found in other lakes. The eels, however, which are found in it are very large and sweet. On proceeding from Copæ, on the left hand, at about the distance of twelve stadia, you will arrive at Holmoneæ: and from Holmoneæ, Hyettus is distant about seven stadia. These are now, as they were at first, nothing more than villages; and it appears to me that they are parts of the Orchomenian land, as well as the Athamantian plains. With respect to Hyettus, and Holmus the son of Sisyphus, I shall relate what I have heard concerning them, in my account of the Orchomenians.

But there is not any thing which deserves in the least to be inspected among the Holmonians. In Hyettus there is a temple of Hercules; and in it remedies are found for the diseased. The statue, however, of Hercules is not artificially made, but is a rude stone after the ancient manner. At about the distance of twenty stadia from Hyettus, is Crytones. They say that this small city was formerly called Cyrtone. It is built on a lofty mountain, and in it there are a temple and grove of Apollo. But in the temple there are statues in an upright position of Apollo and Diana. Cold water flows here from a rock: and near this fountain there is a temple of the Nymphs, and a small grove in which trees of every kind are planted. On proceeding from Crytones, after you have passed over the mountain, you will arrive at the town Corsea. Under this town there is a grove of planted trees,
which are for the most part scarlet oaks. A small statue of Mercury stands in that part of the grove which is in the open air. This grove, too, is about half a stadium distant from Corsea. On descending into the flat part of the country, you will see the river Platanius pouring itself into the sea. And on the right hand of this river are the extremities of the Bœotian land: and in this place there is a small city Alæ, near the sea, which divides the continent of the Locrians from Eubœa.

CHAPTER XXV.

Among the Thebans, near the gate Neitis, is the sepulchre of Menoeceus, the son of Creon, who voluntarily slew himself, in compliance with the Delphic oracle, when Polynices came with an army from Argos. A pomegranate-tree grows near his tomb, the fruit of which, when ripe, on breaking the exterior rind, has the appearance of blood. This tree regerminates perpetually. The Thebans, too, assert that the vine first made its appearance in their country; but they have not any token to show of this at present. Not far from the sepulchre of Menoeceus, they say that the sons of Oedipus, fighting in a single combat, slew each other. As a proof of this combat, there is a pillar here, and upon it a stone shield. They show a place, too, in which they say Juno suckled Hercules, in consequence of a deception employed by Jupiter. The whole of this place is called Surna Antigones, or the drawing of Antigone; because Antigone, when she found herself unable to raise the dead body of Polynices, endeavoured to draw it along, and continued her efforts till she accomplished her design, and threw it on the funeral pile of Eteocles, which was then enkindled. After you have passed over the river which is called Dirce, from the wife of Lycus (by whom according to report Antiope
was injured, and was on that account slain by the sons of Antiope), you will see the ruins of the house of Pindar, and a temple of the mother Dindymene, which was dedicated by Pindar. The statue of the goddess was made by the Thebans Aristomedes and Socrates. On one day in every year they think proper to open this temple. I happened to be present on that day, and by this means had an opportunity of seeing the statue, which is of Pentelican stone, as well as the throne on which the goddess sits. In the road from the gate Neitis there is a temple of Themis, and in it a statue of white stone. After this there are two temples, one of the Parcae, and the other of Judicial Jupiter. The statue of Jupiter is of stone; but there are no statues of the Parcae. At a small distance from hence, there is a statue of Hercules in the open air, under the appellation of Rinocoloustei, because, in order to disgrace those ambassadors (as the Thebans say) that were sent by the Orchomenians to demand tribute, he cut off their noses.

On proceeding to the distance of twenty-five stadia from hence, you will see a grove of Cabirian Ceres and Proserpine, into which the uninitiated are not permitted to enter. But who the Cabiri are, and what the ceremonies which are performed in honour of them, and the mother of the gods, I must beg those that are desirous of hearing such particulars to suffer me to pass over in silence. Nothing however hinders me from disclosing the origin of these mysteries, according to the Thebans. They say, then, that there was once a city in this place, and inhabitants, who were called Cabiri; and that Ceres deposited something with Prometheus, who was one of the Cabiri, and with his son Ætnæus, after she became acquainted with them. What this deposit was, and the circumstances which took place respecting it, piety forbids me to disclose. The mysteries therefore of the Cabiri were the gift of Ceres. But when the Epigoni led an army against Thebes, and Thebes was taken, the Cabiri being
driven from their country were not able for some time to
celebrate these mysteries. Afterwards, however, they were
restored by Pelarge, the daughter of Potneus, in conjunction
with her husband Isthmiades. And then, indeed, Pelarge
initiated persons in these mysteries beyond the ancient
boundaries of the country; but Telondes, and those of the
Cabiri that were restored to their native land, celebrated
the mysteries in Cabirsea. By an oracle, too, given from
Dodona, other honours were decreed to Pelarge; and a
victim big with young was ordered to be sacrificed to her.
Many instances likewise have evinced that the wrath of the
Cabiri is implacable. For when certain private persons in
Naupactus had the boldness to perform the ceremonies
established by the Thebans, they were shortly after punished
for their impiety. Such, too, of the forces of Xerxes as,
together with Mardonius, pitched their camps in Boeotia,
when they entered the temple of the Cabiri, either allured
by the hope of gaining great riches, or (as it appears to me)
through their contempt of a divine nature, became im-
mediately insane: and some of them threw themselves into
the sea, and others hurled themselves headlong from rocks.
Thus again, when Alexander had vanquished the Thebans,
and destroyed all Thebes by fire, such of the Macedonians
as entered the temple of the Cabiri, because they were upon
hostile ground, were destroyed by thunder and lightning.
So holy has this temple been from the beginning.

CHAPTER XXVI.

On the right hand of the temple of the Cabiri, there is a
plain which is called Tenerus, from the prophet Tenerus,
who they say was the son of Apollo and Melia. Here, too,
there is a large temple of Hercules, who is called Hippodotos.
OF GREECE.

For they report that the Orchomenians came to this place with an army, and that Heracles, seizing their horses in the night, bound them in such a manner to their chariots, as to prevent their being useful in the war. On proceeding from hence, you will arrive at a mountain, from whence, according to report, the Sphinx used to rush in order to destroy those that could not solve the riddles which she sang to them: though others assert that she used to drive to An hedon with a naval force after the manner of pirates, and afterwards exercise her robberies from this mountain, till Oedipus slew her by means of a numerous army which he brought from Corinth. It is also said, that she was the bastard daughter of Laius, and that her father taught her the oracle which was given to Cadmus at Delphos, through his kindness towards her. Prior to the Theban kings, indeed, no one was acquainted with the meaning of the oracle; and these in succession unfolded it to each other. As often, therefore, as any dispute arose respecting the kingdom, the neighbouring people came to consult Sphinx. Laius, indeed, had sons by his mistresses; but they say that the meaning of the oracle given by the Pythian deity was only known to Epicaste, and the children which Laius had by her. They add, that the brothers were circumvented by the sophisms of Sphinx; and that upon her inquiring whether, if they were the sons of Laius, they knew the oracle given to Cadmus, if they answered in the negative, she condemned them to death, as not being entitled by their birth to the kingdom. Lastly, it is said that the interpretation of the oracle was given to Oedipus in a dream, who was by this means enabled to solve the riddle of Sphinx.

The ruins of the city Onchestus are about fifteen stadia distant from this mountain: and they say that Onchestus the son of Neptune once dwelt in this city. At present, indeed, a temple and statue of Onchestian Neptune remain: and there is likewise a grove here which is celebrated by
Homer. On turning from the temple of the Cabiri to the left hand, and proceeding to the distance of about fifty stadia, you will arrive at the city Thespia, which is situated under mount Helicon, and is said to have been denominated from Thespia the daughter of Asopus. According to some, Thespius, when he left Athens, gave this name to the city; and they say that he was the son of Erechtheus. Among the Thespians, there is even at present a brazen statue of Jupiter the Saviour. They report, that the city being once infested with a dragon, Jupiter ordered them to expose every year to the savage animal certain young men chosen by lot; and that the names of those that perished, except one, sunk into oblivion. The name of this one was Cleostratus, who had a brazen coat of mail made for him by his lover Menestratus. This coat of mail was thick set with hooks turned upwards: and Cleostratus, armed with this, very readily went forth to meet the dragon; and was indeed himself slain, but at the same time was the destruction of the savage beast. From this circumstance Jupiter came to be called Saviour. They have besides a statue of Bacchus, another of Fortune, a third of Hygia, and a fourth of Minerva; by the side of whom there is a statue of Plutus.

CHAPTER XXVII.

But the Thespians venerated, from the first, Love beyond all the gods: and they have a most ancient statue of this divinity, which is nothing more than a rude stone. I do not however know who it was that instituted this high veneration of Love among the Thespians. The Pariani, too, who dwell about the Hellespont, and who originated from Ionia, and migrated hither from Erythrae, but at present are in subjection to the Romans, venerate this divinity no less than
OF GREECE.

the Thespians. The multitude are of opinion, that Love is
the youngest of the gods, and the son of Venus. But the
Lycian Olen, who composed the most ancient hymns for
the Greeks, says in his hymn to Lucina, that Lucina is the
mother of Love. And Pamphus and Orpheus, who flourished
after Olen, have composed hymns to Love, that they might
be sung by the Lycomedae during the celebration of the
mysteries. I likewise once spoke with a torch-bearer of the
Eleusinian mysteries, and through his means read these
hymns of Pamphus and Orpheus, of which I shall make no
farther mention. Hesiod, indeed, or at least the author of
the Theogony, I well know, says, that Chaos was first
generated, afterwards Earth, and then Tartarus and Love.
But the Lesbian Sappho sings many things of Love, which
by no means harmonise with each other. Lysippus after-
wards made a brazen statue of Love for the Thespians; and
prior to him Praxiteles made one of Pentelic stone. With
respect to the stratagem which Phryne employed, in order
to discover the favourite statue of Praxiteles, this I have
elsewhere related. They say, that this statue of Love was
first moved out of its place by the Roman emperor Caius.
It was afterwards sent back to the Thespians by Claudius;
and again brought to Rome by Nero, where it was destroyed
by fire. Of those, however, who acted thus impiously to-
wards this divinity, one man was slain by a soldier, whom
he used to nickname in derision; and Nero acted very im-
piously towards his mother, and behaved with a cruelty
towards his wives, which showed that he was entirely de-
titute of Love.

But the statue of Love, which is at present among the
Thespians, was made by the Athenian Menodorus, in imita-
tion of the manner of Praxiteles. In this place too there is
a Venus and a statue of Phryne, both of stone, and the
works of Praxiteles. In another part of the city there is a
temple of Venus Melainis, or the black; there are besides a
theatre, and a forum, well worthy of inspection. Here likewise there is a brazen statue of Hesiod: and not far from the forum there are a brazen statue of Victory, and a temple of the Muses not very large. In this temple there are small statues of stone. The Thespians, too, have a temple of Hercules; the priestess of which retains her virginity as long as she lives. They say that this arose from the following circumstance: Hercules had connexion with all the fifty daughters of Thestius, except one, in one night: and this one, who was unwilling to be connected with him, was chosen by him as his priestess, but with this restriction, that she should remain all her life a virgin. But I have heard another account of this affair, that Hercules was connected with all the fifty daughters of Thestius in one night, that they all bore him sons, and the youngest and oldest of these daughters were each of them delivered of twins. However, for my own part, I can never be induced to believe, that Hercules could be excited to such a violent anger against the daughter of his friend. Besides, it is not probable, that he who, while he was among men, punished the insolent behaviour of others, and particularly revenged impiety towards the gods, would build a temple, and appoint a priestess for himself as if he was a god. But to me, indeed, it appears, that this temple is more ancient than the period in which Hercules the son of Amphitryon lived: and I do not know, whether the dedication of this temple ought not to be ascribed to the Hercules who is one of the Idei Daetyli, as I have discovered that the Erythraeans in Ionia, and the Tyrians have raised temples to him. Nor are the Boeotians ignorant of this name of Hercules; for they say, that the temple of Mycalessian Ceres was committed to the care of the Idæan Hercules.
CHAPTER XXVIII.

The mountain Helicon excels all the mountains in Greece for the goodness of its soil, and the multitude of trees which it contains. The young shoots of purslain, too, with which it abounds, yield the sweetest fruit. The inhabitants of Helicon say, that none of the herbs or roots which are produced in this mountain are destructive to mankind. They add, that the pastures here even debilitate the venom of serpents; so that those who are frequently bit by serpents in this part escape the danger with greater ease than if they were of the nation of the Psylli, or had discovered an antidote against poison. Otherwise the venom of the fiercest of serpents is both destructive to men, and all other animals. The nature of the pastures, too, contributes in no small degree to the strength of the venom. For I once heard a Phoenician say, that in the mountainous part of Phoenicia, the roots that grow there render the vipers more fierce. The same person, too, farther added, that he saw a viper pursue a man who fled to a tree for shelter, and that the viper blew its venom against the tree to which the man had escaped, and by this means caused his death. With respect to those vipers in Arabia which take up their residence among balsam trees, I know that something very different from what I have above related happens, and this is as follows: The balsam tree is nearly of the same size as a sprig of myrtle; and its leaves are like those of the herb sweet-marjoram. Vipers take up their residence about these plants; and are in some places more numerous than in others: for the juice of the balsam tree is their sweetest food; and they are delighted with the shade produced by its leaves. When the time therefore arrives for gathering the juice of this tree, the
Arabians come into the sacred grove, each of them holding two twigs. By shaking these they put to flight the vipers: for they are unwilling to kill them, because they consider them as the sacred inhabitants of the balsam. And if it happens that any one is wounded by a viper, the wound resembles that which is made by iron, but is not attended with any dangerous consequences: for these animals being fed with the juice of the balsam-tree, which is the most odoriferous of all trees, their poison becomes changed from a deadly quality into one which produces a milder effect.

CHAPTER XXIX.

But they say, that Ephialtes and Otus consecrated this mountain to the Muses, and were the first that sacrificed to these divinities in Helicon. They likewise report that Ascræ was built by these. And Hegesinious, in his poem on the Attic land, thus speaks concerning Ascræ:

With Ascræ mingling once, th' earth-shaking power,  
When rolling years their rounds had run, begat  
A son named Oeclus, who Ascræ built,  
Assisted by Aloeus' offspring, near  
The streams of Helicon's irriguous feet.

I never read the poetical compositions of Hegesinious; for they were not extant when I was born. But Calippus the Corinthian, in his history of the Orchomenians, cites the verses of Hegesinious in proof of what he asserts: and hence, I have taken these verses from Calippus. At present a tower remains in Ascræ; but of every thing else even the remembrance has perished. The sons of Aloeus were of opinion, that there were only three Muses; and these they called Melete, Mneme, and Aoide, which signify meditation,
memory, and singing. But they say, that in after times, Pierus the Macedonian, from whom a mountain in Macedonia is denominated, came to Thespia, and ordered that nine Muses should be worshipped by the names which they retain at present. And this alteration was made by Pierus, either because it appeared to him to be wiser, or in consequence of some oracle, or as the result of what he had learned from the Thracians. For formerly the Thracians seem to have excelled the Macedonians in dexterity in human affairs, and not to have been so negligent as they were in divine concerns. There are those, too, who say that Pierus had nine daughters, and that he called them by the names of the Muses; and that the grandchildren of Pierus by these daughters were called by the names which the Greeks give to the offspring of the Muses. But Mimnermus, who composed elegies respecting the battle of the Smyrnaeans against Gyges and the Lydians, says in the preface to this work, that the more ancient Muses are the daughters of Heaven, and that those of posterior origin are the daughters of Jupiter.

In Helicon, too, as you go to the grove of the Muses, you will see on the left hand the fountain Aganippe. They say that Aganippe was the daughter of Termessus, which flows round mount Helicon. But if you proceed to this grove in a straight line, you will see a stone image of Eupheme. This Eupheme is said to have been the nurse of the Muses. After her image there is a statue of Linus in a small stone, which is carved so as to resemble a cavern. They perform funeral sacrifices every year to this poet, before they sacrifice to the Muses. It is said that Linus was the son of Urania by Amphiaras the son of Neptune. The renown which he acquired for his skill in music was superior not only to that of his contemporaries, but to that of all his predecessors; and he is said to have been slain by Apollo for attempting to compare his skill in singing with that of
the god. Indeed the death of Linus was lamented by every barbarous nation; and among the Egyptians there is a song which the Greeks call Linus: for this song is denominated by the Egyptians Maneroon. But the Greeks, and among these Homer, mention this song as Grecian. For Homer, being well acquainted with the misfortune of Linus, says that Vulcan represented, among other things, in the shield of Achilles, a boy playing on a harp, and singing the fate of Linus:

"To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,
Whose tender lay the fate of Linus sings."

But Pamphus, who composed the most ancient hymns for the Athenians, says, that grief for the death of Linus increased to that degree, that he came to be called Oitolinos, or lamentable Linus. And afterwards the Lesbian Sappho, having learnt the name Oitolinos from the verses of Pamphus, celebrates in her poems Adonis and Oitolinos. The Thebans, too, boast that Linus was buried in their country; and they say, that after the loss of the Greeks at Chaeronea, Philip the son of Amyntas, in consequence of a vision in a dream, brought the bones of Linus to Macedonia; and afterwards, from another dream, carried back the bones to Thebes. The covering however of this tomb, and every thing else belonging to it, have, they say, been obliterated through length of time. The Thebans likewise assert, that there was a junior Linus, the son of Ismennius; and that when but a boy he was slain by Hercules, whom he instructed in music. However, neither the Linus the son of Amphimarus, nor he who was the son of Ismennius, composed any thing in verse; or, if they did, it has not been transmitted to posterity.
CHAPTER XXX.

The ancient statues of all the Muses here were made by Cephisodotus. And on proceeding to no great distance from hence, you will see three Muses which were made by Cephisodotus, and after these the same number of Muses the works of Strongylion, who made oxen and horses after the best manner. The remaining three Muses were made by Olympiothene. In Helicon, too, there are a brazen Apollo and a Mercury contending with each other about a lyre. There is likewise a Bacchus, the work of Lysippus: for the upright statue of Bacchus, which was dedicated by Sylla, was made by Myron, and except his statue of Erechtheus, deserves to be inspected beyond all his works at Athens. Sylla, however, did not dedicate this statue out of his own possessions, but took it from the Orchomenian Minyae. And this is what the Greeks call venerating a divine nature with foreign fumigations. Here too you may see the statues of poets and illustrious musicians. Among these there are Thamyris, now blind, and handling a broken lyre; and the Methymnean Arion sitting on a dolphin. But he who made the statue of the Argive Sacadas, from not understanding the exordium of Pindar's verses upon him, has made this piper not greater as to the length of his body than his pipes. Hesiod, too, sits here holding a harp on his knees, though this was not his usual attitude; for it is evident from his poems, that he used to sing near a twig of laurel. With respect to the age of Hesiod and Homer, though I have made the most diligent and accurate inquiry, it is not agreeable to me to give my opinion on this subject, as I know that it has occasioned great disputes among men of former times, and that there is no small contention about it among
poets of the present day. There is a statue here, too, of the Thracian Orpheus, with Telete, or mystic sacrifice, standing by his side. He is represented singing, and is surrounded by wild beasts fashioned from brass and stone, who are listening to his song. The Greeks, indeed, believe many things which are by no means true, and this among the rest, that Orpheus was the son of the Muse Calliope, and not of that Calliope who was the daughter of Pierus; that he allured wild beasts by the melody of his lyre; and that he descended to Hades while alive, for the purpose of requesting the infernal gods to restore him back his wife. But it appears to me, that Orpheus surpassed all the poets that were prior to him in the elegance of his compositions, and that he acquired great authority in consequence of the general opinion, that he invented the mysteries of the gods, purifications for impious actions, remedies for diseases, and the methods of appeasing the wrath of divinity.

They report, too, concerning him, that the Thracian women endeavoured to take away his life by stratagem, because he persuaded their husbands to attend him in his wanderings, but that they had not the boldness to put this design in execution through fear of their husbands: at length, however, by drinking largely of wine, they accomplished this daring project. Hence, they say, it came to be established by law, that men should be led to battle intoxicated. There are others again who say, that Orpheus was killed by lightning, on account of having taught things in the mysteries which men were unacquainted with before. It is likewise reported of Orpheus, that after the death of his wife, he came in consequence of it to Aornus in Thesprotia, because there was an ancient oracle there of departed spirits; that when he came here he expected the soul of Eurydice would follow him; but that finding himself disappointed, he slew himself through grief. The Thracians add, that the nightingales, which build their nests about the sepulchre of
OF GREECE.

Orpheus, sing sweeter and louder than other nightingales. But the Macedonians, who inhabit the country under the Pierian mountain, and the city Dios, say that Orpheus was slain in that place by women. On proceeding from Dios to the mountain, at about the distance of twenty stadia, you will see a pillar on the right hand, and upon it a stone urn, which, according to the inhabitants of this place, contains the bones of Orpheus. The river Helicon flows through this part of the country, and at the distance of eighty-five stadia hides itself in the earth. Afterwards having concealed itself for about twenty-two stadia, it again rises, and, assuming the name of Baphyræ instead of Helicon, becomes a navigable river, and pours itself into the sea. The Diata say, that this river at first ran in an open channel; but that when the women who slew Orpheus attempted to wash themselves from his blood in it, then it sunk into the earth, that its water might not be the means of purifying them from his murder.

I have likewise heard a different report from this in Larissa: that formerly there was a city in Olympus called Libethra, and which stood in that part of the mountain which is turned towards Macedonia: that the sepulchre of Orpheus is not far from hence; and that an oracle of Bacchus was transmitted to the Libethrians from Thrace, informing them that their city would be destroyed by Sus whenever the sun should behold the bones of Orpheus. The Libethrians, however, did not pay much attention to the oracle, because they did not believe that there could be any wild beast sufficiently large and strong to destroy their city; and as to the boar, they were persuaded that its boldness was superior to its strength. However, when it seemed fit to divinity, the following circumstances took place: A shepherd about mid-day, being weary, laid himself down by the tomb of Orpheus, and in his sleep began to sing the verses of that poet with a loud and sweet voice. The neigh-
THE DESCRIPTION

bouring shepherds, therefore, and husbandmen, allured by this harmony, left their employments, and gathered themselves round the sleeping shepherd. But it so happened, from their pushing against, and striving to outstrip each other in getting near the shepherd, that they overturned the pillar, broke the urn which contained the bones of Orpheus, and by this means caused them to be seen by the sun. Afterwards, on the following night, divinity caused it to rain in abundance; and the river Sus, which is one of the torrents about Olympus, rushed with such impetuosity against the walls of the Libethrians, that it threw them down, together with all the temples and houses, and drowned all the men and animals that were in the city. The Libethrians, therefore, becoming extinct, the Macedonians that dwelt in Dios (as a Larisscean, who was my guest, informed me) conveyed the bones of Orpheus to their own country. But those who are conversant with the writings of the poets, know with respect to the hymns of Orpheus, that each of them is very short, and that the whole of them does not amount to any considerable number. The Lycomedæ are well acquainted with them, and sing them in the mysteries of Ceres. These hymns are next to those of Homer for the elegance of their composition; but on account of their superior sanctity, they are preferred for religious purposes to those of Homer.

CHAPTER XXXI.

In Helicon, too, there is a statue of Arsinoe, whom Ptolemy married though she was his sister. A brazen ostrich supports this statue. These birds indeed have wings naturally like other birds, but through the weight and magnitude of their
bodies they are unable to raise themselves into the air. Here likewise there are a hind suckling Telephus the son of Hercules, and an ox standing near her. Besides these there is a statue of Priapus, which deserves to be inspected. This god is honoured in other places by those who take care of goats, sheep, or beehives: but the Lampaceni venerate him beyond all the other divinities, and assert that he is the son of Bacchus and Venus. Among other tripods, too, which are dedicated in Helicon, there is a most ancient one, which they say Hesiod received in Chalcis by the Euripus, in consequence of a victory which he gained by his verses. The grove here is surrounded with inhabitants: and the Thespians celebrate a festival in this place, and games which they call Mouseia, or, sacred to the Muses. They also celebrate games in honour of Love, in which rewards are not only proposed to musicians, but likewise to the athletes. On ascending from this grove to the distance of twenty stadia, you will see a fountain, which is called the fountain of the horse. They say, that the horse of Bellerophon made this fountain by striking the earth with his hoof. But the Bceotians that dwell about Helicon have a tradition among them, that Hesiod wrote nothing besides the poem entitled Works and Days; and from this they take away the introduction to the Muses, and say that the proper beginning of the poem is that part which speaks of Contentions. They showed me, too, a leaden table near the fountain, which was almost entirely rotten through age, but on which the Works and Days of Hesiod was written. Their opinion, however, who ascribe many works to Hesiod, is very different from this. And, according to these, he composed a poem On Women; The Great Eoeæ; The Theogony; Verses on the Prophet Melampus; the Descent of Theseus with Pirithous to Hades; The Exhortation of Chiron, viz. relative to the instruction of Achilles; and the poem called Works and Days.
THE DESCRIPTION

The same persons, too, assert, that Hesiod was instructed in divination by the Acarnanes: and, indeed, a poem of Hesiod On Divination is extant, which I have read, together with The Narrations of Prodigies, which are at the end of it. Contrary reports likewise are circulated about the death of Hesiod. For though it is universally agreed, that the sons of Ganyctor, Ctimenus, and Antiphus, fled to Molucrus on account of the murder of Hesiod, and that through their impiety to Neptune they were punished there, yet some are of opinion, that Hesiod was falsely accused of having ravished the sister of these young men, and others assert, that she was ravished by him. And such are the different reports which are circulated about Hesiod and his works. On the top of mount Helicon is the river Lamus, which is not large: and in the borders of the Thespians there is a place called Hedonacon, which contains the fountain of Narcissus. They say that Narcissus beheld himself in this fountain; that he did not know he was in love himself; and that he died through this love by the side of the fountain. To be in love indeed with a shadow, and not to know the difference between a man and the shadow of a man, is stupidity in the extreme. But there is another report concerning Narcissus, which is less known than the former one; and this is, that he had a twin sister, who perfectly resembled him in her whole form, that her hair and dress were similar to those of Narcissus, and that they used to go out together to hunt. That Narcissus fell in love with this sister; and that she happening to die before him, he used to come to this fountain, in which, when he saw his own shadow, without at the same time perceiving that it was his own, he found some mitigation of the torments of his love, by imagining that it was the image of his sister. It appears to me, however, that the earth produced the flower Narcissus, prior to this circumstance; and my opinion is confirmed by the verses of Pamphus. For he says, that
many years before the Thespian Narcissus, Proserpine, the
daughter of Ceres, was forcibly taken away by Pluto, as
she was playing and gathering flowers; and that she was
deceived not by violets, but by the narcissus.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Those that dwell in Creusis, which is a haven of the
Thespians, have no public building or statue which deserves
to be mentioned: but in the house of a private person in
Creusis there is a statue of Bacchus, which is made of
plaster, and adorned with pictures. But the passage by
sea to Creusis from Peloponnesus is winding and stormy.
The promontories which run into the sea, give such a
curvature to the shores, that ships cannot sail in a direct
line, and the winds blow violently from the neighbouring
mountains. On sailing from Creusis, not upwards but near
Bœotia, you will see the city Thisbe on the right hand.
And in the first place there is a mountain near the sea.
When you have passed beyond this you will see a plain,
and after this another mountain, in the bottom part of
which there is a city. In this city there is a temple of
Hercules, and in it a stone statue in an upright position.
They celebrate here a festival, which they call Heracleia.
Nothing would hinder the plain which lies here between the
mountains from becoming a lake, through the great quantity
of water in this part, if they did not raise a strong bank
through the middle of the plain, turn the water every year
to places beyond the bank, and cultivate the other parts of
the plain. They say that the nymph Thisbe, from whom
the city is denominated, was a native of this place. On
sailing from hence you will see a small city near the sea,
which is called Tipha. There is a temple of Hercules here, in which they celebrate a festival annually. The Tiphaenses assert, that they excelled from the first all the other Bœotians in the knowledge of maritime affairs, and that Tiphys, who was chosen to be the pilot of the ship Argo, was a native of their country.

Before the city, too, they show a place, to which they say the Argo drove when it returned from Colchis. On proceeding upwards from Thespia towards the continent, you will arrive at the city Haliartus. But it is not proper that I should separate from my account of the Orchomenian affairs, the particulars respecting the builder of this city and Coronea. In the Persian war, one part of the army of Xerxes laid waste with fire and sword the land and city of the Haliartians, on account of their attachment to the interest of the Greeks. But in Haliartus there is a sepulchre of Lysandra the Lacedæmonian. For when he drew near to Haliartus in order to attack its walls, as the city was defended within by an army of Athenians and Thebans, these forces leaving the city, a battle ensued, in which Lysander was slain. Indeed, Lysander appears to me to have merited, by his conduct, both the greatest praise and blame. For he gave a specimen of consummate sagacity in warlike affairs when he commanded the Peloponnesian fleet. For having attentively watched the motions of Antiochus the pilot of Alcibiades, at that time when the commander was absent, he induced him to hope that he would be able to engage in a naval battle with the Lacedæmonians, and afterwards vanquished him, trusting to his arrogance and temerity, not far from the walls of the Colophonians. Lysander, too, when he was again chosen by the Spartans to command their three-oared galleys, so mitigated the anger of Cyrus, that as often as he requested money for the use of his fleet, Cyrus seasonably and liberally supplied him with
OF GREECE.

it. And when the Athenians had one hundred vessels stationed in Ægospotamos, Lysander made them his prize, through taking advantage of the time when the sailors went on shore in order to lay in water and fresh provisions.

He likewise exhibited the following specimen of justice: A dispute about money happened to take place, between Autolycus the pancratiaist, whose image I have seen in the Prytaneum at Athens, and Eteonicus a Spartan. Here the Spartan, whose abilities in defending his cause were inferior to those of Autolycus, behaved, notwithstanding, so insolutely, because the city of the Athenians was at that time in the power of the thirty tyrants, and Lysander was present, that he struck his adversary, and because Autolycus defended himself, brought him to Lysander, expecting that he would decide the affair in his favour. Lysander, however, accused Eteonicus of having acted unjustly, and dismissed him with reproaches and disgrace. These actions, therefore, raised the reputation of Lysander: but the following disgraced his character: At Ægospotamos he slew Philocles the Athenian, who was one of the commanders of the Athenian fleet, and four thousand Athenian captives besides, and would not suffer them to be buried, though the Athenians permitted the Persians that fell at Marathon, and Xerxes those Lacedaemonians that died at Thermopylae, to be buried. Afterwards, too, a greater disgrace befell the Lacedaemonians through Lysander; and this was by his placing Decadarchs, or companies of ten men, over the cities that were in alliance with the Lacedaemonians, and besides these Laconic Harmostai, or apt administrators of affairs. And lastly, when the Spartans took no care to acquire wealth, and this in consequence of an oracle, which declared, that the desire of riches would be the only thing destructive to Sparta, Lysander inflamed them with a vehement desire of becoming rich. Hence, following the opinion of the
THE DESCRIPTION

Persians, and judging according to their law, I conclude that Lysander was more hurtful than useful to the Lacedaemonians.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

But in Haliartus there is a sepulchre of Lysander, and an heroic monument of Cecrops the son of Pandion. The mountain, too, Tilphussius, and the fountain Tilphussa, are about fifty stadia distant from Haliartus. It is said by the Greeks, that when the Argives together with the sons of Polynices took Thebes, as they were leading along the prophet Tiresias, with their other spoils, to the Delphic Apollo, the prophet, being thirsty by the way, drank of the fountain Tilphussa, and immediately after expired. His sepulchre, therefore, is near this fountain. They say, too, that Manto the daughter of Tiresias was given to Apollo by the Argives; but that by order of the god she passed over in a ship to Colophon in Ionia, and there married Rhacios the Cretan. With respect to other particulars about Tiresias, such as the number of years which he lived, his being changed from a man into a woman, and what Homer asserts of him in the Odyssey, that he was the only wise person in Hades—these are known to every one. Among the Haliartians, too, there is in the open air a temple of those goddesses who are called Praxidicae, or, the avengers of actions. They swear on the altars of these goddesses, and never violate the oath which they have thus taken. This temple is near the mountain Tilphussius. But in Haliartus there are temples in which there are no statues, because the temples are without roofs. To what divinities these were dedicated I have not been able to learn. The river Lophis flows through the Haliartian land. It is said,
that this country at first was very dry, owing to its being
totally destitute of water, and that one of the principal
inhabitants went to Delphos to inquire by what means water
might be found: that the Pythian deity answered him,
that he must slay the first person he met on his return to
Haliartus; and that he happening to meet first of all with
Lophis the son of Parthenomenes, immediately struck the
youth with his sword. That Lophis yet breathing ran
round the place in which he was wounded: that wherever
his blood fell on the ground there water ascended; and that
from this circumstance the river was called Lophis.

Alalcomenæ is a village by no means large, and is situated
at the extremities of a mountain not very lofty. They say,
that this place was denominated from a native Alalcomenæ,
who was the nurse of Minerva. But, according to others,
it was called after Alalcomenia, who was the daughter of
Ogygus. At some distance from this village a temple of
Minerva stands in a plain; and in it there is an ancient
statue of ivory. Sylla, indeed, was guilty of many cruelties
towards the Athenians, and his conduct was very different
from the manners of the Romans. His behaviour, too,
towards the Thebans and Orchomenians resembled his con-
duct towards the Athenians: and from the Alalcomenæs
he took away this statue of Minerva. This man, however,
who so furiously captured the Grecian cities, and carried
away the statues of their gods, was tormented with the most
unpleasant of all diseases. For his body was covered with
lice: and his former good fortune was terminated by so
calamitous an end. But the temple in Alalcomenæ was
neglected after this event, as being deprived of its divinity.
Another circumstance, too, happened in my time, which
contributed to the dissolution of the temple. A large and
strong ivy, which grew by the side of the temple, destroyed
the cement of the stones, and separated them from each
other. A torrent not very large, which they call Triton,
THE DESCRIPTION

flows here: and they say it was thus denominated, because Minerva was educated near the river Triton; just as if this torrent was the river Triton, and not that which, proceeding from the marsh Tritonis in Africa, pours itself into the Lybian sea.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Before you arrive at Coronea from Alacoemae, you will see a temple of Minerva Itonia. This name was given to the goddess by Itonus the son of Amphictyon. The Boeotians assemble together in this place in order to form a common convention. In this temple there are brazen statues of Minerva Itonia and Jupiter. These were made by Agoracritos, the disciple and lover of Phidias. Statues, too, of the Graces were dedicated here in my time. It is said that Iodamia, who officiated as priestess to the goddess, once came by night within the sacred enclosure of the temple, and that Minerva appeared to her, invested with a robe, in which there was the head of Medusa: that Iodamia, as soon as she beheld it, became a stone; and that on this account a woman places fire every day on the altar of Iodamia, and says thrice in the Boeotian tongue, that Iodamia lives, and calls for fire. The remarkable particulars which Coronea contains, are an altar of Mercury Epimelius in the forum, and an altar of the Winds. A little below these there is a temple of Juno, and in it an ancient statue, which was made by the Theban Pythodorus. This statue holds Sirens in one of its hands. For they say, that the daughters of Achelous were persuaded by Juno to contend in singing with the Muses; and that the Muses, being victorious, plucked off the wings of the Sirens, and made crowns from them. The mountain Libethrius is about forty stadia distant from Coronea. In this mountain there are statues of the Li-
OF GREECE.

bethrian Muses and Nymphs. There are likewise two fountains here, one of which they call Libethrias, and the other Petra, or a rock. These fountains resemble the breasts of women, and water resembling milk ascends from them. To the mountain Laphystion and the grove of Jupiter Laephytius from Coronea the distance is twenty stadia. There is a stone statue of the god in this grove: and they say, that when Athamas was about to sacrifice Phrixus and Helle here, the sons of Jupiter sent a ram, whose wool was golden, upon the back of which they escaped. Above this grove there is a place called Hercules Charops, or the gray-eyed: and the Boeotians say, that Hercules ascended here, dragging up the dog of Hades.

On descending from the mountain Laphystion to the temple of Minerva Itonia, you will see the river Phalarus running into the lake Cephissus. Beyond the mountain Laphystion is Orchomenus, an illustrious and renowned Grecian city, which once arrived at the highest degree of felicity, and which was destroyed by nearly the same means as Mycene and Delos. The following particulars are handed down to us respecting its ancient affairs. They say, that Andreus the son of the river Peneus, first of all dwelt in this place, and that from him the country was denominated Andreis. That Athamas, becoming acquainted with him, gave him all the country about the mountain Laphystion, together with that region which is now called Coronea and Haliartia. But Athamas, being of opinion that he should not leave any male children behind him (because he called to mind his conduct, when insane, towards Learchus and Melicerte, Leucon had died through disease, and he was ignorant whether Phrixus was alive, or had any children), on this account he adopted Coronus and Haliartus, the sons of Thersander, who was the son of Sisyphus: for Athamas was the brother of Sisyphus. However, when Phrixus, as some say, or Presbon, according to others, who was the son
of Phrixus by the daughter of Ætes, returned from the Colchi, the sons of Thersander gave up the kingdom of Athamas to Athamas and his progeny. These, therefore, having received from Athamas a part of the land, built Haliartus and Coronea. But prior to the return of these, Evippe the daughter of Leucon was given in marriage by Athamas to Andreus: and by her he had Eteocles; though it is reported by the citizens, that Eteocles was the son of the river Cephisus. Hence, certain poets call Eteocles in their verses Cephisiasdes. This Eteocles, when he began to reign, suffered them to call the country from Andreus. But he instituted two tribes, one of which he ordered to be called Cephisiasdes, and the other after his own name Eteocleia. When Halmus, too, the son of Sisyphus, came to him, he gave him but a small part of the country for his portion: and the towns were called Halmones from Halmus. But in after times one town alone came to be called Halmones.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Bœotians, too, say that Eteocles was the first that sacrificed to the Graces. And, indeed, that he established three Graces they are well convinced; but they have lost the remembrance of the names which he gave them. For the Lacedæmonians only worship two Graces, the statues of which, they say, were dedicated by Lacedæmon the son of Taygete, who also gave them the names of Cleta and Phænæna. These names, indeed, are very properly given to the Graces, as likewise are those names which are assigned to the Graces by the Athenians. For the Athenians have from ancient times venerated the Graces, Auxo and Hegemone. And as to Carpus, it is not a name of one of the Graces, but of one of the Seasons. But the Athenians
worship the other of the Seasons, together with Pandrosus, and call this divinity Thallote, or the flourishing. Indeed, we now pray to three Graces, having learnt that there are three from the Orichomenian Eteocles. Those, too, that have made statues of Bacchus have placed three Graces in the hands of the god, just as Angelion and Tectæus have done to the Delphic Apollo. And at Athens, in the vestibule of the tower there are three Graces, whose mysteries, which are kept secret from the multitude, are there celebrated. But Pamphus is the first we are acquainted with that celebrated the Graces in verse: but he neither mentions their number, nor their names. Homer, too, makes mention of the Graces, and says that one of these is the wife of Vulcan, and that her name is Charis. He also says, that Sleep is the lover of the Grace Pasithea: and in the speech of Sleep he has the following verse:

"That she my loved-one shall be ever mine,
The youngest Grace, Pasithea the divine."

Hence some have suspected that Homer knew of other more ancient Graces.

But Hesiod in the Theogony (if that work be the composition of Hesiod) says that the Graces are the daughters of Jupiter and Eurynome, and that their names are Euphrosyne, Aglaia, and Thalia. Onomacritus, too, in his verses gives them the same names. But Antimachus neither mentions the number, nor the names of the Graces, but only says, that they are the daughters of Aigle and the Sun. Hermesianax the writer of elegies says, what no one before him ever asserted, that Pitho, or persuasion, is one of the Graces. But I have not been able to find who the first person was that either by a statue or picture represented the Graces naked. For the more ancient statues and pictures of the Graces have garments. Thus among the Smyrneans in the temple of the Nemeses, among the other statues, there
are Graces fashioned of gold, which were made by Bupalus. And in the Odeum there is a picture of a Grace, which was painted by Apelles. Among the Pergamenians, too, in the bedchamber of Attalus, and in the temple which they call Puthion, there are Graces which were painted by the Parian Pythagoras. Besides all these, Socrates the son of Sophroniscus made a statue of the Graces for the Athenians; which is placed in the vestibule of their tower. These are all in a similar manner clothed: and I cannot tell for what reason men in after times, in their statues and pictures of the Graces, represented them naked.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

On the death of Eteocles, the kingdom came to the posterity of Halmus. The daughters of this Halmus were Chrysogenea and Chryse. It is reported, that Phlegyas was the son of Mars by Chryse. And Phlegyas reigned after Eteocles, because Eteocles did not leave any male offspring behind him. But at that time the name of the whole country was changed; so that the region which was before denominated Andreis, was then called Phlegyantis. The city, too, Andreis was inhabited from the first, to which Phlegyas added another called by his own name, and collected into it the best of all the Grecian warriors. The Phlegyans, however, in after-times, through their stupidity and boldness, separated themselves from the other Orcho-

menians, and led away at the same time the neighbouring people. At length, too, they turned their arms against the temple of the Delphic Apollo, in order to plunder it: and when Philammon with a chosen band of Argives came to assist the Delphi, both he and his forces fell in the engagement which ensued. That the Phlegyans, indeed, delighted
OF GREECE.

in warlike affairs beyond the rest of the Greeks, is evident from these lines of Homer in the Iliad, respecting Mars and the son of Mars, Terror:

"From Thrace they fly, call'd to the dire alarms
Of warring Phlegyans, and Ephyrian arms."

But, in these verses, he appears to me to call those that inhabit the Thesprotian Epirus, Ephyri. However, divinity nearly destroyed the race of the Phlegyans by continued thunder and violent earthquakes, and those that were left were destroyed by pestilence, except a few that fled to Phocis.

But Phlegyas dying without children, Chryses the son of Neptune, by Chrysogenea the daughter of Halmus, reigned after him. The son of this Chryses was Minyas; and from him, the people that he governed are even at present called Minyae. So great was the tribute which was paid to this Minyas, that he surpassed in wealth all those that reigned before him, and was the first we are acquainted with among the Minyæ that built a treasury for the purpose of securing his riches. And there are certain Greeks, who have great knowledge in affairs of this kind, by whom these treasures are considered as more wonderful than those which their own country contains. However, the most illustrious historians, who have given the most accurate account of the Egyptian pyramids, have not made the least mention of the treasury of Minyas, and the walls of Tiryns, though they are equally worthy of admiration. The son of this Minyas was Orchomenus: and during his reign the city was called Orchomenes, and the people were denominated Orchomenians.

Yet the appellation of Minyæ still remains, for the purpose of distinguishing these people from the Orchomenians in Arcadia. Orchomenus therefore reigning, Hyettus came to him from Argos; for this Hyettus was obliged to abandon his country, on account of having murdered Molurus the son of Arisbas, whom he had detected committing adultery with
THE DESCRIPTION

his wife. Orchomenus gave this Hyettus that part of the country which is about the village Hyettus, and the land adjoining to it. The author of the verses which the Greeks call the Great Eoeæ, makes mention of Hyettus:

"Hyettus, when Ariasæ' son he found,
Molurus, in the chamber of his wife,
Th' adult'rex slew, and from his country fled,
Argos, the fertile nurse of gen'rous steeds.
To Minyas' son Orchomenus he came:
The exile then th' heroic prince received,
And nobly gave him of his realms a share."

But it is evident, that this Hyettus was the first that punished adultery. For in after times Draco, among the laws which he made for the Athenians, relative to the punishment of unjust actions, enacted, that adultery should be severely punished. The name, too, of the Minyxæ arrived at such a degree of dignity, that Neleus, the son of Cretheus and king of Pylus, married from Orchomenus, Aoris the daughter of Amphion the son of Hilasius.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The race however of Halmus was destined to come to an end. For Orchomenus did not leave behind him any children; and in consequence of this, the royal authority passed to Clymenus the son of Presbon, and the grandson of Phrixus. Erginus was the eldest son of this Clymenus; the next to him in age were Stratius, Arrhon, and Pyleus; but the youngest of all was Axeus. Certain Thebans, for a very trifling offence, slew Clymenus during the celebration of the festival of Onchestian Neptune, this slight offence having roused them to vehement wrath. Erginus, as being the eldest son of Clymenus, reigned after his father; and immediately as he
came to the throne, having with the assistance of his brothers collected an army, led his forces against Thebes, vanquished the Thebans, and afterwards made a treaty of peace with them, on condition that they paid him an annual sum of money as a recompense for the murder of Clymenus. But when Hercules undertook to defend the Thebans, then the Thebans were freed from this tribute, and the Minyae suffered greatly in war. Hence Erginus, who saw that his subjects were wearied in the extreme with the continuance of the war, made a peace with Hercules; and desirous that his kingdom might recover its pristine opulence and felicity, so much neglected every thing else to accomplish this, that he arrived at extreme old age without ever having been married, or had any children. As soon, however, as he became rich, he wished to have children: and coming to Delphos in order to interrogate the god on this subject, he received the following oracle: “O Erginus, son of Clymenus, and grandson of Presbon, thou comest hither late, inquiring after an offspring, but even now add a new top to the old tail of the plough.”

In conformity therefore to the admonition of the oracle, Erginus married a young woman, by whom he had Trophonius and Agamedes; though it is said that Trophonius was the son of Apollo, and not of Erginus; which, indeed, I can easily be persuaded to believe, and this must be the opinion of any one who goes to the oracle of Trophonius. They say, that these sons of Erginus, as soon as they arrived at manhood, became very skilful in building temples for the gods, and palaces for kings. For they built the temple of Apollo in Delphos, and the treasury of Hyrieus. In the wall of this treasury they placed one stone in such a manner, that they could take it out whenever they pleased; and in consequence of this, they were perpetually carrying away some part of the deposited treasure. This filled Hyrieus with astonishment, as he found that the locks and seals had
not been moved, and yet the amount of his wealth was perpetually diminished. On the vessels, therefore, in which his money was deposited, he fixed traps, or something of this kind, by which any one that attempted to touch the money might be immediately caught. Hence Agamedes, when he entered the treasury, was held fast in the snare: and Trophonius fearing lest, when it was day, his brother would be forced by torments to confess that he was his associate in the theft, cut off the head of Agamedes. After this Trophonius was swallowed up in an opening of the earth, in the grove of Lebadea, where there is a ditch, which is called after Agamedes, with a pillar raised over it. Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, who are said to have been the sons of Mars by Astyoche, the daughter of Actor, the grand-daughter of Aeus, and the great grand-daughter of Clymenus, reigned over the Orchomenians. The Orchomenians were led by these two against Troy; partook of the expedition of the sons of Codrus to Ionia; and being driven from their country by the Thebans, recovered it again by the assistance of Philip the son of Amyntas. A divine power, however, always caused their affairs to verge to an imbecile condition.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Among the Orchomenians there is a temple of Bacchus, and a most ancient temple of the Graces. They venerate in a most eminent degree certain stones, which they say fell from heaven, and were taken up by Eteocles. But the adorned statues, or those which are artificially made, and which are of stone, were dedicated in my time. The Orchomenians, too, have a fountain, which deserves to be inspected; and into which they descend for the purpose of
OF GREECE.

drawing water. But the treasury of Minyas is not inferior to any of the wonderful productions of Grecian art. It is built of stone, is of a round figure, and its top does not raise itself to a very sharp point. They say that the topmost stone holds together the whole building. There are likewise sepulchres here of Minyas and Hesiod: and they say that they came to possess the bones of Hesiod, by the following means: A pestilence once raging in their country to the destruction of men and cattle, they sent certain persons, who are called Speculators, to the Delphic god, who gave them an oracle, signifying that they must bring the bones of Hesiod from the Naupactian to the Orchomenian land, and that this would be the only means of freeing them from their malady. But upon their again interrogating the god, in what part of the Naupactian land the bones were deposited, the Pythian deity answered them, that a crow would show them. As the messengers, therefore, were proceeding on their journey, they saw not far from the road a crow sitting on a stone; and in the hollow of this stone they found the bones of Hesiod, with the following inscription on the tomb:

"The fertile Asca is the native land
Of Hesiod, but the Minyae, skill'd to tame
The warlike steed, his bones possess. His fame
True wisdom's votaries, of discernment nice,
Through all th' Argolic land have widely spread."

With respect to Actaeon, a report is circulated among the Orchomenians, that their land was injured by means of a spectre, which sat on a stone; and that on their consulting the Delphic oracle about it, they were ordered by the god to bury any remains of Actaeon which they might happen to find; and besides this, to make a brazen image of the spectre, and fasten it with iron to the stone. And this statue I have seen. They perform, too, every year funeral sacrifices to Actaeon. The temple of Hercules, in which
there is a statue not large, is distant from Orchomenus about seven stadia. The fountains of the river Melan are in this place; and this river runs into the lake Cephissis. This lake occupies a great part of the Orchomenian land: and during the winter, through the vehement blowing of the south wind, the water spreads over a considerable part of the country. The Thebans say, that the river Cephissus was turned by Hercules into the Orchomenian plains; and that prior to this it ran into the sea, under a mountain; but that Hercules closed up the chasm. Homer indeed knew of the lake Cephissis, but he does not say that it was the work of Hercules. For thus he speaks concerning it:

"Inclining o'er the lake Cephissis"

Nor is it probable that the chasm was not discovered by the Orchomenians, and that Hercules, by separating it, restored to the river its ancient passage, since even in the Trojan times they were in no want of money. This is evident from what Homer represents Achilles saying in answer to the ambassadors of Agamemnon:

"Not all the wealth Orchomenus receives."

It is clear from hence that the Orchomenians were supplied with great riches at that time. But, as they say, Aspledon was then deprived of inhabitants through scarcity of water. They add, that the city was denominated from Aspledon, who was the son of Neptune by the nymph Midea. This account is confirmed by the verses which they say were made by Chersias the Orchomenian:

"Aspledon, in an ample city born,
From Neptune and th' illustrious Mida sprung."

The verses, however, of this Chersias are not now extant: and the above lines are cited by Calippus in his oration on the Orchomenians. They likewise assert, that the epigram on the sepulchre of Hesiod was composed by Chersias.
CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Phocenses border on the Orchomenians in that part which is near the mountains: but Lebadea borders on them in that part in which the plains are situated. This city was formerly built in the more elevated part of the country, and was called Midea from the mother of Aspledon. But when Lebadus came from Athens, and settled here, the inhabitants descended into the plains, and from him the city was called Lebadea. They neither, however, know who his father was, nor on what account he came hither. They only know that his wife was Nice. This city is adorned in every respect similar to the most flourishing cities of Greece. The grove of Trophonius is separated from it: and they say that Hercyna, playing in this place with the daughters of Ceres, unwillingly let a goose fall out of her hands, which afterwards fled into a cavern, and concealed itself under a stone: that Proserpine came into the cavern, and took the bird from under the stone: and that in the place where she had moved the stone water burst forth, which became a river, denominated from this circumstance Hercyna. Near the banks of this river there is a temple of Hercyna; and in it there is a statue of a virgin holding a goose in her hands. The fountains of the river are in the cavern, together with statues in an upright position: and dragons are rolled round the sceptres of these statues. Any one would be inclined to conjecture, that these are the statues of Æsculapius and Hygia; but they may be the statues of Trophonius and Hercyna, as they are of opinion that dragons are no less sacred to Trophonius than to Æsculapius. Near the river, too, there is a sepulchre of Arcesilaus. They say that Leitus brought the bones of Arcesilaus from Troy. But the most
THE DESCRIPTION

remarkable particulars in the grove are a temple of Trophonius, and a statue, which may be conjectured to be that of Aesculapius. This statue was made by Praxiteles. There is also a temple here of Ceres Europa: and in the open air there is a temple of Jupiter Pluvius.

As you ascend to the place from which the oracle is given, and pass on to the anterior part of the mountain, you will see a temple of Proserpine the huntress and Jupiter the king. This temple, either through its magnitude, or through unceasing wars, was left half finished. In another temple which stands here there are statues of Saturn, Juno, and Jupiter. There is also in this place a temple of Apollo. With respect to what pertains to this oracle, when any one desires to descend into the cave of Trophonius, he must first take up his residence for a certain number of days in a building destined to this purpose. This building is a temple of the Good Daemon, and of Good Fortune. While he stays here he purifies himself in other respects, and abstains from hot baths. The river Hercyna is used by him for a bath: and he is well supplied with animal food from the victims which are sacrificed. For he who descends hither sacrifices to Trophonius and his sons; to Apollo, Saturn, and Jupiter the king; to Juno the chariot driver, and to Ceres, whom they call Europa, and who they say was the nurse of Trophonius. A diviner is present to each of the sacrifices, who inspects the entrails of the victims, and while he beholds them, prophesies whether or not Trophonius will propitiously receive the person who consults him. The other victims do not in a similar manner disclose the mind of Trophonius: but each person who descends to him sacrifices, on the night in which he descends, a ram in a ditch, invoking at the same time Agamedes. They pay no regard to the former entrails, even though they should be favourable, unless the entrails of this ram are likewise auspicious. And when it happens that the entrails thus correspond in signification, then the
person that wishes to consult Trophonius, descends with good hope, and in the following manner: The sacrificers bring him by night to the river Hercyna; there they anoint him with oil; and two boys belonging to the city, each about thirteen years old, and whom they call Mercuries, wash him, and supply him with every thing necessary.

He is not immediately after this led by the sacrificers to the oracle, but is first brought to the fountains of the river, which are very near to each other. Here he is obliged to drink of that which is called the water of Lethe, that he may become oblivious of all the former objects of his pursuit. Afterwards he must drink of another water, which is called the water of Mnemosyne, or memory, that he may remember the objects which will present themselves to his view on descending into the grove. Having therefore beheld the statue, which they say was made by Daedalus (and which the priests never show to any but those who desire to consult Trophonius), performed certain religious ceremonies, and prayed, he proceeds to the oracle clothed in white linen, begirt with fillets, and having on his feet such slippers as are worn by the natives of this place. The oracle is above the grove in a mountain, and is inclosed with a wall of white stone, whose circumference is very small, and whose altitude is not more than two cubits. Two obelisks are raised on this wall, which, as well as the zones that hold them together, are of brass. Between these there are doors: and within the inclosure there is a chasm of the earth, which was not formed by nature, but was made by art, and is excavated in according proportion with consummate accuracy and skill. The shape of this chasm resembles that of an oven. Its breadth, measured diametrically, may be conjectured to be about four cubits. Its depth does not appear to me more than eight cubits. There are not steps to its bottom; but when any one designs to descend to Trophonius, they give him a ladder, which is both narrow and light. On descending
into this chasm, between its bottom and summit there is a small cavern, the breadth of which is about two spans, and its altitude appears to be about one span.

He, therefore, who descends to the bottom of this chasm lays himself down on the ground, and holding in his hand slops mingled with honey, first of all places his feet in the small cavern, then hastens to join his knees to his feet; and immediately after the rest of his body contracted to his knees, is drawn within the cavern, just as if he was hurried away by the vortex of the largest and most rapid river. But those that have descended to the adytum of this place are not all instructed in the secrets of futurity in the same manner. For one obtains this knowledge by his sight, and another by his hearing; but all return through the same opening, and walk backwards as they return. They say no one that descended here ever died in the chasm, except one of the spear-bearers of Demetrius, who would not perform any of the established religious ceremonies, and who did not come hither for the purpose of consulting divinity, but that he might enrich himself by carrying the gold and silver from the adytum. It is also said, that his dead body was thrown up by a different avenue, and not through the sacred opening. Other reports are circulated about this man, but those which I have mentioned appear to me to be the most remarkable. When the person that descended to Trophonius returns, the sacrificers immediately place him on a throne, which they call the throne of Mnemosyne, and which stands not far from the adytum. Then they ask him what he has either seen or heard, and afterwards deliver him to certain persons appointed for this purpose, who bring him to the temple of Good Fortune, and the Good Daemon, while he is yet full of terror, and without any knowledge either of himself, or of those that are near him. Afterwards, however, he recovers the use of his reason, and laughs just the same as before. I write this, not from hearsay, but from what I
have seen happen to others, and from what I experienced myself, when I consulted the oracle of Trophonius. All, too, that return from Trophonius are obliged to write in a table whatever they have either heard or seen: and even at present the shield of Aristomenes remains in this place, the particulars respecting which I have already related.

CHAPTER XL.

The Boeotians became acquainted with this oracle, of which they were before entirely ignorant, by the following means: In consequence of a great want of rain for the space of two years, they sent Speculators from each city to Delphos. These, imploring a remedy against the drought which they laboured under, the Pythian deity ordered to go to Trophonius in Lebadea, and find relief from him. But when they came to Lebadea, and could not find the oracle, one Saon, an Acraiphnian, who was the oldest of the Speculators, happened to see a swarm of bees, and followed them to their hive. Perceiving, therefore, that they flew into this chasm of the earth, he followed them, and by this means found the oracle which he sought. They say, that this Saon was instructed by Trophonius in all the sacred ceremonies belonging to this oracle.

Of the works of Dædalus there are two among the Boeotians; a statue of Hercules, belonging to the Thebans, and of Trophonius, belonging to the Lebadenses. There are the same number of wooden statues in Crete; viz. Britomartis in Olus, and Minerva among the Gnossians. Besides these, too, they have a representation of the dance of Ariadne, which is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad; and this is made of white stone. Among the Delians, likewise, there is a wooden statue of Venus, not large, the right
hand of which is decayed through length of time; and this statue stands on a square figure instead of feet. I am persuaded that Ariadne received this statue from Dædalus, and that when she followed Theseus, she took it along with her. The Delians say, that Theseus, when Ariadne was taken from him, dedicated this wooden statue of Venus to the Delian Apollo, that he might not, by taking it home with him, be reminded of his lost wife, and by this recollection continually experience new torments of love. I do not know that any other works of Dædalus besides these remain. For those works of his which the Argives dedicated in the temple of Juno, and those which were brought to Gela in Sicily from Omphace, have all been destroyed by time. The Chæronenses are next to the Lebadenses. The city of these people was formerly called Arne: and they say that Arne was the daughter of Æolus, and that from her another city in Thessaly is denominated. They add, that the present name of the Chæronenses was derived from Chæron the son of Apollo by Thero the daughter of Phylas: and this is confirmed by the author of the poem called the Great Eoeæ, in the following verses:

"In wedlock with Deiphile conjoin'd,  
Daughter of Iolaus the renown'd,  
And in whose person godlike beauties shone,  
Phylas, in his august abodes begat  
A son nam'd Ippotus, with Thero fair,  
In form resembling Phoebæ's splendid light:  
And Thero from Apollo, Chæron bore,  
Of mighty strength, and skill'd the steed to tame."

It appears to me, too, that Homer knew that Chæronæa was called Lebadea, but that he chose to denominate it by its ancient name; in the same manner as he calls the African river Ægyptus, and not Nile.

But among the Chæronenses there are two trophies, which were raised by the Romans and Sylla, when they vanquished
OF GREECE.

Taxilus and the army of Mithridates. Philip, however, the son of Amyntas, neither raised any trophy at Cheronea, nor for any victories which he gained over either Greeks or Barbarians. For it was not an established custom with the Macedonians to leave trophies as monuments of their victories. It is said, too, by the Macedonians, that Caranus, when he reigned in Macedonia, having vanquished in battle Cisseus, who governed the country bordering on the Macedonians, raised a trophy after the manner of the Argives. But they add, that a lion rushing from Olympus, threw down and destroyed the trophy. That Caranus was conscious he had not acted prudently, because by raising this trophy he had occasioned an irreconcilable enmity with his neighbours; and that afterwards neither Caranus nor any of his successors raised a trophy, that they might at some future time attract to themselves the benevolence of the neighbouring people. Alexander confirms the truth of this account, because he neither raised a trophy for his victories over Darius, nor for his conquest of the Indies. Near this city there is a common sepulchre of those Thebans that fell in the engagement against Philip. There is no inscription on the tomb, but a lion stands on it, which may be supposed to signify the great vehemence of these men in flight. But it appears to me that there is no inscription on the sepulchre, because the Daemon did not permit the consequences of their courage to be such as might be expected. The Cherroneans venerate, above all the gods, the sceptre which Homer says Vulcan made for Jupiter. This sceptre Hermes received from Jupiter, and gave to Pelops; Pelops left it to Atreus; Atreus to Thyestes; and from Thyestes it came to Agamemnon. This sceptre, too, they denominate the spear; and, indeed, that it contains something of a nature more divine than usual, is evident from hence, that a certain splendor is seen proceeding from it. The Cherroneans say, that this sceptre was found in the borders of the Panopeans
in Phocis, and together with it a quantity of gold; and that they cheerfully took the sceptre instead of the gold. I am persuaded, that it was brought by Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon, to Phocis. There is not, however, any temple publicly raised for this sceptre; but every year the person to whose care this sacred sceptre is committed, places it in a building destined to this purpose; and the people sacrifice to it every day, and place near it a table full of all kinds of flesh and sweetmeats.

CHAPTER XLI.

Of all the works, indeed, of Vulcan, which are celebrated by poets, and praised by the rest of mankind, this sceptre of Agamemnon is the only thing which deserves our belief. For the Lycians, who show in Patarae in the temple of Apollo a brazen bowl, which they say was dedicated by Telephus, and made by Vulcan, are ignorant that the Samians, Theodorus, and Rhoecus, were the first brass-founders. The Achaian Patrenses, too, pretend that the chest which Eurypylus brought from Troy was made by Vulcan, but in reality they have no such chest to show. In Cyprus there is a city called Amathus; and in it there is an ancient temple of Adonis and Venus. They say, that in this temple there is a necklace which was given by Harmonia at first; but that it came to be called the necklace of Eriphyle, because she received it as a gift from her husband. Afterwards the sons of Phegeus dedicated it at Delphi. But how it came to these, we have shown in our account of the Arcadian affairs. And last of all it was taken away by the Phocaean tyrants. However, it does not appear to me, that the necklace, which the Amathusians possess in the temple of Adonis, belonged to Eriphyle, as this necklace in Amathus is composed of green stones set in gold; and
OF GREECE.

Homer, in the Odyssey, says that the necklace which was given to Eriphyle was made of gold:

"There Eriphyle weeps, who loosely sold
Her lord, her honour, for the lust of gold."

And yet Homer was not ignorant that there are various kinds of necklaces. For in the speeches of Eumæus to Ulysses, before the arrival of Telemachus from Pylus, there are the following lines:

"An artist to my father's palace came,
With gold and amber chains, elegant frame."

And among the gifts which Penelope received from the suitors, he says, that Eurymachus gave her a necklace:

A necklace rich with gold, with amber gay,
That shot effulgence like the solar ray,
Eurymachus presents.

But he does not say that Eriphyle received a necklace varied with gold and stones. So that it is probable, that this sceptre is the only thing among all these that was made by Vulcan. Above the city Chæronea there is a precipice, which is called Petrachos. They are of opinion that Saturn was in this place deceived by Rhea, when he swallowed a stone instead of Jupiter. On the summit of the mountain there is a small statue of Jupiter. In this part of Chæronea the inhabitants make an ointment, by boiling together roses, lilies, narcissuses, and the herb iris, or sword-grass; and this is a remedy against pain. If, indeed, you anoint wooden statues with the ointment of roses, you will preserve them from rottenness. The iris grows in marshy places, and is equal in size to the lily; but its colour is not white, and it does not emit so strong an odour as the lily.
BOOK X.

PHOCICS.

CHAPTER I.

It is evident that that part of Phocis which is about Tithorea and Delphos received its appellation, from the most ancient times, from the Corinthian Phocus, who was the son of Ornytion. Not many years, however, after, when the Æginetæ with Phocus the son of Æacus landed in these parts, the whole country which remains at present came to be called Phocis. But the Phocenses that are opposite to Peloponnesus, and those that dwell near Boeotia, and border on the sea, are situated between Cirrha, a haven of the Delphi, and the city Anticyra. For the Locri Hypocnemidii, who dwell beyond this part of Phocis, prevent the Phocenses from settling near the sea, which contains the Lamiacan bay. The Scarphenses are beyond Elatea; and beyond Hyampolis are the Abantes, who inhabit Opus, and Cynus the haven of the Opuntians. The most illustrious public transactions of the Phocenses are these: They engaged in the war against Troy; and led an army against the Thessalians, prior to the irruption of the Persians into Greece; at which time they accomplished the following memorable exploit. In that part of Hyampolis, in which they were informed by their spies the Thessalian horse intended to attack them, they dug up certain earthen urns, and, covering them with earth, waited the approach of the enemy. The Thessalians, therefore, being ignorant of the stratagem of the Phocenses, drove
their horses on the urns, whose feet being by this means either entangled or broken, their riders were thrown off and cut to pieces by the Phocenses. But the Thessalians, in consequence of this, being more enraged with the Phocenses than before, collected an army from all their cities, and again attacked the Phocenses, who were very much terrified, both with the other warlike preparations of the Thessalians, and particularly with the multitude of their horse, because the Thessalians not only surpassed them in the number of their cavalry, but in the art of managing their horses in war.

The Phocenses, therefore, sent to Delphos, and inquired of the god how they might avoid the impending danger. And the messengers brought back the following oracle: "I shall cause a mortal and a god to contend with each other: and I will give the victory to both, and another victory to the mortal." As soon as the Phocenses received this oracle, they sent three hundred chosen men, led by Gelo, against the enemy, and ordered them, as soon as it was night, to watch, in the most secret manner possible, the motions of the Thessalians, to return afterwards to their camps, and not to engage unless they were forced to it. The whole of this chosen troop, together with its leader, perished, being trampled under foot by the Thessalian horses, and slain by the enemy. This slaughter occasioned such a terror in the camp of the Phocenses, that they hastily collected together their wives, children, and all the property they were able either to drive or take away, together with their apparel, gold, silver, and statues of the gods. After this they raised a very large funeral pile, and left with it thirty men, whom they ordered to cut the throats of the women and children, burn all the property that was collected on the funeral pile, and afterwards either murder each other, or rush on the Thessalian horse, if the Phocenses should happen to be vanquished in the engagement. In
consequence of this command, all inhuman counsels came to be called by the Greeks Phocic desperation.

Immediately after this the Phocenses marched against the Thessalians, choosing for the commander of their horse Rhoeocus Ambryssensis, and of their foot Daiphanes the Hyampolitan. But he who held the most honourable place among the commanders was the Elean prophet Tellias, in whom the Phocenses placed the hopes of their safety. As soon, therefore, as the engagement began, the Phocenses, recollecting what they had determined respecting their wives and children, perceived that their safety was very uncertain, and for their sakes engaged in every kind of daring undertaking. The signification; too, of the entrails gave them the highest reason to hope that the gods would be propitious to them. And indeed they obtained a victory of the most splendid kind; in consequence of which the oracle of Apollo, which was given to the Phocenses, was understood by all the Greeks. For the private word was given at the same time to each army; to the Thessalians, Minerva Itonia; but, to the Phocenses, Phocus, from whom they derived their name. In consequence of having gained this victory, the Phocenses sent gifts to the Delphic Apollo; viz. a statue of the god, and of Tellias, who was at that time the prophet, together with statues of the commanders and heroes of their own country. And all these were made by the Argive Aristomedon. The Phocenses, too, after this, were not wanting in subtilty of invention. For the camps of the enemy once happening to be fixed near the entrance to Phocis, five hundred chosen men of the Phocenses, as soon as the moon had completed her orb, attacked the Thessalians in the night, having rubbed their bodies over with plaster, and likewise their armour, which by this means became white. They say, that at this time a great slaughter was made of the Thessalians, who thought that what they saw in the night was something divine, and not the result of the
enemy's craft. But it was the Elean Tellias who invented this stratagem against the Thessalians. When the army, too, of the Persians passed over into Europe, it is said that the Phocenses were forced to join themselves to Xerxes; but that afterwards they deserted the party of the Medes, and fought on the side of the Greeks in the battle at Platea.

CHAPTER II.

In after-times, however, they were fined by the Amphictyons. But I have not been able to find the true reason of this event taking place; whether it arose from the Phocenses having acted unjustly, or whether the Thessalians, on account of their ancient hatred to the Phocenses, were the occasion of their being fined. But when they were in a very desponding condition through the magnitude of the fine, Philomelus the son of Theotimus, who was not inferior in nobility to any of the Phocenses, and whose country was Ledon a Phocic city, showed them that it was impossible for them to pay the fine, and persuaded them to plunder the temple of the Delphic Apollo. Among other arguments which he offered in order to effect this, he informed them, that the affairs of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians were in a condition very well adapted to the execution of this design; and that if the Thebans or any other nation should make war upon them, they might easily vanquish their enemies, both by their own valour, and the money which they would be enabled to expend. This speech of Philomelus was favourably received by the multitude of the Phocenses, whether some god perverted their understanding, or whether these people naturally preferred gain to piety. The Phocenses therefore plundered the temple of Apollo, when Heraclides governed the Delphi, and Agathocles was the
Athenian archon; and in the fourth year of the one hundred and fifth Olympiad, in which the Cyrenian Prorus was victorious. After this they collected together a very powerful army of mercenary soldiers; and the Thebans openly declared war against them, in consequence of being at variance with them prior to this event.

This war lasted for ten years; and during the continuance of it, the Phocenses with their mercenary troops were sometimes victorious, and this was often the case with the Thebans. But an engagement taking place near the city Neon, the Phocenses were put to flight, and in this flight Philomelus hurled himself from a precipice, and by this means destroyed himself; and all that followed him were punished by the Amphictyons with the same kind of death. After the death of Philomelus the Phocenses gave the government to Onomarchus: but Philip the son of Amyntas joined himself to the Thebans, and in the engagement which ensued vanquished the enemy. Onomarchus therefore flying to the sea, was pierced to death by the arrows of his own soldiers, who accused his timidity and ignorance in war, as the causes of their having been vanquished. And such was the end which the Daemon gave to the life of Onomarchus. The Phocenses, after this, invested his brother Phyllus with the supreme authority. But he had scarcely begun his reign, when he saw the following vision in a dream; Among the gifts sacred to Apollo there was an ancient brazen image of a man, whose flesh had been consumed by disease, and whose bones alone remained. The Delphi say that this was dedicated by Hippocrates the physician. Phyllus in a dream saw himself resembling this image; and immediately after was seized with a tabid disease, which fulfilled the prediction of his dream. In consequence of this event taking place, the supreme authority was given to Phaleucus the son of Phyllus; but he lost his kingdom through appropriating the sacred wealth to his own private purposes. After this
OF GREECE.

he sailed to Crete with such of the Phocenses as embraced his party, and besieged with a band of mercenary troops the city Cydonia, because the inhabitants would not pay him the money which he demanded. He lost, however, in this siege a great part of his army, and was himself slain.

CHAPTER III.

In the tenth year after the temple was plundered, Philip brought this war, which is called Phocic and sacred, to an end. At that time Theophilus was the Athenian archon, and it was the first year of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad, in which the Cyrenean Polycles was victor in the stadium. The following Phocæan cities were then taken, and levelled with the ground, viz. Lilæa, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamii, Panopeus, and Daulis. The names of these cities were renowned in former times, and are celebrated in no small degree in the poems of Homer. But the Phocæan cities Erochus, Charadra, Amphiclea, Neon, Tethronium, and Drymæa, which were burnt by the army of Xerxes, became through this circumstance more known to the Greeks. All the other cities except Elatea were obscure prior to this war, viz. the Phocic Thraxis, Medeon, Phocicus, Echedamia, Ambrysus, Ledon, Phylonium, and Sterrhis. All these cities which we have enumerated were then destroyed, and, except Abas, were reduced to the form of villages. For the Achaean were free from the impiety of the other cities, and had neither plundered the temple of Apollo, nor engaged in the war. The Phocensee, too, are forbidden the use of the Delphic temple, are not admitted as members of the general assembly of the Greeks, and the Amphictyons have taken from them the privilege of voting, and transferred it to the Macedonians. Some time after this the Phocæan
cities were rebuilt, and the Phocenses returned from their villages to their pristine habitations. We must, however, except those cities which, by reason of their imbecility from the first, and their indigence at that time, could not be rebuilt. The Athenians and Thebans, prior to the loss of the Greeks at Chaeronea, were the leaders of this restoration. The Phocenses likewise partook of the engagement at Chaeronea, and afterwards, at Lamia and Cranon, fought against Antipater and the Macedonians. They opposed, too, the Gauls and the Celtic army, with greater alacrity than the rest of the Greeks, that they might revenge the injury which had been offered to the Delphic Apollo, and, as it appears to me, that they might apologise for their pristine guilt. And such are the memorable transactions of the Phocenses.

CHAPTER IV.

From Chaeronea there is a road of twenty stadia in length, which leads to Panopeus, a city of the Phocenses, if it be proper to call that a city in which there is neither a governor, nor a gymnasium, nor a theatre, nor a forum, nor, lastly, any fountain of water. The inhabitants dwell in wooden houses, resembling the cottages in mountains, and these are situated near a chasm made by a torrent. They have boundaries, too, which separate them from their neighbours; and they send members to the Phocic convention. They say that their city was denominated from the father of Epeus, and that they were at first the Phlegyæ, and fled to Phocis from the Orchomenians. I have seen the ancient inclosure of Panopea, which, I conjecture, is about seven stadia in circumference. While I was surveying it, those verses of Homer respecting Tityus came into my mind, in which he calls the city of the Panopeans Callichoros, or delighting in
the dance. I likewise recollected, that in the contest for the
dead body of Patroclus, he says, that Schedius the son of
Iphitus, and king of the Phocenses, who was slain by Hector,
dwelt in Panopeus. It appears to me, that the cause of his
dwelling here was his fear of the Bœotians (for Phoci in this
part is very much exposed to the attacks of the Bœotians),
and that he used Panopeus as a place of defence. I was not,
however, able to conjecture why Homer called Panopeus
Callichoros, till I learnt the reason from those Athenians
who are called Thyades. These Thyades are Attic women,
who every year come to Parnassus, and, together with
Delphic women, celebrate the orgies of Bacchus. It is an
established custom with the Thyades to form choirs in the
road from Athens, in other places, and among the Panopeans.
Homer, therefore, by the appellation Panopeus, appears to
signify the choir of the Thyades.

In the public road of the Panopeans there is a building
of crude tiles, and in it a statue of Pentelic stone, which
some say is the statue of Æsculapius, and others of Pro-
metheus. These last think their opinion is confirmed from
hence: Near the chasm formed by the torrent, there are
stones of such a magnitude that each is sufficient to load a
cart. These stones are of the colour of clay, yet not of such
clay as is dug out of the earth, but of such as is found among
the gravel of rivers and torrents. These stones, too, smell
very much like a human body; and they say that these are
the remains of that clay from which the whole race of man-
kind was fashioned by Prometheus. In the same place, viz.
near the chasm of the torrent, there is a sepulchre of Tityus:
and the circumference of the heap of earth which forms his
tomb is about one third of a stadium. But of Tityus it is
said in the Odyssey:

"There Tityus, large and long, in fetters bound,
O'erspreads nine acres of infernal ground."

VOL. III.
They say, that this verse does not allude to the magnitude of Tityus, but to the place in which he lies buried, and which is nine acres in extent. But Cleon, one of those Magnesians that dwell about Hermus, says that things of a very wonderful nature must be incredible to those who, during the whole course of their life, never beheld any thing which surpasses the conceptions of the vulgar. He adds, that he is persuaded both Tityus and others were really as large as they are reported to have been. For, says he, I once went to Gades, and sailed with all the company of my attendants from that island, agreeably to the command of Hercules. But afterwards returning to Gades, I found a marine man thrown up on the shore, who had been burnt by lightning, and whose magnitude was not less than five acres.

But Daulis is about seven stadia distant from Panopeus. This city does not contain many inhabitants; but those which it does contain, surpass all the Phocenses in magnitude and strength of body. They say, that the city was de-nominated from the nymph Daulis, who was the daughter of Cephisus. It is also said by others, that the place where the city stands was formerly full of trees, and that the ancients called things dense or close, daula. Hence, say they, Æschylus calls the beard of Glauclus Anthedonius, daulos, or thick. In this city the women are said to have feasted Tereus with the body of his son; and the polluted tables of mankind originated from hence. But the hoopoop, into which they say Tereus was changed, is a bird not larger than a quail, and has wings on its head which resemble crests. It is a wonderful circumstance that, in this country, swallows neither breed, nor lay eggs, nor build their nests on the roofs of houses. The Phocenses say, that when Philomela was changed into a bird, she flew from the country of Tereus through fear of him. But the Daulienses have a temple of Minerva, in which there is an ancient statue of
the goddess. It likewise contains a more ancient wooden statue, which they say Procele brought from Athens. A place called Thronius forms a part of the Daulian land: and in this place there is an heroic monument, dedicated to that hero, from whom the people here derived their origin. Some say, that this hero was Xanthippus, a man of no obscure reputation in warlike affairs: but others are of opinion, that he was Phocus, the son of Orynthion, and the grandson of Sisyphus. This hero they venerate every day; and, after they have slain the victims which they sacrifice to him, they pour the blood through a hole into the sepulchre, and consume the entrails in the same place. There is an eminence in Daulis, by which you may ascend to the summits of mount Parnassus. This road is longer, but not so difficult as that at Delphos, which leads to the same summits.

CHAPTER V.

On again turning from Daulis, and proceeding in a straight line to Delphos, you will see on the left hand a building which they call Phocicon, and into which the Phocenses from each of their cities assemble. This building is very large; and in it there are pillars placed according to its length. From the pillars, too, there are steps to each of its walls: and on these steps the Phocenses sit when they assemble. But near the extremity of the building there are neither pillars nor steps. There is, however, here a statue of Jupiter sitting on a throne; and on his right hand there is a statue of Juno, and on his left of Minerva. Proceeding from hence, you will arrive at a road which they call Schiste, or cut; and in this road Oedipus murdered his father. Indeed, every part of Greece contains some monument of the calamities of Oedipus. For as soon as he was born, his
parents bored the soles of his feet, and exposed him on the mountain Cithæron belonging to the Plateenses. Corinth, and the country about the Isthmus, educated him. Phocis, and the road Schiste, were polluted with his father's blood. And the Thebans are rendered infamous by the marriages of Oedipus, and the base conduct of Eteocles. However, the daring action of Oedipus in the road Schiste was the origin of all his calamities. The sepulchres of Laius and the servants that followed him, are in the middle of a place where three roads meet, and select stones are piled in a heap over them. They say; that Damisistratus, when he reigned over the Plateenses, met with these dead bodies, and buried them. There is a public road, steep and difficult to a light-armed soldier, which leads from hence to Delphos. Many things, indeed, are reported of the Delphi, and particularly concerning the oracle of Apollo. For they say, that this oracle is the most ancient of any on the earth; that Daphne was chosen by Earth priestess of the oracle, and that she was one of the nymphs that inhabit mountains.

But the Greeks have a piece of poetical composition, which they call Eumolpia, and the author of which, they say, was Musæus, the son of Antiphemus. In this poem it is asserted, that there is an oracle in common of Neptune and Earth; that Earth delivered her oracles from her own mouth; but that Neptune had Pyron for his interpreter. The verses respecting this affair are these:

"From her own mouth Earth utter'd prudent words,
But Pyron was illustrious Neptune's priest."

They say, that afterwards Earth gave her part of the oracle to Themis; but Themis to Apollo; and that Apollo received the other part from Neptune, in return for which he gave Neptune the island Calaurea, which is situated before Trozen. I have also heard it asserted, that certain shepherds, who once happened to come to the oracle, became
OF GREECE.

divinely inspired from the vapour of the earth, and prophesied through the influence of Apollo. But Phemonoe arrived at the highest degree of celebrity, as being the first prophetess of the god, and the first that sang an hexameter verse. Boeo, a woman who was a native of Delphos, and who composed a hymn for the Delphi, says, that both others that came from the Hyperboreans, and Olen, built a place for the oracle of Apollo; and that Olen was the first who prophesied at Delphos, and delivered oracles in hexameter verses. The following are the verses of Boeo:

"Here Pegasus, Agyicus the divine, From th’ Hyperboreans, Phœbus, raised to thee A building, for thine oracle renown’d."

And, after she has enumerated other Hyperboreans, towards the end of the hymn, she mentions Olen:

"Olen, the first who Phœbus’ will disclosed, The first who verses of the ancients sung."

If we follow tradition, however, women alone were the first interpreters of oracles.

They farther report, that the most ancient temple of Apollo was raised from the laurel-tree; and that the branches from which it was built were cut from that tree which is at Tempe. The form of this temple resembled that of a cottage. But the Delphi say, that the other temple of Apollo was raised by bees from wax and wings, and was sent by Apollo to the Hyperboreans. There is likewise another report concerning this affair; that a Delphos man, whose name was Pteras, built this temple, and that from this circumstance the temple came to be called by the name of its artificer. From this same Pteras, too, a Cretan city, with the addition of one letter, was denominated Apteraei. I cannot, however, be induced to believe that this temple was framed from a herb Pteris, or fern, which grows on mountains, and this while
the herb was yet green. But with respect to the third temple, the report that it was built of brass is by no means wonderful, since Acrisius made a brazen bed-chamber for his daughter; and even at present there is a temple of Minerva, among the Lacedaemonians, which, from its being built of brass, is called Chalkioicos. Among the Romans, too, there is a forum, which is admirable both for its magnitude and ornaments, and which has a brazen roof. So that it is not improbable, that there may have been a brazen temple of Apollo. As to the rest, the relations are doubtless fabulous, either that this temple was built by Vulcan, or that golden virgins sang in it, which is asserted by Pindar as follows:

"Suspended from the roof, there golden virgins sang."

It appears to me, that Pindar invented this fable, in imitation of what Homer says respecting the Sirens. But neither do I find that the same accounts are given of the destruction of this temple. Some say it fell into an opening of the earth; but, according to others, it was destroyed by fire. The fourth temple of Apollo is said to have been built of stone, by Trophonius and Agamedes; and this was burnt when Erxiclides was the Athenian archon, and in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, in which Diognetus Crotoniates was victor. But the temple which exists at present was raised by the Amphictyons out of their sacred money; and its architect was the Corinthian Spintharus.

CHAPTER VI.

They say, too, that a most ancient city was built here by Parnassus, who was the son of the nymph Cleodora. And just the same as with respect to others that are called heroes,
they say, that his fathers were, of the gods, Neptune, and of men, Cleopompus; and that from him the mountain Parnassus and the thicket Parnassia were denominated. They farther add, that prophecy by the flight of birds was invented by this Parnassus; but that the city which he built was destroyed by the rain which fell in the times of Deucalion: that such men as were able to fly from the storm followed the howlings of wolves, and, with wild beasts for their guides, escaped to the summits of Parnassus; and that from this circumstance they called the city which they built there Lycorea. There is likewise another report different from this, that Lycurus was the son of Apollo by the nymph Corycia; that from him the city was called Lycorea: but that the cavern was denominated Corycium, from the nymph. It is also said, that Celæno was the daughter of Hyamus, the son of Lycurus; and that Apollo had by her a son Delphos, from whom the present name of the city was derived. Others, again, say, that one Castalius, a native of this city, had a daughter whose name was Thyia, and who was the first that officiated as priestess to Bacchus, and celebrated the orgies of the god. That from her those, afterwards, that were agitated with Bacchic fury came to be called Thyiadai. Hence they are of opinion, that Delphos was the son of Apollo and Thyia. But, according to others, his mother was Melpene, the daughter of Cephissus.

Some time after this, not only the neighbouring people called the city Delphos, but likewise Pytho, as is evident from the verses of Homer, in his catalogue of the Phocenses. Those, however, who are much conversant with genealogies, say that Pythis was the son of Delphos, and that from him, while he reigned here, the city was denominated. There is a report, too, among the vulgar, that a certain inhabitant of this place was pierced with the arrows of Apollo, and that on this account the city was called Pytho, because, at that time, things which putrefied were said ὄσθησθαι, which
means to become rotten. Hence Homer says, that the island of the Sirens was full of bones, because men that heard their song, ephuhontoi, i.e. became rotten. With respect to the animal that was slain by Apollo, the poets say it was a dragon, to whom Earth had committed the custody of the oracle. It is also said, that Crius, when he reigned in Euboea, had a son of a very insolent disposition, who plundered the temple of Apollo, and the dwellings of the rich. But when he was about to plunder them a second time, with a band of robbers, the Delphi suppliantly implored Apollo to preserve them from the impending danger: and Phemonoe, who was at that time the prophetess, answered them in hexameter verses to this effect: "In a short time Phoebus will pierce with his arrows a man, the destroyer of Parnassus: but the Cretans shall purify their hands from the slaughter, and the fame of the dead shall never perish."

CHAPTER VII.

It appears, indeed, that the temple in Delphos was from the first often plundered by the sacrilegious. For after the Euboean, of whom we have just spoken, the nation of the Phlegyans, and Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, plundered it. After these, again, it was robbed by a part of the forces of Xerxes, by the most powerful persons among the Phocenses (who enriched themselves the most of all others, and for the longest time, with the treasures of the god), and by the army of the Gauls. And, last of all, this temple could not escape the impiety of Nero, who took away from hence five hundred brazen images, which were partly statues of the gods, and partly of men. They relate, that a most ancient contest was established here, which consisted in singing a hymn in honour of Apollo: and that he who first conquered
in singing was the Cretan Chrysothemis, whose father, Car-
manor, is said to have purified Apollo. Philammon was
the next that was victorious after Chrysothemis; and Tha-
myris, the son of Philammon, conquered after his father.
They say that Orpheus was unwilling to engage in this
contest, by reason of the dignity of his composition relative
to the mysteries, and that elevation of soul which he ac-
quired by his other productions; and that Musæus would
not engage in it, through his imitation of Orpheus in every
respect. They say, too, that Eleuther bore away the Pythian
palm, through speaking with a loud and sweet voice, as he
was not able to sing the song which he had composed.
They likewise farther relate, that Hesiod was not permitted
to contend, because he had not learned to accompany his
harp with his voice: but that Homer came to Delphos for
the purpose of consulting what was necessary to be done;
though, even if he had learnt to play on the harp, his art
would have been of no use to him, through the loss of his
sight. In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, in
which Glaucias, the Crotonian, was victor, the Amphictyons
instituted games, in which there was singing to the harp as
at first; and to which they added singing to the pipe, and
playing on the pipe without singing. Cephalen, the son of
Lampus, was proclaimed victor on the harp; Arcas Echem-
brotus in singing to the pipe; and the Argive Sacadas in
playing on the pipe without singing.

The same Sacadas, too, was twice victorious after this in
the Pythian games. And at that time the same contests
were instituted as in the Olympic games, except the contest
with four horses. It was likewise established by law, that
boys should contend in the long race, and in the twofold
course. After this, Pythian games were instituted, in which
a crown alone was the object of contention, and in which
singing to the pipe was rejected, as not being pleasing
to the ear. For elegies and funeral dirges are accommodated to the melody of pipes. The sacred offering of Echembrotus confirms what I have said; for he dedicated, in Thebes, a brazen tripod to Hercules, with this inscription: ECHEMBROTUS ARCAS DEDICATES THIS STATUE TO HERCULES, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HAVING BEEN VICTORIOUS IN THE CONTESTS OF THE AMPHICTYONS, AND THIS BY SINGING AMONG THE GREEKS, SONGS AND ELEGIES. This was the reason, therefore, why the contest of singing to the pipe ceased. Afterwards, they added horse-races, and Clisthenes, the Sicyonian tyrant, was victorious in the chariot-race. In the eighth Pythiad, the contests of those who play on the harp, but do not accompany it with their voice, were instituted; and in this contest Agelaus Tegeates was victorious. In the twenty-third Pythiad, the armed course was established; and in this Timenetus, the Phliasian, received the laurel crown, in five Olympiads after which Demaratus Heraeensis was victorious. In the forty-eighth Pythiad, the contest with the two-yoked car was adopted; and in this the car of Execestides, the Phocensian, was victorious. But in the fifth Pythiad from this, they ran with colts joined to the car; and in this the four colts of the Theban Orphondas gained the victory. They instituted, however, many years after the Eleans, the pancratium among boys, the car drawn by two colts, and the vaulting horse: for they instituted the pancratium in the sixty-first Pythiad, and in this the Theban Laidas was victorious: but one Pythiad after this, they established the course with the vaulting colt; and in the sixty-ninth Pythiad, the car drawn by two colts. And with the vaulting colt, indeed, the Larissean Lycormas was victorious; but the Macedonian Ptolemy with the two-yoked car. For the Egyptian kings willingly suffered themselves to be called Macedonians, as indeed they were. But it appears to me, that the laurel crown was given as the reward
of victory in the Pythian games, for no other reason than because, according to report, Daphne, the daughter of Ladon, was beloved by Apollo.

CHAPTER VIII.

It is said, that the first Grecian Sunedrion, or place of association, was raised here by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, and that from him those who assembled here were called Amphiectyons. But Androtion, in his Attic history, says, that all the inhabitants bordering on the Delphi came from the first to Delphos, and formed there an assembly; and that the members of this convention were called, in process of time, Amphiectyons. They say, too, that the following Grecian people were collected into this assembly by Amphiectyon, viz. the Ionians, Dolopians, Thessalians, Æonianians, Magnetæ, Maleenses, Phthiotæ, Dorienses, Phocenses, and the Locrians that border on Phocis, and dwell under the mountain Cnemis. But when the Phocenses plundered the temple, and in the tenth year when the war was finished, the Sunedrion of the Amphiectyons was changed: for the Macedonians were admitted into this assembly; and the nation of the Phocenses, and the Doric Lacedæmonians ceased to become members of it: the former on account of their sacrilegious conduct, and the latter because they assisted the Phocenses in war, and were for this obliged to pay a fine. But when Brennus led an army of Gauls to Delphos, the Phocenses fought against them with an alacrity superior to that of the other Greeks, and, in consequence of this, again partook of the assembly of the Amphiectyons, and recovered all their ancient dignity. Afterwards, the Emperor Augustus was willing that the Nicopolitans at Actium should likewise partake of this assembly.
THE DESCRIPTION

He therefore ordered the Magnetæ, Maleenses, Ænianæ, and Phthiotæ, to join themselves to the Thessalians; and transferred the suffrances of these people and the Dolopians to the Nicopolitans. The Amphictyons, in my time, were thirty in number. Nicopolis, Macedonia, and the Thessalians, had each of them two. Among the Boeotians (for these formerly were a part of Thessaly, and were called the Æolenses) there were two. So, likewise, the Phocenses and the Delphi had each of them two; and the ancient Dorian land had one. The Locri, too, who are called Òzole, and those who are beyond Eubœa, send each of them one: and the Eubœenses and the Athenians each send one. The cities, indeed, Delphos and Nicopolis, send members to the assembly of the Amphictyons, and are present at every assembly: but each of the other nations we have enumerated only joins this convention at stated periods.

On coming into the city, you will see temples in a continued series. The first of these is in a ruinous condition; the second is without statues; the third has images of the Roman emperors, but these are not numerous; and the fourth is called the temple of Minerva Pronoia. But of the statues which are in the vestibule of this temple, there is an offering of the Massilienses, which is larger than the statue within the temple. These Massilienses are a colony of the Phocenses, and a part of those Ionians, who, in order to avoid Harpagus the Mede, fled from Phocœa. Having, however, vanquished the Carthaginians in a naval battle, they took possession of that country which they now inhabit, and arrived at a high degree of prosperity. The offering, too, of the Massilienses is brazen. But the Delphi say, that the golden shield, which was dedicated by Croesus, the Lydian king, to Minerva Pronoia, was taken away by Philomelus. Near this temple of Minerva there is an heroic grove of Phylacus. According to the Delphi, this Phylacus assisted them when they were attacked by the
Persians. But in that part of the gymnasion which is in the open air, they say a wild boar was once born; that Ulysses, when he was going to Autolycus, hunted this boar, together with the sons of Autolycus; and that he was wounded by it on the knee. On turning to the left hand from the gymnasion, and descending not more (as it appears to me) than three stadia, you will see the river Plistus. This river runs into Cirrha, a haven of the Delphi, and the sea which is in that part. But on ascending from the gymnasion to the temple, you will see, on the right hand of the road, the water of Castalia, which is sweet to the taste. They say that a woman, a native of this place, gave a name to the fountain; but some are of opinion, that it was denominated by a man: whose name was Castalius. Panyasis, however, the son of Polyarchus, says, in the verses which he composed on Hercules, that Castalia was the daughter of Achelous. For thus he speaks concerning Hercules:

"With rapid feet, Parnassus' snowy top
He left behind, and to Castalia's stream
Immortal Achelous' daughter came."

I have likewise heard it asserted, that this water of Castalia is the gift of the river Cephissus. Alcæus, indeed, says this, in the introduction of his hymn to Apollo: and this is confirmed by the Lilæenses, who report, that when, on stated days, they throw into the fountain of Cephissus cattle belonging to their country, and other things, according to established rites, they are again seen in the river Castalia. The city of the Delphi in every part rises to a steep: and the sacred inclosure of Apollo has the same situation with the city. This temple is very large, and stands in the upper part of the city: and passages in a continued series cut one another through the temple.
CHAPTER IX.

I shall now give an account of those sacred offerings which appear to me to merit description in the most eminent degree. For I shall not make any mention of those athletes and contending musicians who are of no great estimation: and as to those athletes that have left behind them a great reputation, the reader will find an account of them in my Eliacs. Phayllus, however, the Crotorian, is not among the number of these, because he was not victorious in the Olympic games: but he was twice victorious in the quinquertium, and once in the stadium of the Pythian games. The same person, too, fought against the Persians in a naval battle, furnishing for this purpose a ship of his own, and manning it with such of the Crotonians as were then travelling about Greece. There is a statue of him among the Delphi: and such are the particulars respecting this Crotorian. On entering into the grove, you will see a brazen bull, which was made by Theopropus Æginetes, and was the gift of the Corecyreans. It is said, that a bull once in Corcyra, having left the oxen his companions, and the pastures in which he fed, came near the sea and lowered; that in consequence of his doing the same every day, the herdsman went to the sea-side, and beheld an almost infinite number of tunny fishes; and that when he had informed the Corecyreans of this circumstance, they, on endeavouring to catch these fishes, but without success, sent speculatores (Theoroi) to Delphos. In compliance, therefore, with the mandate of the oracle, they sacrificed a bull to Neptune, and immediately after the sacrifice caught the fishes. Hence they sent both to Olympia and Delphos a tenth part of the value of what they caught, as a sacred offering. After this,
the gifts of the Tegeate, from the spoils of the Lacedæmonians, follow, viz. Apollo and Victory, heroes, natives of their country; Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon; Arcas, from whom a country was denominated; the sons of Arcas, viz. Aphidas and Azan; and together with these Triphylus, whose mother was not Erato, but Laodamea, the daughter of Amyclas, king of the Lacedæmonians.

They also dedicated Erasus, the son of Triphylus. But with respect to the artificers of these statues, Apollo and Callisto were made by Pausanias, the Apollonian; Victory, and the image of Arcas, by Daedalus, the Sicyonian; Triphylus and Azan, by Arcas Samolas; and Elatus, Aphidas, and Erasus, by the Argive Antiphanes. These statues the Tegeate sent to Delphos, in consequence of having made the Lacedæmonians captives who made hostile incursions on their borders. Opposite to these are the offerings which the Lacedæmonians dedicated when they vanquished the Athenians, viz. the Dioscuri, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana; and, together with these, Neptune, and Lysander, the son of Aristocretus, receiving a crown from Neptune. There are besides, Abas, who prophesied to Lysander; and Hermon, who was the pilot of Lysander’s praetorian ship. Theocosmus, the Megarensian, made this statue of Hermon, when he was ranked among the citizens of the Megarenses. But the Dioscuri were made by the Argive Antiphanes. The prophet Abas was made by Pauson, from Calaurca, belonging to the Troezenians. Damias made Diana, Neptune, and Lysander; and Athenodorus Apollo and Jupiter.

Both these artists were Arcadians from Clitor. Behind the statues which we have just mentioned, the statues of those men are placed who assisted Lysander in the battle at Ἀγεσποτάμος, and who were either Spartans, or the allies of the Spartans. And these are as follow: Aracus and Ἱριανθής, the former a Lacedæmonian, and the latter a
Boeotian from Mimas. After these, Astycrates, Cephisocles, Hermophantus, Hicisius, Chians; Timarchus and Diogoras, Rhodians; Theodomas the Cnidian, Cimmerius the Epe- sian, Æantides the Milesian, succeed. All these were made by Tisander.

These that follow were made by Alypus the Sicyonian; viz. Theopompus the Midean, Cleomedes the Samian; from Euboea, Aristocles the Carystian, Autonomus the Eretrien- sian, Aristophantus the Corinthian, Apolloedorus the Tro- ezenian; and from Epidaurus, in the borders of the Argives, Dion. Next to these are the Achaian Axionicus from Pellene, Theares from Hermione, Pyrias from Phocis, Conon from Megara, Agimenes from Sicyon, Pythodotus the Co- rinthian, Telecrates the Leucadian, and Euantidas from Ambracia. Last of all follow the Lacedæmonians, Epicy- ridas, and Eteonicus. They say, that these were made by Patrocles and Canachus. But the Athenians affirm, that the loss which they suffered at Ægospotamos happened to them unjustly, in consequence of the commanders of their army being bribed. For they say, that Tydeus and Adi- mantus received presents from Lysander: and in proof of this they adduce the following Sibylline oracle: “And then shall high-thundering Jupiter, who possesses the greatest strength, severely afflict the Athenians: for he will bring war and destruction on their ships, which will perish through the fraudulent conduct of their commanders.” They like- wise produce the following testimony from the oracles of Musæus: “A mighty storm shall burst on the Athenians, through the baseness of their leaders; but they will be consoled for their misfortune, by subverting the city of their enemies, and avenging the loss which they sustained.” And thus much concerning this affair. But the same Sibyl pre- dicted, that the event of the engagement which took place between the Lacedæmonians and Argives above Thyrea,
would be doubtful. The Argives, however, being of opinion that they should vanquish their enemies, sent a brazen horse to the statue of Durius at Delphos: and this horse was made by the Argive Antiphanes.

CHAPTER X.

On the basis, under this horse, there is an inscription, which signifies that statues were dedicated here from the tenth of the spoils of the battle of Marathon. These statues are Minerva and Apollo; and, of the commanders, Miltiades. But of those that are called heroes, Erechtheus, Cecrops, and Pandion: Celeus, likewise, and Antiochus, the son of Hercules, by Midea, the daughter of Phylas, together with Aegeus; and of the sons of Theseus, Acamas. These, in consequence of a Delphic oracle, gave names to the Athenian tribes. Here, too, there are statues of Codrus, the son of Melanthus, Theseus, and Phyleus, who were not ranked among the surnames. All these statues were made by Phidias, and are in reality the tenths of the Marathonian battle. Afterwards, they sent Antigonus and his son Demetrius, and the Egyptian Ptolemy, to Delphos; the latter on account of their benevolence towards him; and the two former through fear. Other gifts of the Argives may be seen not far from this horse, viz. those leaders who, together with Polynices, warred on Thebes; Adrastus, the son of Talasus, and Tydeus, the son of Oeneus: the grandsons, likewise, of Proetus, together with Capaneus, the son of Hipponous, and Eteocles, the son of Iphis: and, besides these, Polynices, and Hippomedon, who was the son of the sister of Adrastus. Amphiaraus, too, is dedicated here, with his chariot, which is placed near him. Baton stands in this chariot, who was the charioteer of Amphiaraus, and,
at the same time, allied to him by his birth. The last of these is Alitherses. The artificers of all these were Hypatodorus and Aristogiton: and they say that the Argives dedicated them out of the spoils of the victory, which, through the assistance of the Athenians, they gained over the Lacedaemonians in Oenoe, an Argive city. It appears to me, too, that the Argives dedicated out of the same spoils the images of those who are called by the Greeks Epigoni, or posterior sons. For statues of these are placed here, viz. Sthenelus, and Alcameson, who, in my opinion, was honoured above Amphilocus, on account of his age. To these are added, Promachus, Thersander, Ageialeus, and Diomed. Euryalus, too, stands between Diomed and Ageialeus.

Opposite to these there are other statues, which were dedicated by the Argives, when they assisted Epaminondas, the Theban general, in restoring the Messenians. There are, likewise, images here of heroes, viz. king Danaus, who arrived at the highest degree of power and wealth in Argos: Hypermnestra, because she was the only one of his daughters that had pure hands: and near her Lyceus, and all those who derive their origin from Hercules, and still higher from Perseus. There are, besides, brazen horses of the Tarentines, and captive women, which the Tarentines sent in consequence of having conquered the Messapians, who are a barbarous nation, bordering on the Tarentines: and these are the works of the Argive Ageladas. The Lacedaemonians, indeed, colonised Tarentum, under the command of the Spartan Phalanthus, who, when he was sent on this errand, was told by a Delphic oracle, that when he should see rain falling from a serene sky, he would then possess a land and city. But as he was not able by himself to discover the meaning of the oracle, and did not consult any interpreter, he sailed with a fleet to Italy. Here having conquered the Barbarians, but neither obtaining any land or city, he re-
OF GREECE.

collected the oracle, and was of opinion that the god had predicted that which could not be accomplished; as it appeared to him impossible that there should be rain when the sky was clear and serene. His wife, however, when he was in a desponding condition (for he had returned home), endeavoured to console him by her endearing officiousness; and as she was once supporting his head on her knees, and freeing it from vermin, through a benevolent concern for the adverse situation of his affairs, she began to weep; and her tears, as she wept abundantly, fell on the head of her husband, who then perceived the meaning of the oracle: for his wife's name was Ethra, which is the Greek word for a serene sky. On the following night, therefore, he took Tarentum, a great and most flourishing maritime city of the Barbarians. They say, indeed, that the hero Taras was the son of Neptune, by a nymph, a native of Tarentum; and that from the hero both a city and river are denominated Taras.

CHAPTER XI.

NEAR the sacred offering of the Tarentines, there is a treasury of the Sicyonians: but there are neither any riches in this, nor in any other treasury. The Gnidi, likewise, brought statues to Delphos; viz. Triopas, who built Gneidus, standing by a horse; Latona, Apollo, and Diana, piercing Tityus with their arrows, whose body is represented wounded. These stood near the treasury of the Sicyonians. The Siphnii, too, made a treasury on the following account. The island Siphnos had gold mines; and they were ordered by Apollo to send a tenth of the produce of these mines to Delphos; in consequence of which they built a treasury, and sent with it a tenth of the produce of their mines. Afterwards, however, through their immoderate desire of
accumulating wealth, they neglected to send the tenth of their riches to Delphos; and in consequence of this their gold mines were destroyed by an inundation of the sea. The Liparæi, likewise, have dedicated statues here for a naval victory, which they gained over the Tyrrheni. These Liparæi were a colony of Gnidianæ, who, as we are informed by the Syracusan Antiochus, the son of Xenophanes, in his Sicilian history, were colonised by a Gnidian, whose name was Pentathlus. This historian adds, that the Gnidianæ being driven from that city which they had built at Pachynum, a promontory of Sicily, by the Elymi and Phœnicianæ, either took possession of desert islands, or drove the inhabitants out of the islands on which they landed: and these, in conformity to the verses of Homer, they call at present the islands of Æolus. In Lipara, one of these islands, they built a city: but they sailed to Hierà, Strongyle, and Didymææ, for the purpose of cultivating the land in these places.

It is evident that in Strongyle fire rises out of the ground: and in Hierà fire spontaneously ascends from the promontory on the island. Near the sea here there are baths of salubrious water, and of a more temperate nature; for the water in other parts is not adapted for bathing, through its great heat. But to return to the gifts in the temple, the Thebans and Athenianæ have dedicated here treasuries, in consequence of success in war. I do not, however, know whether the Gnidianæ built their treasury in consequence of any victory, or for the purpose of showing the prosperous condition of their affairs. For the Thebans dedicated treasuries on account of the victory which they gained at Leuctra, and the Athenianæ for their success at Marathon. But the Cleonææi, being afflicted with a pestilence in the same manner as the Athenianæ, by the admonition of the Delphic oracle, immolated a goat to the rising sun, and, when they were by this means freed from their malady, sent a brazen goat to
OF GREECE.

Apollo. After these, follow the gifts of the Potidæatæ in Thrace, and of the Syracusans. These last sent a treasury, to the temple, on account of the great victory which they obtained over the Athenians: but the Potidæatæ sent a treasury as a testimony of their piety to the god. The Athenians, too, have dedicated a porch, from the spoils which they took from the Peloponnesians and their Grecian allies. In this place, likewise, the ornaments belonging to the extremities of ships are dedicated, and together with them brazen shields. The inscription on these mentions the cities from which the Athenians sent the first fruits of their spoils, viz. Elis, Lacedæmon, Sicyon, Megara, the Pellenenses, the Achaians, Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth. They sacrifice to Theseus for these naval victories, and to Neptune, whom they call Ornos. This inscription, too, as it appears to me, celebrates Phormio, the son of Asopichus, and his illustrious achievements.

CHAPTER XII.

A stone elevates itself above this place, on which the Sibyl Herophile (as the Delphi say) used to sing her oracles. I have found that this Sibyl was thus denominated from the first, in the same manner as any other ancient Sibyl. The Greeks say that she was the daughter of Jupiter and Lamia; that Lamia was the daughter of Neptune; and that she was the first woman that sang oracles, and was denominated by the Africans Sibylla. This Sibyl Herophile, indeed, was certainly posterior to Lamia; but, at the same time, it appears that she flourished prior to the Trojan war. For she predicted that Helen would be educated in Sparta; that she would be the destruction of Asia and Europe; and that Troy, through her means, would be taken by the
The Delians make mention of her hymns to Apollo: and, in her verses, she not only calls herself Herophile, but likewise Diana. She likewise asserts of herself that she is the wife of Apollo; and, besides this, that she is his sister and daughter. But these assertions are the result of her being agitated with fury, and possessed by the god. In another part, too, of her oracles, she says, that she was born from an immortal mother, viz. one of the nymphs of mount Ida, and a mortal father: for thus she speaks concerning herself:

"From an immortal nymph, and whale-fed sire,
A mean between the two, I sprung to light,
From one of Ida's nymphs begot; my native land
Is red Marpessus, where Aidoneus flows,
A country sacred to the mighty Ops."

Even at present there are ruins, in the Trojan mount Ida, of the city Marpessus; and it contains about sixty inhabitants. All the country about Marpessus is red, and very sultry. Hence it appears to me, that the reason why the river Aidoneus at one time hides itself in the earth, again emerges, and at last entirely disappears under ground, is to be ascribed to the attenuated and cavernous nature of mount Ida. Marpessus is distant from the Trojan city Alexandria about two hundred and forty stadia. The inhabitants of Alexandria say, that Herophile was the guardian of the temple of Apollo, and that she prophesied, in consequence of a dream of Hecuba, such things as I am very certain afterwards happened. This Sibyl dwelt the greatest part of her life in Samos: she likewise came to Delos and Delphos, in which last place she delivered her oracles on the stone which we have already mentioned.

She died in Troy: her sepulchre is in the grove of Smintheus: and on it there is a pillar with the following inscription:
OF GREECE.

I who am buried in this stone sepulchre
Am a Sibyl, a clear interpreter of the will
Of Phœbus:
I was once a vocal virgin, but am now for ever dumb:
And lie thus fettered, through the oppressive power
Of Fate.
I am however placed under the Nymphs and Mercury;
And it is from Apollo that I receive this
Destiny, as the reward of my ancient
Sacerdotal office.

Near her sepulchre there is a stone Mercury, of a quadrangular figure; and on the left hand there is water running into a receptacle, and near it there are statues of Nymphs. The Erithreai (for these people contend about Herophilus the most eagerly of all the Greeks) show a mountain called Corycus, and in it a cavern, in which they say Herophilus was born. They farther add, that her parents were a shepherd, Theodorus, a native of their country, and a nymph who was called Ida: and that the nymph was thus denominated for no other reason than because men at that time called places thick-planted with trees Idai. But the Erythreai do not rank among the oracles of Herophilus the verse respecting Marpessus and the river Aidoneus. One Hyperocmus, a Cumæan, writes, that after Herophilus, a woman of Cumæa, belonging to the Opici, used to deliver oracles in the same manner as Herophilus, and that this woman was called Demo.

The Cumæans, however, cannot produce any oracles of Demo; but they show a stone water-pot in the temple of Apollo, in which, they say, the bones of this Sibyl are deposited. After Demo, the Hebrews beyond Palestine rank among the number of prophetic women, Sabbe, whose father, they say, was Berosus, and whose mother was Erymanthe. Some, however, call this Sibyl a Babylonian, and others an Egyptian. But Phæennis, who was the daughter of a man that reigned over the Chaænes, and the
THE DESCRIPTION

Peleæ among the Dodonæans, prophesied, indeed, from a divine power, but were not denominat’d Sibyls. As to the age and oracles of Phænæis, the former may be known by inquiry, and there is no difficulty in obtaining the latter: for she lived in those times in which Antiochus, having taken Demetrius prisoner, seized on his kingdom. But they say, that the Peleades were prior to Phemonoe, and were the first women that sang these verses:

"Jove was, Jove is, and will be, mighty Jove!
Earth gives us fruits, hence call on mother Earth."

They say, too, that the following prophetic men, Euclus the Cyprian, Musæus the Athenian and the son of Antiophemus, Lyæus the son of Pandion, and Bacis from Boeotia, were inspired by nymphe. I have read all the oracles of these, except those of Lyæus. And thus much concerning men and women, as far as to the present time, who are said to have prophesied from divine inspiration.

CHAPTER XIII.

But the brazen head of the Pœonian bull, called Bison, or buff, was sent to Delphos by Dropion, the son of Deon, and king of the Pœonians. These buffæ are taken alive with more difficulty than any other wild beasts: for there are not any nets strong enough to hold them. They are, therefore, hunted in the following manner: The hunters choose a steep place, which terminates in a hollow. This place they first fortify with a strong inclosure: then they cover the steep, and the plain near the steep, with the hides of oxen recently slain; but if they have not a sufficiency of these, they lubricate old hides with oil. After this, very skilful horsemen drive the buffæ into this inclosure, who,
falling through the slipperiness of the hides, are hurled headlong to the bottom of the plain. Here they leave them for four or five days, till they are debilitated by weariness and hunger, and are considerably tamed. Then those who are skilled in the art of taming these animals place before them, while they are lying in this weak condition, the fruit of a pine-nut, having first of all stripped it of the inward skin: for at that time the buffs do not desire any other food. And, last of all, they bind them, and bring them away from the hollow. Opposite to the braced head of the Bison there is a statue, which is invested with a coat of mail, and a robe over it. The Delphi say, that this was dedicated by the Andrii, and that it is the statue of Andreus, by whom they were colonised. Here, too, there are statues of Minerva and Diana, which were dedicated by the Phocenses, for having conquered the Thessalians, their perpetual enemies, and those who border on their dominions, except in that part in which they are separated from Phocis by the intervention of the Locrian Hypocenemidii. The Thessalians, likewise, at Pharsalus, and the Macedonians who inhabit the city Dios, under Pieria, and the Grecian Cyrenæans in Libya, have sent sacred offerings to this temple. For these last dedicated a chariot, in which Ammon stands: but the Diatæ dedicated an Apollo, laying hold of a stag: and the Pharsalians an Achilles on horseback. The Corinthians, too, who are ranked among the Dorienses, built a treasury: and in this they deposited the gold which they received from the Lydians. But the statue of Hercules is the gift of the Thebans, in consequence of that war with the Phocenses which is called sacred.

Here, likewise, there are brazen images which the Phocenses dedicated, when in a second engagement they vanquished the Thessalian horse. The Phliasians, too, sent a brazen Jupiter to Delphos; and, together with Jupiter, an
image of Ægina. The Mantineans, from Arcadia, dedicated a brazen Apollo, which is not far from the treasury of the Corinthians. Hercules and Apollo hold a tripod, and are on the point of fighting with each other for its possession: but Latona and Diana appease the anger of Apollo, and Minerva that of Hercules. This, too, was the gift of the Phocenses, which they dedicated at that time, when the Elean Tellias led the Thessalians against them. The other statues were made in common by Diyllus and Amycleus; but Minerva and Diana were made by Chion. They say that these artists were Corinthians. The Delphi, too, report, that, when Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, came to this oracle, the prophet Xenocleas was unwilling to give him an answer to his interrogation, because he was polluted with the slaughter of Iphitus; but that Hercules took up the tripod, and carried it out of the temple; upon which the prophet said: "This is a Tirynthian Hercules, and not Canobeus." For prior to this an Egyptian Hercules came to Delphos. But then the son of Amphitryon restored the tripod to Apollo, and was instructed by Xenocleas in whatever he was desirous of learning. And it is from this circumstance that poets have taken occasion to sing of the contest between Hercules and Apollo for a tripod. A golden tripod, supported by a dragon of brass, was the gift of the Greeks in common, for the victory gained at Platea. And even at present the brazen part of this offering remains entire; but the golden part was taken away by the Phocesian commanders. The Tarentines also sent to Delphos another tenth of the spoils taken from a barbarous people, called the Peucetii. And these offerings were made by Onatas Æginetes and Calynthus. They consist of images of men on foot and on horseback. Opis, king of the Iapyges, is represented giving assistance to the Peucetii; and resembles a person dying in the engagement. Those that stand near
him are, the hero Taras, and the Lacedæmonian Phalanthus: and not far from Phalanthus there is a dolphin. For before he came into Italy, he was shipwrecked in the Criscean sea, and was, they say, brought on shore by a dolphin.

CHAPTER XIV.

But the battle-axes which are dedicated here were the gift of Periclytus, the son of Euthymachus, the Tenedian. An ancient story assigns the reason of their being dedicated. This story informs us, that Cycnus was the son of Neptune, and that he reigned in Colonæ, a Trojan town which is situated near the island Leucophrys. This Cycnus had a daughter, whose name was Hemithea, and a son named Tennes, by Proclea, the daughter of Clytius, and the sister of Caletor, who, as we are informed by Homer in the Iliad, was slain by Ajax, because he brought fire to the ship of Proteus. On the death of Proclea, Cycnus married Philonome, the daughter of Craugarus, who, falling in love with her son-in-law, Tennes, and being repulsed by him, falsely accused him to her husband of endeavouring to have connexion with her against her will. Cycnus, becoming the dupe of her deception, shut up Tennes and his sister in a chest, and threw them into the sea. They were, however, carried with safety to the island Leucophrys, which is now denominated Tenedos, from Tennes. But Cycnus, having in process of time discovered the fraudulent conduct of his wife, sailed in search of his son, in order that he might justify himself, by pleading in his defence that he was ignorant of his wife’s artifice, and beg pardon for the deed. When, therefore, he drove to the island Leucophrys, and had fastened his vessel either to a stone, or a trunk of a tree, Tennes, impelled by anger, slew him with a battle-ax. And
hence it came to be a proverbial saying, when any one resolutely denied complying with the request of another, that he cut him down with a Tenedian battle-ax. The Greeks say that Tennes was slain by Achilles, as he was making depredations on this island. But the Tenedii in process of time joined themselves to the Trojan Alexandreans, through the imbecility of their affairs.

The Greeks, too, who warred against the Persians, dedicated in Olympia a brazen Jupiter, and in Delphos an Apollo, for the naval victory which they obtained at Artemisium and Salamis. It is also said, that Themistocles, when he came to Delphos, dedicated to Apollo the spoils of the Medes; and that, on his inquiring whether he might place these gifts within the temple, the Pythian priestess ordered him to carry them entirely away from the temple. But the oracle which she gave him respecting this was as follows: "Place not in my temple the beautiful spoils of the Persians, but swiftly carry them to your own habitation."

It is certainly a wonderful circumstance, that the god should alone reject the spoils of the Medes, which were presented by Themistocles. Some, however, are of opinion, that all the Persian spoils would have been rejected, if, like Themistocles, they had first interrogated Apollo whether he would accept them. Others, again, say, that as Apollo foreknew Themistocles would become a suppliant to the Persians, he was unwilling to receive their spoils, lest the Persians, through hatred of the donor, should reject his supplications. You may find this irruption of the Barbarians into Greece predicted in the oracles of Bacis: and, still prior to these, verses respecting this affair were published by Euclius. There is a brazen wolf, too, near the greatest altar in this temple, which was dedicated by the Delphi themselves. They say, that a certain man, having stolen some of the riches of the god, hid himself, with the sacred treasure, in that part of Parnassus in which there was the greatest
quantity of wild trees; that a wolf attacked and slew this man as he was asleep, and afterwards used to run into the city howling every day. That the inhabitants, considering this circumstance could not happen without the interference of a divine power, followed the wolf, found the sacred gold, and dedicated a brazen wolf, in consequence of this, to the god. The golden statue of Phryne here was made by Praxiteles, who was one of her lovers; but the statue was dedicated by Phryne.

CHAPTER XV.

The offerings which follow this are two statues of Apollo, one of which was dedicated by the Epidaurians, in the borders of the Argives, from the spoils of the Medes; and the other was dedicated by the Megarenses, in consequence of having conquered the Athenians at Nysæa. But the ox which was dedicated here by the Platæenses, is an offering for having, in conjunction with the other Greeks, revenged themselves in their own dominions on Mardonius, the son of Gobrias. After this, there are again two statues of Apollo, one of which was dedicated by the Heracleotæ, near the Euxine sea, and the other by the Amphictyons, from a fine which they levied on the Phocenses for cultivating the land sacred to the god. This Apollo is called by the Delphi Sitalcas, and is thirty-five cubits in magnitude. Here, too, there are many statues of commanders. There are, besides, statues of Diana and Minerva, and two of Apollo, which were dedicated by the Ætolians when they vanquished the Gauls. Phaennis, indeed, in her oracles, predicted that the army of the Celtæ would pass over from Europe into Asia, and prove the destruction of Asiatic cities, one age prior to the accomplishment of her prediction: "Then, indeed, the pernicious army of the Celtæ, having
passed over the narrow sea of the Hellespont, shall play on the flute, and, in a lawless manner, depopulate Asia. But divinity will still more severely afflict those that dwell near the sea. However, in a short time after, Jupiter will send them a defender, the beloved son of a Jove-nourished bull, who will bring destruction on all the Gaels.”

Phaeniss, in this oracle, means by the son of a bull, Attalus, king of Pergamus, whom the oracle of Apollo called Taurokeroos, or bull-horned. The generals of the horse, who are themselves seated on horseback, were dedicated by the Pherœi for having vanquished the Athenian horse. But the Athenians dedicated the brazen palm, with the gilt statue of Minerva, in consequence of having gained, in one and the same day, a victory by land near Eurymedon, and by sea in the same river. When I saw that the gold was plucked from this statue in many places, I threw the blame on the sacrilegious; but I found afterwards, in the account of the Attic affairs by Clitodemus, that, when the Athenians had prepared themselves for the Sicilian expedition, an immense number of crows came at that time to Delphos, and tore away the gold of the statue with their beaks. The same historian adds, that these crows tore off the spear, the owls, and all that was carved in the palm-tree, in imitation of ripe fruit. Clitodemus, too, relates other prodigies, which were sent in order to deter the Athenians from that expedition. The Cyrenæi, too, dedicated in Delphos a statue of Battus in a chariot, because he brought them by sea from Thera to Libya. In this chariot the nymph Libye crowns Battus: and this offering was made by the Gnossian Amphion, the son of Acestor. When Battus built Cyrene, he is said to have obtained the following remedy for his defect of speech. As the Cyrenæans were travelling through Africa, and were yet in the deserts situated in its extremities, Battus beheld a lion, and through the terror which the sight of the beast produced in him, he was compelled to cry out
OF GREECE.

with a clear and loud voice. Not far from the statue of Battus there is another statue of Apollo, which was dedicated by the Amphictyons out of the money which the Phocenses were fined for their impiety to Apollo.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of all the offerings, however, which the Lydian kings sent to Apollo, nothing at present remains, except the iron basis of the bowl of Halyattes. This was made by Glaucoes, the Chian, who first discovered the art of soldering iron. Indeed, the junctures of this basis are not formed from any clasps or nails, but from solder alone. The form of the basis, for the most part, resembles that of a tower, and rises from an acute bottom to a broad top. Each of its sides is covered throughout, but is begirt with transverse zones of iron like the steps in a ladder. Straight and ductile laminae of iron are bent in their extremities outwards; and this was the seat of the bowl. But that which is called by the Delphi the navel, and which is made of white stone, is, as they say, the middle point of the whole earth. And Pindar, in one of his odes, speaks in conformity to this opinion. Here, too, there is an offering of the Lacedaemonians, viz. Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, who was married to Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, and prior to this to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. This was made by Calamis. The Ætolians, likewise, dedicated in this temple a statue of Eurymus, who was their commander when they fought against the Gauls. In the mountains of Crete the city Elyros yet exists. This city sent a brazen goat to Apollo, which is represented suckling Phylacis and Phylander. The Elyrians say, that these were the sons of Apollo and the nymph Acacallis; and that Apollo had connexion with her in the
city Tarrha, and in the house of Carmanor. But the Carystii, from Euboea, sent a brazen ox to Apollo, for having gained a victory over the Persians.

Both the Carystii and Platæenses, indeed, dedicated oxen, as it appears to me, because, having expelled the Barbarians from Greece, they obtained, in other respects, a stable degree of property, and were enabled to cultivate a free land. The Ætolians dedicated the images of their commanders, and, together with these, Apollo and Diana, in consequence of having conquered their neighbours the Acarnanians. What the Liparæans relate of themselves, with respect to the Tyrrenians, is most absurd. For they say, that the Pythian deity having ordered them to engage the Tyrrenians with a very small fleet of ships, they, on the contrary, drew out against them five three-oared galleys. That the Tyrrenians, considering themselves as not inferior in naval strength and skill to the Liparæans, attacked them with an equal number of ships. But when the Liparæans took the five galleys of the Tyrrenians, the Tyrrenians attacked them a second, third, and fourth time, with the like number of vessels. All these, however, were taken by the Liparæans, who, in consequence of this victory, sent as many statues of Apollo to Delphos as the number of the ships which they had captured amounted to. Echecratides, too, a Larissæan, dedicated a small Apollo: and the Delphi say, that this was dedicated the first of all the offerings.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Barbarians that inhabit Sardinia towards the west, sent to this temple a brazen statue of him from whom they were denominated. Sardinia, for its magnitude and prosperous condition, may be compared with the most celebrated islands. I do not know what this island was formerly called
OF GREECE.

by the inhabitants; but those Grecians that sail to it for commercial purposes call it Ichnussa, because its form resembles the impression of a man's foot. The length of this island is about six hundred and twenty, and its breadth four hundred and twenty stadia. The Libyans are said to have been the first that sailed to this island, under the command of Sardus, the son of Maceris, who was surnamed Hercules by the Egyptians and Libyans. Nothing more remarkable is related of the father of Sardus, Maceris, than that he once came to Delphos. Sardus brought a colony of Libyans to Ichnussa; and hence the island came to be called after the name of Sardus. This colony of Libyans did not exterminate the natives. The natives, however, associated with the new inhabitants more through necessity than regard. The Libyans, too, at that time, were as ignorant in the art of building cities as the native inhabitants of this island: and hence they dwelt in straggling cottages, and in caverns. Some years after the Libyans had settled here, those Grecians that followed Aristæus came into this island. They say, that Aristæus was the son of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene, and that having bitterly lamented the misfortune of Actæon, and being hated by Boeotia and all Greece, he migrated to Sardinia. Some, too, are of opinion, that Dædalus fled at the same time through fear of the Cretan arms, and that he assisted Aristæus in bringing a colony into Sardinia. There is, however, no probability that Dædalus could be the companion of Aristæus, either in establishing a colony, or in any other undertaking, as Aristæus was married to Autonoe, the daughter of Cadmus, and Dædalus was contemporary with Oedipus, king of Thebes.

Aristæus, however, and the Grecians that followed him, did not build any city, because, as it appears to me, they were neither numerous nor strong enough for this purpose. After Aristæus, the Iberi passed over into Sardinia, under
the command of Norax, and built a city which they called Nora. They say, that this city was the first that was built in this island; and that Norax was the son of Mercury by Erythea, the daughter of Geryon. A fourth band, composed of Thespians and inhabitants of the Attic land, came to Sardinia, under the command of Iolaus. These built the city Olbia, which is also called Ogrylle, either after the name of some one of the Attic towns, or because Gryllus partook of this expedition. Even at present, therefore, there are certain places in Sardinia which are called Iolai; and Iolaus is honoured by the inhabitants. After the destruction of Troy, others of the Trojans saved themselves by flight, as well as the followers of Æneas. Of these one part was driven by tempests to Sardinia, and became mingled with the Greeks that resided there prior to this circumstance. But the Barbarians were prevented from warring on the Greeks and Trojans, because there was an equality on both sides in all warlike preparations, and the river Thorsus, which flows through the middle of the island, was a barrier to the junction of the two parties. Many years after this, the Libyans came with a greater fleet to Sardinia, and attacking the Greeks that dwelt there, either slew them all; or, at least, left but a very few alive. But the Trojans, on this occasion, fled to the elevated parts of the island, and entrenching themselves in mountains, difficult of access through their ruggedness and the hanging rocks with which they were surrounded, are even at present called Ilienses. They are, however, in their form, the apparatus of their arms, and their manner of living, like the Africans. Not far from Sardinia there is an island called by the Greeks Cynnos, but by the Libyans that inhabit it Corsica. No small part of the inhabitants of this island being incited to sedition, passed over to Sardinia, and, having seized on the mountains, fixed their residence in them. These, by the inhabitants of Sardinia, are denominated, from their founder,
Corsi. But the Carthaginians, as they were very powerful by sea, drove out all the inhabitants from Sardinia, except the Ilenses and Corsi: for steep and fortified mountains prevented them from subduing these.

The Carthaginians built in this island two cities, Carnalis and Sylli: but a dispute arising concerning the spoil, the Libyans and Spaniards revolted from the Carthaginians, and settled themselves in the elevated parts of the island. The Corsi call these people, in their native tongue, Balaroi; for thus they denominate exiles. And such are the nations which inhabit Sardinia, and such the cities into which it is divided. But those parts of the island which are situated towards the north, and the coast of Italy, are nothing but mountains, difficult of access, and whose summits are conjoined with each other. These parts, however, afford a very good harbour for ships; and strong and irregular winds rush from the tops of the neighbouring mountains into the sea. In the middle of the island, too, there are less elevated mountains; but the air in this part is very turbid and noxious. The reason of this is, the salt which becomes concreted here, and the heavy and violent south wind, which blows from these mountains. The northern winds, too, through the loftiness of the mountains towards the Italian coast, are prevented from refrigerating the ground and the air in summer. Others are of opinion, that the island Corsica, which is separated from Sardinia by not more than eight stadia of sea, and which is on all sides mountainous and elevated, prevents the west and north winds from reaching as far as Sardinia. But neither serpents, destructive to mankind, nor such as are harmless, nor wolves, are produced in this island. And as to the goats which it contains, they are not larger than those in other places, and they resemble, in their form, the ram which may be seen in the plastic productions of Æginaeas. About the breast, however, they are more hairy: and the horns on their head are not se-
parated from each other, but are, from their roots, bent back towards their ears. In swiftness, too, they surpass all wild beasts. This same island is likewise free from all kinds of poisonous and deadly herbs, excepting one herb, which resembles parsley, and which, they say, causes those who eat it to die laughing. From this circumstance, Homer first, and others after him, call laughter, which conceals some noxious design, Sardonian. This herb is mostly produced about fountains; but yet it does not communicate its poisonous quality to the water. And thus much concerning Sardinia, which we have inserted into our account of the Phocensian affairs, because the Greeks have a very inconsiderable knowledge of this island.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A horse stands next to the statue of Sardus, which Callias, the Athenian, and the son of Lysimachides, says he dedicated out of the money which he acquired from the Persian war. The Achaians, too, dedicated a statue of Minerva, when they took an Ætolian city called Phana. As the siege of this city continued for no small length of time, and it appeared at length impossible to take it, they sent Speculators (theoroi) to Delphos, who brought back the following oracle: "Inhabitants of the land of Pelops, and the Achaians, you are come hither in order to inquire by what means a city may be taken. Attend, therefore, to my words: Observe, how much those that guard the walls drink every day; for by this means you shall take the turreted city Phana." As they were unable to comprehend the meaning of this oracle, they determined to give over the siege, and return home. Those, too, within the walls made no account of the enemy; and hence a certain woman left
the walls in order to draw water from a neighbouring fountain. A band of soldiers, however, took her prisoner, and brought her to their camps. From her the Achaians learnt, that the inhabitants of the town used to distribute, every night, the water of that fountain to each other, and that this was the only water they had to drink. In consequence of this information, the Achaians closed up the fountain with earth piled over it, and by this means took the city. The Rhodians, too, in Lindum, dedicated a statue of Apollo, which stands near this statue of Minerva. The Ambraciotaæ, likewise, dedicated a brazen ass, in consequence of having vanquished the Molossi in a nocturnal engagement. For the Molossi having laid an ambush for the Ambraciotaæ in the night, an ass, who happened at that time to be driven from the fields to the town, attacked a female of his own species with a considerable degree of wantonness. This occasioned him to bray very loud; and the driver of the ass, at the same time, calling to him with an indistinct and rough voice, produced such a dread in the Molossi that they immediately abandoned their enterprise. But the Ambraciotaæ, having detected their stratagem, attacked and vanquished them in the night.

The Orneatæ, too, who form a part of the Argives, when they were vanquished by the Sicyonians in battle, made a vow to Apollo, that, if by repelling the enemy they were able to free their country from danger, they would send every day a solemn procession to Delphos, and immolate a certain number of victims. However, after they had conquered the Sicyonians, and in consequence of this sent every day a solemn procession to the god, according to their vow, they found the expense to be prodigious, and the fatigue attending it greater than the cost. Hence they devised a subtle mode of accomplishing their vow, and this was by dedicating a brazen sacrifice and procession to Apollo. Here, too, there is a representation of the achievement of Hercules respecting
the hydra, which was both dedicated and made by Tisagoras. As well Hercules as the hydra is of iron. To make statues, indeed, of iron, is a thing of the most difficult and laborious nature: but this work of Tisagoras, whoever he was, is really admirable. In Pergamus, likewise, there are iron heads of a lion and a boar, dedicated to Bacchus, which demand no small degree of admiration. The Phocians that inhabit Elatea, being freed from the siege of their city by Cassander (Olympiodorus, who was sent by the Athenians for this purpose, giving them assistance), dedicated to the Delphic Apollo a brazen lion. But the statue of Apollo, which stands very near this lion, was made out of the tenth of the spoils which the Massilienses took from the Carthaginians, when they vanquished them in a naval engagement. The Ætolians dedicated here a trophy, and a statue of an armed woman (viz. Ætolia); and this out of the money which they took from the Gauls, for their cruelty to the Callienses. The golden image in this temple was dedicated by Gorgias, the Leontine, and is an image of Gorgias himself.

CHAPTER XIX.

Near the statue of Gorgias is the Scionean Scyllis, who was renowned for being able to descend into the most profound parts of every sea. He taught his daughter Cyana this art of diving. Both of them, therefore, when the fleet of Xerxes was tossed about by a violent tempest near mount Pelion, brought destruction on the three-oared galleys of the Persians, by cutting away the ropes that held the anchors, or any thing else that fastened the ships under water. Hence, in memorial of this achievement, the Amphictyons dedicated his statue, and that of his daughter. Among the statues which Nero took from Delphos, was the statue of Cyana.
OF GREECE.

Women, while they are yet pure virgins, are said to descend with safety into the sea. But here it is proper that I should relate what is reported of Lesbos. Certain Methymnaean fishermen drew up out of the sea, in their nets, a head made from the olive-tree. This head seemed to have something divine in its form, but such as was foreign, and not agreeable to the figure of the Grecian gods. The Methymnaeans, therefore, inquired of the Pythian deity, of what god or hero this head was the image, and received for answer that they should venerate Bacchus Cephalen. Hence the Methymnaeans kept the wooden head which they drew out of the sea, venerated it with sacrifices and prayers, and sent a brazen image instead of it to Delphos. In the roof of the temple there are Diana, Latona, Apollo, the Muses, the setting Sun, Bacchus, and the women who are called Thyades. The faces of all these were made by the Athenian Praxias, the disciple of Calamis. For Praxias dying before the temple was finished, the remaining parts of the ornaments of the roof were the work of Androstenes, who was an Athenian, and the disciple of Eucadmus. Golden arms are fixed on the tops of the columns. Of these the Athenians dedicated the shields in consequence of the victory which they gained at Marathon. The spoils of the Gauls, which are in the back part of the temple, and on the left hand, were dedicated by the Ætolians. The form of these shields very much resembles that of the wicker-shields of the Persians, which are called Gerrha.

In our account of the Attic Bouleuterion, we mentioned the irruption of the Gauls into Greece; but I have thought proper, in this description of the Delphic affairs, to relate the particulars of this irruption more explicitly, because the Greeks, in this engagement against the Barbarians, exerted themselves in a most eminent degree. The Gauls then marched out of their own dominions the first time, under the command of Cambaules; and proceeding as far as to Thrace,
had not the boldness to advance beyond it, because they well knew that they were but few in number, and on this account not able to contend with the forces of the Greeks. But when they thought fit to lead a second army beyond their own boundaries, those that had before followed Cambaules, being incited by a desire of gain and depredation, of which they had now tasted, collected together a great multitude of foot soldiers, and of horse a considerable number. After this, the commanders divided their army into three parts; and each part was ordered to march into a different country. Cerethrius, therefore, was destined to invade Thrace, and the nation of the Triballi. Brennus and Acichorus led those that marched into Pannonia: and Bolgius was the commander of those that attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians. This Bolgius fought against Ptolemy, king of the Macedonians, who slew by stratagem Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, whose protection, at the same time, he suppliantly implored, and who, from his prodigious audacity, was called Thunder. Ptolemy, however, fell in this engagement, and, together with him, no small part of the Macedonians. But as the Gauls, at that time, had not the boldness to proceed any farther into Greece, they shortly after returned into their own dominions.

Brennus, after this, earnestly solicited the general assemblies of the Gauls, and the principal persons of the Gallic nation, to war upon the Greeks, who, he said, were inferior to them in courage, and, at that time, in an imbecile condition. He likewise reminded them of the great wealth which the Greeks had amassed, of the numerous offerings in their temples, and of their gold and silver ornaments. By this means he persuaded the Gauls to attack the Greeks, and joined to himself both other principal persons of that nation and Acichorus. The Gallic army, in this third expedition, consisted of one hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and twenty thousand four hundred horse: and both
horse and foot consisted of valiant soldiers. However, the true number of these forces was sixty-one thousand two hundred. For two servants followed each horseman, who were themselves good soldiers, and rode on horseback. These, when their masters were in the midst of an engagement, stood in the rear of the army, and if their masters happened to lose their horses, supplied them with fresh ones. When any master, too, fell, one of these servants fought in his stead; and if he likewise fell, there was a third ready to succeed him. If the master happened to be wounded, one of his servants immediately led him out of the field of battle, and the other filled up the place of his wounded master. It appears to me, that the Gauls adopted this plan in imitation of the Persians, who always have in their armies a select band of ten thousand men, whom they call the *immortals*. There is this difference, however, between the two, that the chosen band among the Persians attacks the enemy in the place of those that have been slain, after the engagement: but the Gauls order their select company to supply the place of the dead or wounded during the engagement. This mode of fighting they call, in their native tongue, *Trimarcisias*: for the name of a horse, with the Gauls, is *Marcas*. With such preparations, therefore, and with such conceptions, Brennus marched into Greece.

CHAPTER XX.

But the Greeks, though they were in a perfectly desponding condition, yet were impelled by the strength of fear to give the necessary assistance to their country. For they now clearly saw that the present contest was not for liberty, as it was formerly with the Persians; and that, if they should even give both land and water to the enemy,
THE DESCRIPTION

they could not hope for security in future. They called to mind, too, the calamities which they endured through the Barbarians, when they formerly made incursions on the Macedonians, Thracians, and Paonians; and had learnt, from report, how injuriously the Gauls had treated the Thessalians at that time. It was, therefore, the unanimous opinion, both of individuals and cities, that they must either perish, or subdue the enemy. Any one who is so disposed, may easily enumerate those Grecian cities which opposed Xerxes at Thermopylae, and those which took up arms against the Gauls. For the Greeks that marched against the Mede were these: The Lacedaemonians, who were not more than three hundred, under the command of Leonidas; five hundred of the Tegeatae, and as many from Mantinea. One hundred and twenty Orchomenians were sent from Arcadia; a thousand from the other cities of Arcadia; eighty from Mycena; and two hundred from Phlius. The Corinthisans sent twice this number. There were seven hundred from Boeotia; and from Thespia and Thebes four hundred. Five hundred of the Phocenses guarded the passages of mount Oeta. And such was the number of the forces that assembled on this occasion, according to the general opinion of the Greeks. For Herodotus does not mention the number of the Locrians, who live under the mountain Cnemis; but only says, that the Greeks assembled together from all their cities on this occasion. We may, however, conjecture the number of these very near the truth. For the Athenians, in the battle at Marathon, opposed the enemy with not more than nine thousand men, in which those, whose age rendered them useless for the purposes of war, and servants, were ranked. It follows, therefore, that the band of Locrians, which came to Thermopylae, could not, at the most, amount to more than six thousand men. And hence the whole army must have amounted to eleven thousand two hundred men.
OF GREECE.

But it appears, that some of those who guarded the Thermopylae left their station. For, indeed, none but the Lacedæmonians, Thespians, and Mycenaecs waited the event of the war. Again, the following Grecian cities sent a guard to Thermopylae against the Barbarians, who marched an army from the extremities of the ocean against Greece. The Bœotians sent ten thousand heavy-armed soldiers, and five hundred horse. These were under the command of four leaders called Bœotarchs, viz. Cephissodotus, Thearidas, Diogenes, and Lysander. The Phocenses sent five hundred horse and three thousand foot, and these were commanded by Critobulus and Antiochus. Midias led seven hundred foot soldiers of the Locrians, near the island Atalanta: but these people had not any equestrian forces. Four hundred heavy-armed foot were sent by the Megarenses: and Megareus led the horse of these people. But the forces of the Aëtolians both surpassed the rest in number and in warlike skill. The number of their horse is not known; but that of their heavy-armed foot was seven thousand, and of their light-armed ninety. These were commanded by Polyarchus, Polyphrôn, and Lacrates. Calippus, the son of Moerocles, led the forces of the Athenians, as I have before shown. These forces consisted, in the first place, of all the three-oared galleys which could be procured; in the next place of five hundred horse; and, in the third place, of a thousand foot. The Athenians, too, on account of their ancient dignity, had the command of all these forces.

Kings, too, sent mercenary troops: and of these five hundred came from Macedonia, and as many from Asia. Aristodemus, the Macedonian, was sent as a commander of the auxiliary forces by king Antigonus; and Telesarchus, who belonged to the Syrians, near the river Orontes, was sent as a commander by Antiochus from Asia. These forces being assembled at Thermopylae, as soon as it was known that the army of the Gauls had fixed their camps in the
borders of Magnesia and Phthiotis, they sent a thousand light-armed soldiers, and a chosen body of horse, to the river Sperchius, that the Barbarians might not pass over the river without fighting their way, and being exposed to the danger of a defeat. These forces, therefore, when they came to the Sperchius, destroyed the bridges which the Gauls had raised on it, and fixed their camps on the banks of the river. Brennus, indeed, was not unskilled in warlike affairs, but, for a Barbarian, sufficiently acute, and experienced in the stratagems of war. On the following night, therefore, leaving that part of the river on which he had raised the bridges, he sent ten thousand soldiers, who were skilled in swimming; and remarkably tall (for the Gauls in general surpass other men in stature) to the lower parts of the river, that the Greeks might not perceive them as they were passing over; and, besides this, he knew that the river in this part spread itself widely over the plains, and produced a marsh and lake instead of a strong and narrow stream. In the night, therefore, his forces swam over the marshy part of the river, some of them using their shields, which they call thureoi, for rafts, while others, who were taller than the rest, waded through with their feet. The Greeks, on the banks of the Sperchius, as soon as they understood that the Barbarians had passed over the marshy part of the river, immediately marched back to their army.

CHAPTER XXI.

Brennus, after this, ordered the inhabitants near the bay of Maliacus to join the Sperchius by a bridge. This they accomplished with great celerity, both through fear of Brennus, and through the desire of hastening the departure of the Barbarians, as there was reason to expect they would
greatly injure them if they staid long in these parts. Brennus, therefore, as soon as he had passed over the river by bridges, led his army to Heraclea, depopulated the country, and slew the men that he found in the fields. He did not, however, take the city, because, in the year prior to this event, the Ætolians compelled the Heracleotæ to become a part of their dominions, and, in consequence of this, defended their city at that time with great alacrity, considering it as a place which belonged to themselves as much as to the Heraeleotæ. But Brennus did not bestow much pains in endeavouring to take this city, but employed himself principally in taking care to prevent those who guarded the walls of Heraclea from hindering his march to that part of Greece which is within Thermopylae. Leaving, therefore, Heraclea, and learning, from certain fugitives, the number of the forces which had assembled from the several cities of Greece, he despised the Grecian army, and determined to come to an engagement on the following day at sunrise; neither employing any Grecian prophet, nor performing any of the sacred ceremonies of his own country, if, indeed, the Gauls knew any thing of the divining art. The Greeks drew up in order of battle, with silence and great regularity. And, when the two armies came to a close engagement, the Grecian foot ran so far beyond their station, that they caused confusion in their own phalanx; but the light-armed troops, remaining in their proper ranks, discharged at the enemy their darts, arrows, and slings.

The horse in each army was perfectly useless, and this not only through the narrow passages of the mountain, which they call gates, but through the smoothness and slipperiness of the ground, from its rocky nature, and from frequent and abundant inundations of rivers. The armour of the Gauls, too, was inferior in strength to that of the Greeks; for they had no other defence for their bodies than those shields which they call thureoi: and, what was of still
greater consequence, the Gauls were far inferior in military experience to their enemies. However, in battle, they rushed on the Greeks with a degree of anger and fury resembling the attacks of wild beasts; so that their rage, while life remained, suffered no abatement, though they were maimed by the battle-ax, cut down with the sword, or pierced with arrows and darts. Some of them, too, when wounded, sent back the darts, which they tore from their wounds, on the Greeks, or pierced with these darts the Greeks that stood near them. In the meantime, the three-oared galleys of the Athenians could scarcely, and not without danger, discharge their missive weapons of every kind at the enemy, owing to their sailing through mud, because the river was at a great distance from the sea, and being obliged to bring their vessels very near the Barbarians. But the Gauls being wearied in a still greater degree than the Greeks, because, in those narrow passages, they were unable to accomplish any thing of importance, and suffering every inconvenience, were ordered by their commanders to retreat to their camps. This they began to put in execution in a very disordered and tumultuous manner, many of them rushing against each other; and many falling into the marsh, and disappearing, absorbed by the mud; so that they suffered no less a loss in retreating than in the vigour of the engagement.

On that day the valour of the Athenians transcended that of the other Greeks: and, of the Athenians, Cydias, who was quite a youth, and who had never been in an engagement before, gave specimens of superior courage. This youth being slain by the Gauls, his kindred dedicated his shield to Jupiter the Liberator, with this inscription:

"This shield, to Jove now sacred, yet desires
The blooming youth of Cydias famed:
On his left arm this shield he bravely fix'd,
When Mars impetuous tamed the Gauls."

This inscription remained till the soldiers of Sylla took the
OF GREECE.

shield from the porch of Jupiter the Liberator, together with other offerings of the Athenians. And such was the battle at the Thermopylae. But on the next day the Greeks buried their dead, and took away the armour of the Barbarians that fell in the engagement. The Gauls, however, did not demand any truce that they might bury their dead; and plainly evinced that they considered it as a matter of no consequence whether the bodies of the slain were buried in the ground, or torn in pieces by such wild beasts and birds as fight with each other for the bodies of the dead. It appears to me, that a twofold reason may be assigned why they are thus careless as to the interment of the slain; a desire of terrifying their enemies by this specimen of their ferocity, and their want of commiseration for the dead. In this engagement forty of the Greeks fell; but the number of the Barbarians that were slain cannot be accurately ascertained, because many of them were swallowed up in the mud.

CHAPTER XXII.

On the seventh day after the battle, a part of the Gallic army endeavoured to ascend the mountain Oeta, in that part of it which is near Heraclea. But the path here was very narrow, beyond which were the ruins of Trachis; and beyond Trachis there was a temple of Minerva, which contained sacred offerings. The Gauls, however, hoped they should be able to ascend Oeta through this narrow path, and, at the same time, plunder the temple of Minerva. That guard, however, which was under the command of Telesarchus vanquished the Barbarians, though Telesarchus himself fell in the engagement, a man remarkably zealous in the cause of Greece. But when the other commanders of the Barbarians were terrified by the valour of the Greeks,
and began to despair of success in future, as they saw that all their present undertakings were adverse, Brennus considered, that, if he could but force the Ætolians to return home, he should easily finish his war on the Greeks. Having, therefore, chosen forty thousand foot and eight hundred horse out of his whole army, he gave the command of these forces to Orestorius and Combutis, and ordered them, first of all, to pass into Thessaly, over the bridges of the Sperchius, and afterwards invade Ætolia. These two commanders, Orestorius and Combutis, acted towards the Callienses in a manner the most impious we ever heard of, and, at the same time, in no respect similar to the daring wickedness of men. For they slew all the males in the city, young as well as old, together with infants at their mothers' breasts; and drank the blood and ate the flesh of such infants as the nutriment of milk had rendered in a more thriving condition. On this occasion, such women and virgins, in the flower of their age, as were of a superior courage, destroyed themselves; but the Barbarians treated such as survived with the utmost insolence and violence, as being a nation naturally incapable of pity, and averse to love.

Many, indeed, of these women voluntarily rushed on the swords of the Gauls. Others, again, not long after, died through hunger and wakefulness, in consequence of the insolence and violence of the Barbarians, who sometimes satisfied their lust on the bodies of the dying, and sometimes on the bodies of the dead. But the Ætolians, having learnt from certain messengers the calamities which had befallen their country, immediately, with all possible celerity, led back their forces from Thermopylae to Ætolia; being enraged at the sufferings of the Callienses, and desiring to save those cities which had not yet experienced the fury of the barbarous enemy. All that were of an age capable of bearing arms came into the camps of the Ætolians, from all their cities; and with these old men were mingled, who
were impelled both by necessity and their pristine courage. The women, too, who were more enraged against the Gauls than the men, voluntarily took arms against them. But the Barbarians, as soon as they had plundered the houses and temples, and had set the city Callion on fire, returned the same way as they came to their own people; and the Patrenses alone, of all the Achaians that assisted the Aetolians, opposed the Barbarians with their armed forces, in the use of which they were very skilful. However, they were greatly oppressed, both by the multitude of the Gauls, and despair of success. But then the Aetolians, both men and women, placing themselves in every part of the road; pierced the Gauls with their darts, which it was no difficult matter to accomplish, because the Barbarians had no other defence than that of their _thureoi_. At the same time, they easily avoided the Gauls, when they were pursued by them; and, when the Gauls abandoned the pursuit, again eagerly attacked them. Indeed, the Callienses, though the injuries which they sustained from the Gauls were so great, that what Homer asserts of the Laestrygons and Cyclops ought not to be reckoned fabulous, were, at the same time, justly revenged on their enemies. For out of that great multitude of Gauls, which amounted to forty thousand eight hundred men, scarcely the half escaped to the camps at Thermopylae.

But the transactions of the Greeks at Thermopylae, at the same time, were as follow: There are two paths through the mountain Oeta: one of these, which is above Trachis, is very craggy and steep; but the other, which is through Ænianæ, may be easily passed by foot soldiers. It was through this that the Mede Hydarnes once led his forces, and came behind the Greeks that were commanded by Leonidas. They understood that the Heracleotæ and Ænianæ were leading Brennus through this path, not from any malevolence to the Greeks, but in consequence of being convinced that it would be a great undertaking if they could induce the Barbarians
to leave their country before it was ruined. Hence Pinder appears to me to have spoken truly, when he says, that every one feels the weight of his own calamities, but is not affected with the sufferings of others. At that time, therefore, the promise of the Ænianæ and Heracleotæ roused the courage of Brennus, who, leaving Acichorius in his camps, and informing him that it would be proper for him to attack the enemy when he was certain that he was assaulting them behind with a chosen band of forty thousand men, marched through the mountain Oeta. It happened, however, on that day, that the mountain was covered with such a thick mist, that the sun was darkened, so that the Phocenses, who guarded that passage of the mountain, did not perceive the Barbarians till they were quite near them. Hence some began to engage the Gauls, and others strenuously sustained their attacks; but being at length vanquished, they were compelled to abandon their post. With great celerity, therefore, before Greece was entirely surrounded by the Gauls, they returned to their allies, and informed them of the impending danger. The Athenians immediately, on this information, received into their galleys the Grecian forces at Thermopylæ, who afterwards returned to their respective countries.

CHAPTER XXIII.

But Brennus, waiting no longer than till Acichorius with his forces came from the camp, marched, as soon as he joined him, to Delphos. The inhabitants, on this occasion, fled to the oracle: and the god ordered them to lay aside their fear, and promised them that he would defend his own. The Grecian cities that fought on this occasion, in order to take vengeance on the enemies of the god, were these: The Phocenses from all their cities; four hundred heavy-armed
soldiers from Amphissa. From the Ætolians a few only assembled at first, when they were told of the march of the Barbarians, but afterwards Philomelus led one thousand two hundred. Of the Ætolians, such as were the most vigorous turned themselves to the army of Acichorius. They did not, however, come to any engagement with the Gauls, but molested the rear of their army, as they were marching, plundered their baggage, and slew those that defended it. And by this means the march of the Barbarians was impeded. But Acichorius left a part of his forces at Heraclea, for the purpose of defending the riches in his camp. The army of Bremus, therefore, was opposed by the Greeks that assembled together at Delphos. And the god at this time showed that he was adverse to the Barbarians, by prodigies the most conspicuous of any that we are acquainted with. For all that part of the earth which was occupied by the army of the Gauls, was violently shaken for the greater part of the day, and this was accompanied with continued thunder and lightning. The Gauls, in consequence of this, were greatly terrified, and rendered incapable of hearing the orders of their commanders. The lightning, too, that destroyed any individual, burnt, at the same time, those that were near him, together with their arms. Besides all this, the spectres of heroes were then seen—Hyperochus, Laodocus, and Pyrrhus; and the fourth of these, according to the Delphi, was Phylacus, who was a native of their city.

In this engagement, however, many of the Phocenses fell, and among these Aleximachus, who, in the vigour of his age, the strength of his body, and the ardour of his zeal, surpassed all the Greeks. The Phocenses, afterwards, sent his image to Apollo at Delphos. And such was the terror and slaughter to which the Gauls were exposed in the daytime; but during the night they suffered still more severely. For the weather was vehemently cold, and this was accompanied with snow. Large stones, too, and fragments of
rocks, torn from Parnassus, fell on the Barbarians, as the destined mark at which they aimed. Nor was it only one or two that died by this means; but thirty, or still more, as they stood upon guard, or slept in the same place, were at once dashed in pieces by the falling rocks. As soon as it was day, too, the Greeks poured out of Delphos; and of these some marched in a direct line to the army of the enemy; but the Phocenses, as being better acquainted with the nature of the place, descended through the snow down the precipices of Parnassus, and, attacking the Gauls behind, pierced the Barbarians with their darts and arrows in perfect security. But, when the two armies began to engage, the soldiers about Brennus, as they were the tallest and strongest of the Gauls, vigorously resisted the Greeks: and, though darts were hurled at them on all sides, and they suffered greatly by the cold, especially such as were wounded, yet they stood their ground till Brennus, through some wounds which he had received, was carried out of the battle on the point of expiring. For then the Barbarians, being pressed on every side by the Greeks, were forced unwillingly to retreat, and slew those of their own party, who, through the wounds and weakness of their bodies, were unable to follow them.

The Gauls, too, were obliged to fix their camps in that place where the night came upon them during their flight: and in the night they were seized with a panic terror. For dread, which is produced from no apparent cause, is said to be sent by Pan. This terror seized the army of the Barbarians about midnight: and, at first, a few of them were agitated with such irrational fear, that they seemed, to themselves, to hear the sound of horses advancing towards them, and to perceive the approach of the enemy. Not long after, the whole army was infected with the same stupid fear. In consequence of this they hastily took up their arms; and a disagreement arising among them, they mutually slew each
OF GREECE.

...other: through the darkness of the night and their insane terror; neither understanding their native language, nor recognising the countenances of each other, nor the figure of their shields; but each party fancied that the troops which it opposed were Greeks, and that the arms which they saw, and the voices which they heard, were Grecian. And this insanity, which was sent by divinity, caused a great multitude of the Gauls to slaughter each other. This massacre, too, was first of all perceived by those Phocenses who were left in the fields to guard the cattle; and the Greeks were informed by these of what had happened to the Barbarians in the night. The courage of the Phocenses, therefore, being roused by this intelligence, they rushed with greater alacrity on the Gauls, placed a stronger guard over their cattle, and were careful that no provision should be taken from their fields without an engagement ensuing. In consequence of this, the whole army of the Gauls laboured under an extreme want of corn, and every kind of nutriment.

But the multitude of the Gauls that died in Phocis, in battle, was not much less than six thousand: those that were destroyed by cold in the night, and afterwards by panic terror, were more than ten thousand; and a like number perished by famine. And this information respecting the Gauls was obtained by means of men who were sent by the Athenians to consult the Delphic oracle. The Boeotians, likewise, joined themselves to those Athenians who, having moved their camps, marched through Boeotia: and both these following the Barbarians, perpetually cut off, by stratagem, those that were in the rear of their army. The forces of Acichorius were not able to join those that fled with Brennus till the night preceding their flight. For the Ætolians, by continually infesting them with their darts, and every kind of missive weapon that came to hand, rendered their march slow; and hence no great multitude of them escaped to the camp near Heraclea. With respect
to Brennus, there was reason to hope that he would not die of his wound: but they say, that through fear of his fellow citizens, and still more through shame that he had been the cause of the Gauls suffering such calamities in Greece, he voluntarily destroyed himself by drinking pure wine. After his death, the Barbarians with great difficulty reached the river Sperchius, in consequence of the violent manner in which they were attacked by the Ætolians. And when they arrived at the Sperchius, the Thessalians and Malienses made such a slaughter of them, that not one was left to return home. This war of the Gauls against the Greeks, and the destruction of them which ensued in consequence of it, happened when Anaxicerates was the Athenian archon, and in the second year of the one hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad, in which Ladas Ægiensis conquered in the stadium. But in the following year, in which Democtes was the Athenian archon, the Gauls again passed over into Asia. And such is the genuine account of the particulars of this war.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In the vestibule of the Delphic temple precepts useful to the conduct of human life are written. These were composed by men who are called wise by the Greeks, viz. from Ionia, by Thales the Milesian, and Bias Prienensis: from the Æolians in Lesbos, Pittacus the Mitylenean: from the Dorians in Asia, Cleobulus the Lindian: besides these, Solon the Athenian, and Chilon the Spartan: and for the seventh, Myson the Chenean enumerates Plato the son of Ariston, instead of Periander the son of Cypselus. Formerly the village Chene, in the mountain Oeta, was inhabited. These wise men, therefore, coming to Delphoe, dedicated to Apollo those celebrated sentences, *Know thyself*, and *Nothing*
immoderately: and these sentences they wrote in the vestibule of the temple. You may see too here a brazen statue of Homer on a pillar; and on it the following oracle of Apollo respecting Homer is inscribed: "Blessed and unfortunate; for thou art born to each of these. Inquire after thy country; for thou hast a maternal, but not a paternal land. The island Ios is thy mother's country, which shall receive thee when dead. But guard against the enigma of boys." The Ietae, too, show the sepulchre of Homer in the island, and in a separate place the tomb of Clymene, who, they say, was the mother of Homer. The Cyprians, however, for they contend that Homer was born among them, say that his mother was Themisto, a native of their country: but Euclus thus prophesies concerning his origin: "Then in the sea-girt Cyprus a mighty poet shall arise, whom the divine Themisto shall bring forth in the wealthy fields of Salamis. But he, departing from Cyprus, and sailing on the deep, shall sing the first of all men the calamities of spacious Greece, and shall be himself immortal, and free from the depredations of age."

This account of Homer I have given in consequence of what I have heard from others, and from what I have read in oracles: for I have written nothing which is the result of my own opinion, either concerning his country or age. In the temple itself there is an altar of Neptune, because the most ancient oracle was the property of this god. There are likewise two statues of the Parcae; but Jupiter Moiragetes, or the leader of the Fates, is dedicated instead of the third of the Parcae. Apollo Moiragetes, too, stands near them. You may also see here a hearth, upon which the priest of Apollo slew Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, of whose death I have elsewhere made mention. Not far from hence there is a throne of Pindar, upon which, they say, Pindar sat whenever he came to Delphos, and sang the verses which he composed in honour of Apollo. In the
most inward part of the temple, into which but few are admitted, there is another golden statue of Apollo. On leaving the temple, and turning to the left hand, you will see an inclosure, which contains the tomb of Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, to whom the Delphi perform funeral sacrifices every year. On ascending from this monument, you will see a stone of a moderate size. This they anoint with oil every day, and during every festival cover it with new shorn wool. They are of opinion respecting this stone, that it was given to Saturn as a substitute for the infant Jupiter, and that he afterwards threw it up by a vomit. On leaving this stone, and directing your course as if back again to the temple, you will see a fountain which is called Cassotis. There is a wall of a moderate size before it; and through the wall there is a passage of ascent to the fountain. They say, that the water of this fountain merges itself in the earth, and causes the women in the adytum of the god to possess prophetic powers. They add, that the fountain was denominated from one of the nymphs about Parnassus.

CHAPTER XXV.

Beyond the fountain Cassotis there is a building which contains the pictures of Polygnotus, which were dedicated by the Gnidian. The Delphi call this building Lesche; because formerly men used to discuss serious and trifling affairs in it. Homer, in the abusive speech of Melanthio to Ulysses, evinces that there were many such places in every part of Greece:

"Hence to the Lesche, from the midnight air,
Or some black forge the vagrant's haunt repair."

On entering this building, you will see on the left hand of the wall the subversion of Troy, and the Greeks sailing to
their native land. Menelaus, too, is represented on board his ship preparing to depart from Troy: and in the ship, boys and men are seen standing together. In the middle of the ship the pilot Phrontis is represented distributing the kontoi, or bargemen's poles. Homer, indeed, among other things which he makes Nestor say to Telemachus, represents him asserting of Phrontis, that he was the son of Onestor, that he was the pilot of Menelaus, that he was most skilful in his art, and that he died when they had sailed beyond the promontory Sunium in the Attic land. Nestor, too, relates, that Menelaus sailed with him to that place; and that he stayed there till they had raised a tomb, and performed such funeral honours as are usually paid to the dead. Menelaus, therefore, is painted in this picture. Beneath him Ithemenes is painted, carrying a certain garment, together with Echocax descending by a naval ladder to the sea with a brazen urn. Polites, Strophius, and Alphius are represented taking down the tent of Menelaus, which is not far from the ship; and Amphialus is seen taking down another tent.

A boy sits at the feet of Amphialus; but there is no inscription on him. Phrontis is the only person in this group that has a beard; and Polygnatus learnt his name alone from the Odyssey; for it appears to me, that the other names are his own invention. Briseis, too, is represented in this picture; above her stands Diomed, and near both of them Iphis; and they are in the attitude of persons admiring the form of Helen. Helen herself is seated; and near her stands Eurybates, who, as we may conjecture, was the herald of Ulysses. He is, however, without a beard. There are besides two maid servants, Electra and Panthalia, the latter of whom stands by Helen, and the former is represented fastening the shoes of her mistress. These names, too, are different from those which are adopted by Homer in the Iliad, where he describes Helen and her maids on the
walls of Troy. A man clothed in purple, and extremely sorrowful, sits above Helen: and before you read the inscription, you may easily conjecture that this is Helenus. Near Helenus, Meges stands. His arm is wounded, agreeably to the account given of him by Lescheus Pyrrhus, the son of Aeschylenus, in his poem on the destruction of Troy. This Lescheus informs us, that he was wounded by the Argive Admetus in that battle which the Trojans fought in the night. Lycomedes, the son of Creon, stands near Meges:—He is represented wounded in the wrist: and according to Lescheus, he received this wound from Agenor. It is evident, therefore, that Polygnotus would not have painted him in this manner, unless he had read the poetical compositions of Lescheus. Lycomedes likewise received two wounds besides this, one in the foot, and the other in the head: and these Polygnotus has represented in the picture. Eurýalus, too, the son of Mecisteus, appears with two wounds, one in the head, and the other in the wrist. All these are above Helen in the picture. After Helen, Æthra the mother of Theseus is painted, with her hair shaved off to her skin; together with Demophon the son of Theseus, who is represented considering whether it is possible for him to save Æthra. The Argives say, that Melanippus was the son of Theseus by the daughter of Synnis, and that he conquered in the race, when those who are called the Epigonoi established the second Nemean games after Adrastus.

Lescheus relates in his verses, that when Troy was taken, Æthra escaped, and came to the camps of the Greeks; that she was there known by the sons of Theseus, and that Demophon requested her in marriage of Agamemnon. That he indeed was willing to gratify Demophon, but that he said he would not accomplish their desires, till he had gained the consent of Helen. A herald, therefore, being sent to Helen, found her disposed to the match. Hence, in the picture, Eurýbates appears addressing Helen on account
OF GREECE. 155

of Aethra, and delivering to her the message of Agamemnon.

Tragedy women, too, are represented in this picture, in the
habit of mourning captives. The first of these is Andromache with an infant at her breast. Lescheus says, that this
infant was thrown from a tower, not indeed by the decree
of the Greeks, but through the private hatred of Neoptolemus, who ordered him to be put to death. Medesicaste
likewise is painted here, who was one of the bastard daugh-
ters of Priam, who, according to Homer, dwelt in the city
Pedaeum, and was married to Imbrius the son of Mentor.
Andromache and Medesicaste are veiled: but Polyxena is
painted with her hair platted after the manner of virgins.—
Poets sing, and the pictures which I have seen at Athens,
and Pergamus, which is a city above Caicus, in which the
calamities of Polyxena are painted, evince, that she was
slain at the tomb of Achilles. Polygnotus, too, has painted
in the same picture, Nestor with a hat on his head, and a
spear in his hand. A horse rolling in the dust is seen near
him. The ground on which the horse lies is the sea-shore:
and the pebbles on the shore are represented. The re-
mainning part of the ground does not appear to resemble
the sea shore.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Above those women which are between Aethra and Nes-
tor other captives are painted, viz. Clymene, Creusa, Aris-
tomache, and Xenodiea. Stesichorus, in his poem on the
destruction of Troy, ranks Clymene among the captives.
In a similar manner the poet Ennius says, that Aristomache
was the daughter of Priam, and that she was married to
Critolaus the son of Icetaon. But I do not know of any
poet, or prose writer, that makes mention of Xenodiea. It
THE DESCRIPTION

is said of Creusa, that she was taken from the Greeks, and
restored to liberty by the mother of the Gods and Venus,
and that she was the wife of Æneas. Lescheus, however,
and the author of the Cyprian verses, say that Eurydice was
the wife of Æneas. Above these Deinomoe, Metioche, Piais,
and Cleodice are painted reclining on a bed. The name of
one of these only is mentioned in the poem called the small
Iliad: and it appears to me, that Polygnotus, invented the
other names. Here, too, Epeus is painted, throwing down the
walls of Troy from their foundations. And the only thing
above these is the head of the horse Durateus. Polypoetes,
likewise, the son of Pirithous, is painted, having his head
bound with a fillet. Acamas the son of Theseus stands by
him with a helmet on his head, and a crest on the helmet.
Ulysses, too, is present, and is invested with a coat of mail.
Ajax the son of Oileus approaches with a shield to the altar,
in order to swear before he offers violence to Cassandra. But
Cassandra sits on the ground, holding the wooden image of
Minerva, which she tore from its basis, when Ajax drew her
from her supplications at the altar. The sons of Atreus
likewise are painted with helmets on their heads. But on
the shield of Menelaus there is a dragon, viz. the one that
appeared as an omen during the sacrifice at Aulis. These
administer the oath to Ajax. Opposite to the horse, Neopto-
lemus is beheld near Nestor, slaying Elassus. This Elass-
sus, whoever he was, resembles a man nearly expiring.
Neoptollemus too strikes with his sword Astynous, who has
fallen on his knees, and who is mentioned by Lescheus.
Polygnotus, indeed, is the only one of the Greeks that has
represented Neoptollemus still continuing to slay the Trojans;
and his design in this was, that the whole picture might
correspond to the tomb of Neoptollemus. Homer, indeed,
every where calls Neoptollemus the son of Achilles; but the
Cyprian verses testify, that he was called Pyrrhus by Ly-
comedes, and that the name of Neoptollemus was given to
OF GREECE.

him by Phoenix, because Achilles was very young when he first engaged in war.

An altar, too, is painted here, and a little boy embracing the altar through fear. On the altar there is a brazen coat of mail. At present the shape of such coats of mail as this is very rare: but they were used in former times. In this coat of mail there are two pieces of brass, one of which serves to fasten it to the breast, and the parts about the belly, and the other defends the back: the anterior part of this coat of mail they call guatlon, and the hinder part prosegon. It appears, too, to be a sufficient defence for the body without a shield. On this account, Homer represents the Phrygian Phorcys fighting without a shield, because he used a guatotherax, or hollow coat of mail. I beheld the image of this coat of mail in the picture of Polygnotus. And in the temple of Ephesian Diana, Calliphon the Samian has painted certain women adapting the hollow parts of a coat of mail to Patroclus. Polygnotus likewise has painted in this picture Laodice standing beyond the altar. I do not know of any poet that has mentioned her among the Trojan captives; and it appears to me very probable that she was dismissed by the Greeks. Homer, indeed, in the Iliad, evinces that Menelaus and Ulysses were entertained by Antenor, and that Laodice was married to Helicaon the son of Antenor. Lescheus asserts, that Helicaon being wounded in the nocturnal engagement, was known by Ulysses, and freed from the danger of the fight. It may, therefore, be easily believed, that neither Agamemnon nor Menelaus would act in an hostile manner towards the wife of Helicaon. However, Eupherion Chalcidensis asserts things respecting Laodice, which are utterly void of probability. After Laodice there is a stone prop, on which there is a brazen laver. Medusa sits on the ground, holding this prop with both her hands. Any one may rank Medusa among the daughters of Priam, who has read the ode of Himereus. Near Medusa there is an old woman with her hair shaven to the skin;
THE DESCRIPTION

or perhaps this may be an eunuch. She holds a naked infant on her knees: and the infant is represented holding his hand before his eyes, through fear.

CHAPTER XXVII.

With respect to the dead bodies in the picture, one of them is Pelis, who is naked, and is thrown on his side. Beneath him Eioneus and Admetus lie, having on their coats of mail. Lescheus informs us, that Eioneus was slain by Neoptolemus, and Admetus by Philoctetes. Above these there are other dead bodies. Under the laver Leocritus the son of Polydamas lies, who was slain by Ulysses. Above Eioneus and Admetus is Corœbus the son of Mygdon. There is a noble monument of this Mygdon in the borders of the Ectorean Phrygians: and from him poets denominate the Phrygians, Mygdonians. Corœbus came to the wedding of Cassandra; and, according to general report, was slain by Neoptolemus. Lescheus says, that he was slain by Diomed. Above Corœbus are Priam, Axion, and Agenor. Lescheus informs us, that Priam was not slain at the altar of Hercean Jupiter, but being dragged from the altar was beheaded by Neoptolemus, when he met him before the doors of the palace. With respect to Hecuba, Ste-sichorus, in his poem on the destruction of Troy, says that she was transported by Apollo to Lycia. But Lescheus says, that Axion was the son of Priam, and that he was slain by Eurypylus the son of Euæmon. The same poet, too, asserts that Neoptolemus slew Agenor. And hence it appears, that Echeclus the son of Agenor was slain by Achilles, and Agenor himself by Neoptolemus. Sinon the companion of Ulysses and Anchialus are carrying out the dead body of Laomedon. Another dead body is painted here, whose name is Eresus. I do not know of any poet
that has mentioned Eresus and Laomedon in his verses. Here too the house of Antenor is represented; and over the vestibule of it the skin of a leopard is suspended. This was hung up as a signal to the Greeks, that they should not injure the house of Antenor. Thesano likewise is painted with her sons. One of these, Glaucus, sits on a coat of mail joined together with hollow parts; and Eurymachus sits on a stone. Near him stands Antenor, and after him follows Crino the daughter of Antenor. She holds in her arms an infant boy. All these are painted with sorrowful countenances. Servants are placing a chest and other furniture on an ass; and a little boy sits on the ass. In this part of the picture there is the following elegy of Simonides:

The artist Polygnotus, for his sire
Who claims Aglaophon, in Thasus born,
Painted the captured tower of Troy.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The other part of the picture, which is on the left hand, represents Ulysses descending to Hades, that he may consult the soul of Tiresias about his safe return to his native country. The particulars of the painting are as follow:—A river presents itself to the view, which is evidently Acheron. Reeds are seen in this river, and fishes whose forms are so obscure that you might conjecture they were rather shadows than fishes. There is a ship, too, in this river, and a ferryman standing by its oars. Polygnotus, as it appears to me, in this part of the picture had an eye to the poem called Minyas, in which there are the following verses upon Theseus and Pirithous:

"Old Charon in his vessel fill'd with shades
Refused these living heroes to admit."
Hence Polygnotus has represented Charon as an old man. The person in this vessel cannot be very clearly discerned. However, Tellis, who is very young, is among these, and Cleoboea as yet a virgin. On her knees she supports a cista, or chest, resembling such as are used in the solemn festivals of Ceres. With respect to Tellis, I have only heard thus much, that the poet Archilochus was his great grandson. They say that Cleoboea was the first that brought the mysteries of Ceres from the island Paros to Thasus. On the banks of Acheron, an affair is represented, which deserves to be particularly noticed. A little below Charon, a son who had behaved unjustly to his father, is strangled by his father. For the ancients very much reverenced their parents, as may be inferred from other examples, and from the actions of those in Catana, who are called the pious. For when this city was set on fire by mount Ætna, these paid no attention to the preservation of their silver and gold, but one of them took up his father in his arms, and the other his mother, and fled with them out of the city. Through the rapid fury, however, of the fire, they found great difficulty in making their escape; yet notwithstanding this, they did not leave their parents, but passed through the stream of fire, which, as they say, separated itself into two parts, and neither injured them nor their parents. These youths are even at present honoured by the Catanaeans.

In this picture of Polygnotus, near the man who injured his father, and is on this account punished in Hades, there is a man suffering punishment for sacrilege. A woman well acquainted with poisons, and other instruments of punishment, is represented tormenting him. Men therefore at that time were remarkably pious towards the gods: and this the Athenians evinced when they took the temple of Olympian Jupiter among the Syracusans; for they did not move any of the sacred offerings, and suffered the Syracusean priest who guarded the offerings, still to continue his office. This, too, the Mede Date evinced: for having found a statue of
OF GREECE.

Apollo in a Phœnician ship, he immediately gave it to the Tanagreans to be carried back to Delium. So that at that time all men venerated a divine nature; and Polygnotus well knowing this, painted the man suffering in Hades for sacrilege. Above those which we have now enumerated is Eurynomus, who, according to the Delphic interpreters of sacred concerns, is one of the daemons belonging to Hades, and who eats the flesh of dead bodies, so as to leave the bones quite bare. However, neither Homer in the Odyssey, nor the poetical composition which is called Minyæ, nor the verses which are denominated Nostoi, or the Return (for in these there is an account of Hades and its terrors), make any mention of the daemon Eurynomus. I shall therefore describe the figure of Eurynomus as he appears in this picture. His colour is between azure and black, and is like that of flies which infest meat. He shows his teeth, and sits on the skin of a vulture. Auge and Iphimedea from Arcadia present themselves to the view after Eurynomus. Auge came to Mysia, which is near Teuthras, and is said to have brought forth a son the most like his father, of all the women with which Hercules was connected. But the Carians in Mylessæ pay great honours to Iphimedea.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Above those which I have now enumerated, this picture contains a representation of the companions of Ulysses, Perimedes and Eurynochus, carrying victims: and these are black rams. After these there is a man seated; and the inscription shows that he is Ocnus. He is represented twisting a rope: and a female ass stands by him, who eats the rope as fast as he twists it. They say that this Ocnus was an industrious man, who had an expensive wife; and that

VOL. III.
THE DESCRIPTION

whatever he collected by his industry, she soon after found means to consume. They are of opinion, therefore, that Pol
ygnootus designed to represent this affair by the rope-maker and his ass. I know, indeed, that the Ionians, when they see a man very industrious, but at the same time labouring without any emolument, say that he twists the rope of Oc
nus. Diviners, too, who prophesy from the flight of birds, call a certain bird Ocnus: and this bird is the largest and most beautiful of herons, and at the same time is very rare. Tityus too is painted in this picture; and is represented as no longer punished, but perfectly wearied out with uninter-
rupited punishment. There is likewise a certain obscure and imperfect image. On turning your attention to the other parts of the picture, you will see Ariadne very near the man who twists the rope. She sits on a rock, and looks at her sister Phaedra: and her body is suspended by a rope which she holds with both her hands. Indeed the particu-
lar respecting the death of Phaedra are here signified in a more becoming manner. But Bacchus took away Ariadne from Theseus, either through the interference of some divine power, or by stratagem, as his naval forces were much su-
uperior to those of Theseus. This Bacchus, too, in my opinion, was the same with the one who first led an army to the Indies, and first raised bridges over the Euphrates, in that part of the city which is called Zeugma, and where even at present a rope is preserved, made of vine and ivy twigs, which Bacchus is said to have used when he built the bridges. Many things, indeed, are reported concerning Bacchus, both by the Greeks and Egyptians.

Under Phaedra Chloris reclines on the knees of Thyia. He who asserts that a great friendship subsisted between these women, while living, will certainly not err. This Chloris was a native of Orchomenus in Boeotia: and it is said by some that she married Neleus the son of Neptune, at that time when Neptune had connexion with Thyia. Pro-
OF GREECE.

cria the daughter of Erechtheus stands near Thyia: and after her you may see Clymene, with her back towards Thyia. In the poem called Nostoi, it is said that Clymene was the daughter of Minyas, and that she was married to Cephalus the son of Deion, by whom she had Iphiclus. Of Procris it is universally said, that before Clymene she was married to Cephalus, and that she was slain by her husband. In the more interior part of the picture, after Clymene you may see the Theban Megara, who was the wife of Hercules. She was, however, at length dismissed by Hercules, in consequence of his being deprived of all the children which he had by her, and believing that his connexion with her was inauspicious. Above the heads of those women we have just mentioned, is the daughter of Salmoneus, sitting on a stone. Eriphyle stands near her, and raises the extremities of her fingers through her garment to her neck. You may conjecture, that she holds a necklace in that hand which is concealed in the folds of the garment. Elpenor is represented above Eriphyle and Ulysses kneeling, and holding a sword over a ditch. The prophet Tiresias approaches to the ditch: and after Tiresias, Anticlea the mother of Ulysses is seen sitting on a stone. Elpenor is covered with a mat made of bulrushes, after the manner of sailors, instead of a garment. Theseus and Pirithous sit on a throne below Ulysses: and of these Theseus holds the sword of Pirithous, and his own sword, in both his hands; but Pirithous looks at the swords, and seems to be indignant that he has no weapons to accomplish his daring enterprise. Panyasis asserts in his verses, that Theseus and Pirithous were not bound to the throne like captives, but that a stone grew to their skin, and served instead of bonds. Homer in both his poems mentions the celebrated friendship of Theseus and Pirithous. For Ulysses thus speaks to the Phaeacians:

"Th' illustrious Theseus' and Pirithous' shades,
Famed sons of gods, I then perhaps had seen."

m 2
And in the Iliad, Nestor, when he exhorts Agamemnon and
Achilles to lay aside their enmity, thus speaks:

"A godlike race of heroes once I knew,
Such as no more these aged eyes shall view!
Lives there a chief to match Pirithous' fame,
Dryas the bold, or Ceneus' deathless name;
Theseus endued with more than mortal might,
Or Polyphemus like the gods in fight?"

CHAPTER XXX.

After these, Polygnotus has painted the daughters of
Pandarus. Homer, in the speeches of Penelope, says, that,
through the anger of the gods, their parents died while they
were virgins, and that thus becoming orphans, they were
educated by Venus. That they likewise received other
benefits from other goddesses; as, for instance, sufficient
prudence and beauty of form from Juno; tallness from
Diana; and such works as are adapted to the female sex
from Minerva. Lastly, that Venus ascended to heaven,
and obtained from Jupiter prosperous nuptials for the vir-
gins; but that, during the absence of Venus, they were
seized by the Harpies, and delivered up to the Furies.
And such is the account given of them by Homer. But
Polygnotus has crowned them with flowers, and has re-
presented them playing with dice. The names of these
women were Camiro and Clytie. It appears, too, that their
father, Pandarus, was a Milesian, from Miletus, a Cretan
city, and the associate of Tantalus, both in his theft and
fraudulent oath. After the daughters of Pandarus, An-
tilochus is seen, with one of his feet on a stone, and holding
his head with both his hands. Agamemnon succeeds An-
tilochus; and he is represented leaning with his left arm on
a sceptre, and holding a wand in his hands. Protesilaus
OF GREECE.

sits looking at Achilles; and Patroclus stands above Achilles. All these are beardless, except Agamemnon. Phocus is painted above these, who appears to be quite a youth; together with Iascus, who has a beard, and is endeavouring to take off a ring from the left hand finger of Phocus; and this for the following reason:

When Phocus, the son of Æacus, passed over from Ægina to that country which is now called Phocis, and obtained the government of that part of the continent, Iascus contracted a great friendship with him, and gave him things suitable to his dignity, and a stone seal set in gold. But Phocus, not long after this, returning to Ægina, lost his life through the stratagems of Peleus. On this account, therefore, in the picture, Iascus is desirous that the seal may be considered as a monument of his friendship; and Phocus very readily suffers him to take it off his finger, that he may prove his friendship by showing it. Above these is Mæra, sitting on a stone. In the poem called Nostoi, it is said, that she died while she was a virgin; and that she was the daughter of Proetus, who was the son of Thersander, and the grandson of Sisyphus. After Mæra, you will see Actaeon, the son of Aristaeus, and his mother, holding the fawn of a hind in her hands, and sitting on the skin of a hind. A hunting dog stands near her; and this on account of the life of Actaeon, and the manner of his death. If, again, you look to the lower parts of the picture, you will see, after Patroclus, Orpheus sitting on a certain hill, with a harp in his left hand, and, in his right hand, the leaves of a willow-tree. He is represented leaning on the trunk of this tree. The grove itself appears to be sacred to Proserpine, and abounds, as Homer represents it, with poplars and willows. The figure of Orpheus is Grecian; and neither his garment, nor the covering on his head, is Thracian. Promedon leans on the other part of the willow.

Some are of opinion, that this name was introduced by
Polygnotus, as if he had found it in some poem. Others, again, say, that Promedon was a Grecian, who was very desirous of hearing all kinds of music, and particularly that of Orpheus. In this part of the picture, too, is Schedius, who led the Phocenses to Troy: and after him is Pelias sitting on a throne, and whose beard is equally hoary with his head. He is represented looking at Orpheus. But Schedius holds a dagger in his hand, and is crowned with grass. Thamyris, whose sight is destroyed, sits near Pelias. His whole figure is that of a humble, abject man; his hair, too, and beard are thick and long. Near his feet there is a lyre, which appears to have been thrown down, the bent parts of which are broken, and the chords are burst. Above him is Marsyas, sitting on a stone; and near Marsyas, Olympus stands, who is a boy in the flower of his youth, and has the figure of one learning to play on the pipe. The Phrygians, who inhabit Celene, are of opinion that the river which runs through their country was once this Marsyas. They add, that Marsyas invented that melody of the pipe which the Greeks call Metroos, or harmony sacred to the mother of the gods; and that he assisted them when they were attacked by the Gauls, both by means of the water of the river Marsyas, and the melody of his pipes.

CHAPTER XXXI.

If you again look to the upper parts of the picture, you will see, in a continued series, Salaminian Ajax next to Actæon, and, afterwards, Palamedes and Thersites playing with dice, which were invented by Palamedes. The other Ajax is looking at them while they are playing. The colour of this Ajax is that of a seafaring man; and his body is yet wet with the foam of the sea. Polygnotus seems to
have collected the enemies of Ulysses into one place. But
the reason why Ajax, the son of Oileus, hated Ulysses, was
because Ulysses advised the Greeks to stone Ajax to death
for the daring wickedness of his conduct towards Cassandra.
I know, too, from the Cyprian verses, that Palamedes, when
he once went a fishing, was drowned by Ulysses and Diomed.
A little above Oilean Ajax, Meleager, the son of Oeneus, is
painted, and appears to be looking at Ajax. All these,
except Palamedes, have beards. With respect to the death
of Meleager, Homer informs us, that he was destroyed by
one of the Furies, through the imprecations of Althæa. But
the poem called the great Eocæ, and likewise the verses
which are denominated Minyas, say, that the Curetes were
assisted by Apollo against the Ætolians, and that Meleager
was slain by Apollo. With respect to the firebrand, too, as
that it was given by the Fates to Althæa, that Meleager
would necessarily die when it was consumed by fire, and
that Althæa, in a fit of anger, burnt it; these particulars
were first of all described by Phrynichus, the son of Poly-
phradmon, in the drama Pleuron:

"Destined to a horrid fate
Through his vengeful mother's hate;
Through her machinations dire,
He was pierced to death by fire,
By a brand's devouring flame,
Kindled by the fraudulent dame."

However, Phrynichus does not say much respecting this
affair, which it might be supposed he would have done, if it
had been his own invention. And hence it appears to me,
that he just mentions this circumstance as a thing well known
to all Greece. In the lowest parts of the picture, after the
Thracian Thamyris, you will see Hector sitting with both
his hands on his left knee, and exhibiting the appearance of
a man oppressed with sorrow. After him is Memnon sitting
on a stone; and close by him is Sarpedon, leaning with his
face on both his hands. But one of the hands of Memnon is placed on the shoulder of Sarpedon. And all these have a beard. In the robe of Memnon, too, birds are painted: and these birds are called Memnonides. The inhabitants of Hellespont say, that these birds, on stated days every year, fly to the sepulchre of Memnon, and dig up every part about the tomb that is void of trees and grass, and afterwards sprinkle such parts with their wings, which are wet with the water of the river Æsepus. Near Memnon there is a naked Æthiopian boy, because Memnon was a king of the Æthiopians. However, he came to the Trojan war, not from Æthiopia, but from Susa, a Persian city, and the river Choaspes; having vanquished all those nations which are situated between Susa and the Choaspes. The Phrygians, too, even at present, show a road through which he led his army at that time when he was selecting the shortest passages. This road is cut through desert places. Above Sarpedon and Memnon, Paris is painted, as yet a beardless youth. He is represented clapping his hands, after the manner of rustics; and you may conjecture, that by this clapping he calls Penthesilea. Penthesilea, too, is looking at Paris; and, by her countenance, she appears to despise him, and to consider him as a man of no estimation. But the figure of Penthesilea is that of a virgin, with a bow, like those in Scythia, and with the skin of a leopard thrown about her shoulders.

Above Penthesilea, there are certain persons carrying water in earthen urns full of holes. One of these resembles a virgin in the flower of her youth, but the other appears to be more advanced in age. There is no inscription on each of these women; but a common inscription on them shows that they are of the number of the uninitiated. The women that are above these are Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, Nomia, and Pero, the daughter of Neleus. For this last, Neleus demands an ox of Iphiclus as a sposal gift. Callisto
has the hide of a bear for her bed-covering; and her feet are placed on the knees of Nomiá. I have before shown that, according to the Arcadians, Nomiá was one of the nymphs belonging to their country. According to poets, indeed, nymphs live a great number of years, but yet are not entirely exempt from death. After Callisto and the women that are with her, there is a representation of a precipice, to the summit of which Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, endeavours to roll a stone. In the same part of the picture there are a large vessel, an old man, a boy, and women sitting on a stone. One of these, of the same age with the old man, stands by him; but the others are carrying water. You may conjecture, that the old woman is pouring out the remains of the water from the perforated vessel into the large vessel again. It appears to me, that these persons despised the Eleusinian mysteries. For the more ancient Greeks considered these mysteries as much superior in dignity to all other institutions which lead to piety as gods are to heroes. Below this large vessel, Tantalus is represented suffering those punishments which are mentioned by Homer; and, besides these, he is terrified lest a stone, which hangs over his head, should fall on him. It is evident that Polygnotus followed Archilochus in this; but I cannot tell whether Archilochus was instructed in the particulars belonging to this stone by others. And so numerous are the figures, and such the elegance of the picture which the Thasian artist painted.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A THEATRE, which deserves to be inspected, joins to the inclosure of the temple. And, on ascending from the inclosure, you will see a statue of Bacchus, which was dedicated by the Cnidians. In the upper part, too, of the city there
THE DESCRIPTION

is a stadium, which is built of such stone as the mountain Parnassus abounds with; and this remained to the time of the Athenian Herodes, who adorned it with Pentelican stone. And such are the particulars of things remaining even at present at Delphos, and which deserve to be mentioned. On proceeding from Delphos to the summits of Parnassus, at the distance of about sixty stadia, you will see a brazen statue: and, for a man not heavily clothed, there is a road here, by which he may descend, either with a mule or a horse, to the cavern Corycium. This cavern was thus denominated from the nymph Corycia, as I have a little before shown. Of all the caverns that I have ever seen, I consider this as the most admirable. For, indeed, no one would wish to discover the number of caverns on maritime coasts, and in the profundities of the sea; but there are some of a great name, both in Greece and among the Barbarians. Thus the Phrygians, that dwell near the river Peucella, and who derive their origin from Arcadia and the Azanes, show those who travel to their country a cavern called Steunos. This cavern is round, and its altitude is accommodated to descent; and within it there is a temple of the mother of the gods, and a statue of the goddess. Themisonium is a city above Laodicea, and is inhabited by the Phrygians: and when the army of the Gauls spread all over Ionia and the neighbouring coasts, bringing with them destruction wherever they came, the Themisonians say, that Hercules, Apollo, and Mercury gave them assistance; and that the rulers of their country were admonished by these divinities, in a dream, to order the men, women, and children to conceal themselves in a cavern belonging to this city. In remembrance of this circumstance they have placed before the cavern statues, of a moderate size, of Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo: and these statues they call Spelaitai.

This cavern is about thirty stadia distant from the town; and in it there are fountains of water; but there is not any
path which leads to it, nor does the light of the sun penetrate far into it. And, besides this, the greatest part of the roof is very near the ground. Among the Magnetæ, too, who dwell near the river Letheus, there is a place called Hyle: and in it there is a cavern sacred to Apollo, which, for its magnitude, does not demand much admiration; but the statue of Apollo, within this cavern, is very ancient, and imparts strength in every undertaking. Hence men that are sacred to Apollo leap from precipices and lofty rocks without sustaining any injury; and, having torn up trees of a prodigious altitude by the roots, carry them with ease through the narrowest roads. The cavern Corycium, however, surpasses in magnitude those we have mentioned; and the greatest part of it may be descended into, and this without a light. The roof is sufficiently elevated above the ground; and the cavern contains many fountains of water; but a still greater quantity of water trickles from its top; so that the vestiges of drops of water may be seen throughout the cavern. The inhabitants of Parnassus are of opinion, that this cavern is particularly sacred to the Corycian nymphs, and to Pan. But from hence to the summits of Parnassus the road, to a man lightly clothed, is difficult. For the summits of this mountain are above the clouds; and the Thyiaides, agitated with divine fury, sacrifice on these summits to Bacchus and Apollo. Tithorea, too, is about eighty stadia distant from Delphos, to one who is travelling through Parnassus. The road is not entirely mountainous; but that part of it which may be passed through by carriages is said to be longer by some stadia. As to the name of the city, I know that Herodotus, in that part of his history in which he gives an account of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, differs from what is asserted in the oracles of Bacis. For Bacis calls these people Tithorenses; but Herodotus says, that when the Barbarians invaded this country, the inhabitants fled to the summit of
Parnassus; and he calls the city Neon, and the summit of Parnassus Tithorea. It appears, therefore, that all the country was at first called Tithorea; but that in process of time, when the inhabitants collected themselves into one city, that which was once called Neon came to be denominated Tithorea.

The natives say, that this name was derived from the nymph Tithorea, who was one of those nymphs that, according to the ancient poets, are produced from other trees, and particularly from oaks. But the affairs of the Tithoreans, one age prior to mine, were changed by the daemon to a worse condition. At present, however, the apparatus of a theatre, and the inclosure of a more ancient forum, remain. The particulars in the city, which mostly deserve to be mentioned, are a grove, temple, and statue of Minerva; and a monument in remembrance of Antiope and Phocus. In my account of the affairs of the Thebans, I mentioned the insanity of Antiope, through the anger of Bacchus, and on what account she became the victim of divine anger. I showed, too, in the same place, that she was married to Phocus, the son of Ornytion, and was buried with him: and, besides this, I indicated what the oracle of Bacis asserted, both concerning this sepulchre, and that of Zethus and Amphion among the Thebans. And such are the particulars which deserve to be mentioned in this town; for there are not any besides these. A river runs near the city of Tithorea; and the inhabitants of the city descend to its banks, and draw water from it. The name of the river is Cachales. The temple of Æsculapius is about eighty stadia distant from Tithorea: and they call this god Archigetas, or the primæval divinity. He is honoured by the Tithoreans, and by the rest of the Phocenses. Within the inclosure there are habitations for suppliants and the servants of the god: but in the middle of it there is a temple; and a stone statue, which has a beard, and is about two feet in
OF GREECE.

altitude. On the right hand of the statue there is a bed. They are of opinion that they ought to sacrifice all kinds of victims to the god, except goats. At the distance of about forty stadia from this temple of Æsculapius, there is an inclosure, and in it there is an adytum sacred to Isis. This is the most holy of every thing which the Greeks consecrate to this goddess. For the Tithoreans neither think it proper to take up their residence here, nor to suffer any to enter the adytum, except such as the goddess Isis informs them, by a dream, she thinks proper to admit. The subterranean gods, in the cities above the Mæander, act in just the same manner; for they exhibit in dreams the images of those persons who they are willing should be admitted into the adyta.

But the Tithoreans celebrate the Paneguris of Isis twice a year, viz. in spring and in autumn. And, on the third day prior to each of these public solemnities, those that are permitted to enter the adytum purify it after a certain secret manner; and always bring into the same place the relics of the victims which were sacrificed in the former solemnity, and bury them there. This place, where they bury the relics, is, as far as I can conjecture, about two stadia distant from the adytum. And these are the ceremonies which they perform on that day. On the following day, they erect pedlars' tents, from reeds and other materials which they happen to meet with. And, on the last of the three days, those who assemble in these tents sell slaves, and cattle of every kind, together with apparel, silver, and gold. After the middle of the day, too, they turn their attention to the sacrifice. And then the more affluent sacrifice oxen and stags; but the poorer sort geese, and the birds called Meleagrides. But they do not think proper to sacrifice swine; nor do they employ, on this occasion, sheep or goats. Such victims as they sacrifice they send into the adytum, where a funeral pile is raised for the sacrifice. They reckon it
necessary, too, to roll round the victims linen or flaxen bandages. And this is the Egyptian mode of adorning the victims. But they cause all the victims which are immolated to pass in the procession; and it is the employment of some to send them into the adytum, and of others, who are before the adytum, to burn the tents; after which, they speedily depart from this place.

They say, too, that a certain person once, among the number of those who are forbidden to enter the adytum, and who, indeed, was a profane man, when the pile was unkindled, through curiosity and boldness entered the adytum; that all parts of it appeared to him to be full of spectres; and that, on his returning to Tithorea, as soon as he had related all that he had seen, he died. I have heard things similar to these of a certain Phœnician. They say, that the Egyptians celebrate the festival of Isis in that part of the year in which she bewails Osiris; that then the Nile begins to ascend; and that the vulgar of the natives say, that the tears of Isis cause the Nile to increase and irrigate the fields." At that time, therefore, a certain Roman, who was the praefect of Egypt, persuaded a man, for a sum of money, to enter into the adytum of Isis in Coptos. This man returned, indeed, but died as soon as he had told what he had seen. Homer, therefore, appears to speak truly, when he says, that no man can clearly behold the gods, and, at the same time, be prosperous in his affairs. But Tithorea produces fewer olives than either the Attic or Sicyonian land. Its olives, however, are superior, both in colour and sweetness, to those which are brought from Spain and Istria. They form all various kinds of ointments from these, and send these olives as a present to Cæsar.
CHAPTER XXXIII.

But another road from Tithorea leads to Ledon. This was formerly reckoned a city; but at present the Ledontii have abandoned it, through the imbecility of their affairs, and about eighty of them reside near the Cephissus. However, the place of their residence is called Ledon; and they form a part of the Phocensian convention, just the same as the Panopenses. But from the place which is now inhabited near the Cephissus, to the ruins of the former city, there is a distance of forty stadia. They say, that the city was denominated from one of its natives. Other cities, too, besides this, have been irreparably injured through the unjust conduct of their inhabitants. Thus Troy was entirely destroyed through the base behaviour of Paris towards Menelaus. Thus the Milesians, through the intemperate desire of, and lawless love of Hestiaeus, lost their city, while he was at one time willing to reign in the city of Edonis, at another time to be the counsellor of Darius, and sometimes to return to Ionia. And thus the Ledontii severely suffered through the sacrilegious conduct of Philomelus. But Lilea is distant from Delphos about one winter day's journey; and you descend to it through Parnassus. I conjecture that the distance is about one hundred and eighty stadia. A second unfortunate circumstance, from Macedonia, oppressed this city after it was restored; for, being besieged by Demetrius, the inhabitants were obliged to accede to conditions of peace, and to admit a guard belonging to the enemy within their walls. Nor were they freed from this bondage till one of the natives, whose name was Patron, incited all those that were capable of bearing arms to rise; and, having vanquished the Macedonians, compelled them to abandon the city and accede to
the conditions which he proposed. And the Lilæans, in remembrance of so great a benefit, dedicated his statue at Delphos.

But in Lilaea there are a theatre, a forum, and a bath. There are, likewise, two temples, one of Apollo, and the other of Diana. The statues in these temples are in an upright position, were made by Attic artists, and are of Pentelican stone. They say, that Lilaea was one of the Naiades; that she was the daughter of Cephissus; and that from her the city was denominated. The fountains of the river are in this place; and the river rises from the earth, not at all times quietly, but for the most part, and particularly in the middle of the day, with a loud noise, like the roaring of a bull. For three parts of the year, viz. in spring, summer, and autumn, Lilaea is a temperate region; but the mountain Parnassus prevents it from being similarly temperate in winter. A place called Charadra, which is situated on a precipice, is about thirty stadia distant from hence. The inhabitants of this place labour under a great scarcity of water. The river Charadrus supplies them with all the water they have; and this river, after running through shelving places, pours itself into the Cephissus. It appears to me, that the town Charadra was denominated from this river. But the Charadræ have two altars in the open air, sacred to two of those who are called heroes. Some are of opinion, that these heroes are the Dioscuri; and others say, that they are heroes belonging to this country. The land, too, about the Cephissus is by far the best in all Phócis, and is naturally adapted to the plantation of trees, and the sowing of seeds of every kind; and abounds with excellent pastures. Hence they pay particular attention to the cultivation of this part of the country. And hence there are some who think that Homer, in the following verse, by the Parapotamii, or inhabitants of the river, does not allude to a city, but to those who cultivate the land near the Cephissus:
OF GREECE.

"And those who near divine Cepheus dwell."

This opinion, however, may be confuted, both by the history of Herodotus, and the particulars which are related of the Pythian victories. For the Amphictyons first instituted the Pythian games, and the Parapotamian Æchmæas was the first that in these games conquered boys in boxing. In like manner Herodotus, when he enumerates the cities of the Phocenses which Xerxes burnt, reckons among them the Parapotamians. These people, however, were not restored by the Athenians and Boeotians, but were obliged, through imbecility and want of money, to betake themselves to other cities. The ruins, indeed, of this city do not at present remain, nor is it even known where it formerly stood.

From Lilaea there is a road of about sixty stadia in length, which leads to Amphiclea. The inhabitants of this place have corrupted the name of the city: for Herodotus, following the most ancient reports, calls it Ophitea; and the Amphictyons, when a decree was passed for destroying the cities of the Phocenses, gave it the name of Ophitea. But the natives relate the following particulars concerning this city: A certain powerful man, suspecting the stratagems of his enemies, placed his son in a vessel, such as is used for the reception of liquor, trusting that in this place he would be concealed with security. A wolf, however, rushed on the boy in his place of concealment; but a strong dragon, winding himself round the vessel, defended him from the assaults of the wolf. The father, some time after this, came to see his son, and, supposing that the dragon had destroyed him, hurled his dart at the animal, and, together with the dragon, slew his son. But when he understood, from certain shepherds, that the boy was slain by his own hands, and that the dragon had been the benevolent guardian of his son, he raised a funeral pile for the dragon and the boy in common; and they say, that the place retains vestiges of this funeral pile even at present, and that the city was de-
nominated Ophitea from the dragon. In this city that which principally deserves to be inspected is an adytum, in which they perform the orgies of Bacchus. The entrance to this adytum is visible, but no statue belonging to it is apparent. It is said by the Amphicleenses, that this god predicts to them future events, and affords them remedies against diseases. And the diseases, indeed, of the Amphicleenses and neighbouring cities are healed through the information imparted to them in dreams. But the priest of the adytum possesses a divining power, and uses a divine aëritis. Tithronium is about fifteen stadia distant from Amphiclea. This town is situated in a plain, and does not contain anything which deserves to be mentioned. From Tithronium to Drymæa there is a distance of twenty stadia. But where the road which leads from Amphiclea to Drymæa joins with that which leads from Tithronium, there are a grove and altar of Apollo, which belong to the Tithronenses. There is likewise a temple here, but it does not contain any statue. On directing your course to the left hand in this part of the country, at the distance of about eighty stadia from Amphiclea, you will arrive at Drymæa, according to the information of Herodotus. The inhabitants of this place were formerly called Naubolenses; and they say that their city was built by Phocus, the son of Æacus. But the Drymæi have an ancient temple of Ceres Thesmophoros, or the legislative deity. In this temple there is a statue in an upright position; and they celebrate an annual festival in honour of the goddess.
CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of all the cities, too, in Phocis, except Delphos, Elatea is the greatest. This city is situated opposite to Amphioxea, and is distant from it about one hundred and eighty stadia. The greater part of this road is a plain: but near the walls of Elatea it has a gradual elevation. Through the flat part of the road the river Cephissus flows; and the birds called Otides feed on its banks. The Elateans defended themselves against, and repelled the army of the Macedonians led by Cassander. They likewise fled from Taxilus, who commanded the army of Mithridates: and for this the Romans gave them their freedom, and suffered them to cultivate their land without paying tribute. There is a dispute concerning their origin: but they assert of themselves that they were formerly Arcadians. For they say, that Elatus, the son of Arcas, when the Phlegyans attacked Delphos, fought in defence of the god, and afterwards took up his residence, together with his forces, in Phocis, and built the city Elatea. Among the cities of Phocis, too, which the Persians burnt, Elatea is numbered. And this city was afflicted with many calamities, in common with the Phocenses: the Demon likewise prepared for them private misfortunes, through the Macedonians. But it was through the means of Olympiodorus that the siege of Cassander and the Macedonians was rendered ineffectual. Philip, however, the son of Demetrius, having corrupted the principal persons of the city by gifts, raised the greatest terror in the minds of the common people. But Titus Flaminius, being sent from Rome in order to give liberty to Greece, declared that he would restore the Elateans to their ancient polity, if they would only revolt from the Macedonians. However, whether
it was through the stupidity of the common people, or the persuasion of their rulers, they continued faithful to Philip, and suffered themselves to be besieged by the Romans.

Some time after this, they sustained the siege of Taxilus, who commanded the army of Mithridates and of the Barbarians from Pontus; and for this the Romans gave them their liberty. When, too, in my time the Costoboci, who were a band of robbers, infested Greece by their depredations, and penetrated as far as to Elatea, Mnesibulus, having collected a number of chosen men, made a great slaughter of the Barbarians, but fell himself in the engagement. This Mnesibulus gained other victories in the stadium; and in the two hundred and thirty-fifth Olympiad was victorious in the stadium, and in the repeated course with a shield. In Elatea, therefore, near the road in which the races are run, there is a brazen statue of Mnesibulus. The Elateans, too, have a forum, which deserves to be inspected; and in it there is a statue of Elatus on a pillar. But I am not certain whether they designed by this to honour the builder of their city, or whether they raised this pillar as a mark of honour over a sepulchre. They have, likewise, a temple of Æsculapius, in which there is a statue with a beard. The names of those who made this statue are Timoecles and Timarchides; and both of them derived their origin from the Attic land. In the extremity of the city, on the right hand, there is a theatre, and an ancient brazen statue of Minerva. They say, that this goddess defended them against the Barbarians that fought under the command of Taxilus. The temple, too, of Minerva Cranea is about twenty stadia distant from Elatea. The road to this temple is rather steep, but its elevation cannot be perceived by those that ascend it. At the end of this road there is a hill, which is for the most part steep, but which is neither very bulky nor very lofty. On the top of this hill is the temple of Minerva; and in it there are porches, and places of habitation in the porches.
Those that minister to the goddess dwell here: and the person that presides over the sacred concerns in particular takes up his residence in one of these habitations. They choose this person out of the number of beardless youths, and take care that he resigns his office before he has a beard. He performs the office of priest to the goddess for five continued years; and during all this time he lives with the goddess, and bathes himself in basins after the ancient manner. But the statue of the goddess was made by the sons of Polycles, and has the appearance of one prepared for a battle. Her shield, too, is fashioned in imitation of that among the Athenians which is called the shield of the virgin.

CHAPTER XXXV.

A mountainous road on the right hand of Elatea leads to Abæ and Hyampolis. A public road likewise leads to the same cities; and this is the road which brings you from Orchomenos to Opus. On proceeding, therefore, from Orchomenos to Opus, and turning a little to the left hand, you will see a road which leads to Abæ. The inhabitants of this city say that they came to Phocis from Argos, and that their city was denominated from Abas by whom it was built. They add, that Abas was the son of Lynceus and Hypermnestra the daughter of Danaus. The Abæans, too, have venerated Apollo from an early period of time; and once possessed an oracle of the god. But the Persians did not pay the same veneration to this divinity as the Romans did afterwards. For the Romans, through their piety to Apollo, suffered the Abæans to use their own laws; but the army of Xerxes burnt the temple in Abæ. The Greeks, however, that opposed the Barbarians, did not think proper to rebuild the temples of the Greeks which the Persians had burnt,
that the ruins of them might remain as perpetual monuments of hatred between the two nations. Hence, in the borders of the Haliartians, many half-burnt temples yet remain; and among the Athenians in the Phaleric road there is a temple of Juno half-burnt, and this is the case with a temple of Ceres in Phalerum. The temple in Abæ appears to me to have exhibited an appearance of this kind at that time, till in the Phocic war the Thebans burnt those suppliants that had been vanquished in battle, fled to Abæ, and set on fire the temple which had been before half-burnt by the Persians. And hence, at present, this temple is in the most ruinous condition of all the buildings which have been injured by fire. For this temple, which had been injured by the Persian fire, was afterwards injured in a still greater degree by that of the Boeotians. Near this great temple there is another temple, which is not so large: and this was dedicated by the emperor Adrian to Apollo.

The Abæans, however, have statues more ancient than their temples, and which they themselves dedicated. All these statues are brazen, are in an erect position, and are Apollo, Latona, and Diana. The Abæans, too, have a theatre and a forum, both which are of ancient workmanship. But on returning into the straight road to Opus, you will arrive at Hyamopolis. The name of this city indicates the origin of its inhabitants, and the place from which they fled to this country. For the Hyantes being vanquished by Cadmus and his associates, fled from Thebes into these parts. And at first, indeed, their city was called by the neighbouring people the city of the Hyantes; but in process of time it came to be denominated Hyamopolis. This city was burnt by Xerxes, and afterwards entirely subverted by Philip. Yet, notwithstanding this, the ornaments of the ancient forum still remain—a Bouleuterion, or place of consultation, and a theatre not far from the gates. But the emperor Adrian built a porch here, which bears his name.
OF GREECE.

The inhabitants of this city have but one well; and they have no other water besides this, either for bathing or drinking, except the rain water which they collect in winter. They venerate, too, Diana beyond all the divinities: and they have a temple of this goddess. But I am not able to describe her statue, because they only think proper to open the temple twice a year.

They say, that such victims as are selected for Diana are not afflicted with any disease, and grow fatter by feeding than other cattle. But not only the road to Delphos, or Daulis, through Panopeus, leads from Chærænea to Phocis, and to the road which is called Scissa; but another road, which is rough, and for the most part mountainous, conducts you from Chærænea to a city of the Phocenses, which is called Stiris. The length of this road is about one hundred and twenty stadia. The inhabitants of this city say, that they were formerly Athenians, and that being expelled the Attic land, together with Peteus the son of Orneus by Ægeus, they settled in this place. They add, that the city was called Stiris, because a great part of those that followed Peteus belonged to the Stirienses. But the habitation of the Stirienses is in an elevated and rocky place; and hence in summer they are in want of water. For they have neither many wells, nor is the water which they afford fit to be drunk. It serves, however, for baths, and supplies beasts of burden with drink. The inhabitants, indeed, fetch the water which they drink from a fountain which is about four stadia distant from the town, and which is dug out of a rock. They are, therefore, obliged to descend in order to obtain this water. In Stiris, too, there is a temple of Ceres, who is called Stiritis. This temple is raised from crude tiles; but the statue of the goddess is made of Pentelician stone, and has torches in its hands. Near it there is another statue, which is ancient, and adorned with fillets.
CHAPTER XXXVI.

But from Stiris to Ambryssus there is a plain road, which is about sixty stadia in length. Between the mountains here there is a plain: and there are many vines in the plain, and plants called hygeini. Brambles, too, grow here without intermission as well as vines. This bramble the Ionians and the rest of the Greeks call coccus, or the grain with which scarlet is dyed: but the Gauls above Phrygia call it in their native tongue Us. Its magnitude is nearly the same with that of the white thorn, but its leaves are blacker and softer than those of the bulrush. In other respects, however, it resembles the bulrush. Its fruit is similar to that of the solanum or nightshade, and its magnitude is equal to that of bitter vetches. In the fruit, too, of the coccus a small animal breeds; and this animal, if it finds a passage to the air when the fruit is ripe, immediately takes wing, and exhibits the appearance of a gnat. But now before the animal can be conceived they gather the fruit of the coccus. The blood, too, of this insect is useful for the purpose of dying wool. But Ambryssus is situated under mount Parnassus; and the Delphi are beyond it. They say that the city was denominated from the hero Ambryssus. The Thebans, in the war against Philip and the Macedonians, surrounded Ambryssus with a double wall; and in raising it, used the stone which this place abounds with, and which is of a black colour and very strong. The measure of the circumference of each wall is but little short of two paces; but the altitude of each is about two paces and a half, in that part which has not yet fallen. The interval between the two walls is about one pace. But they neglected adorning these walls with battlements, towers, and other ornaments which are usually added to walls, because they were built
merely for the purposes of defence. The Ambryssenses, too, have a forum, not very large, and many of the stone statues which it contains are broken. On directing your course to Anticyra, you will find the road at first steep; but after you have ascended it for about two stadia it becomes level. And on the right hand of this road there is a temple of Dictynnean Diana. The Ambryssenses particularly reverence this goddess: and her statue is of Æginean workmanship, and is made of black stone.

All the road from this temple of Diana to Anticyra is on the ascent. They say, that the more ancient name of the city is Cyparissus; and that Homer, in his catalogue of the Phocenses, chooses rather to call this city Cyparissus than Anticyra; for then it began to be called Anticyra. They add, that Anticyreus was contemporary with Hercules. This city lies under the ruins of Medeon. In the beginning too of this account of the Phocensian affairs, I have shown that Medeon was one of those cities that plundered the temple of Apollo. But the Anticyrans were driven from their country by Philip the son of Amyntas. Titus Flaminius, the commander of the Roman army, subverted their city a second time, because they adhered to Philip the son of Demetrius, and king of the Macedonians. But Titus was sent from Rome to assist the Athenians against Philip. The mountains which are above Anticyra are very rocky, and particularly abound with hellebore. And the black sort, indeed, is used by the inhabitants as a purgative; but the other sort, which is white, purifies by acting as an emetic. The Anticyrans, likewise, have brazen statues in their forum. In their haven, too, they have a temple of Neptune, of a moderate size, and which is built of chosen stones. The inward parts are of white plaster. The statue in this temple is of brass, is in an upright position, and stands with one of its feet on a dolphin. One of its hands, too, is on its thigh, and with the other it holds a trident. They have, besides, two gymnasia. One of these contains baths; and in the
other, which is at some distance from this, and is ancient,
there is a brazen statue. The inscription on this statue sig-
nifies, that it is the image of the pancratist Xenodamus the
Anticyran, who was victorious over men in the Olympic
games. If this inscription, therefore, is true, it must follow,
that Xenodamus received the olive crown, in the two hun-
dred and eleventh Olympiad, and that the Eleans have
omitted to mention him alone, in their account of the vic-
tors in the games. Above the forum there is a fountain of
water in a well: and a roof supported by pillars screens this
well from the sun. A little beyond this well there is a mo-
ument raised from such stones as were accidentally found.
They say that the sons of Iphitus are buried in this tomb;
that one of these returned safe from Troy, and died in his
own house; but that the other, Schedius, fell before Troy,
and that his bones were brought hither.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

On the right hand of the city, and about the distance of
two stadia from it, there is a lofty rock, which is a part of a
mountain. On this rock there is a temple of Diana, and the
statue of the goddess which it contains was made by Praxi-
teles. This statue has a torch in its right hand, and a quiver
depending from its shoulders; and a dog stands on its left
side. The height too of the statue surpasses that of any
woman. A city, likewise, named Bulis, borders on
Phocis. This city was denominated from Bulon, who
brought a colony hither from the cities of ancient Doris.
The Bulidii form a part of the convention of Philomelus and
the Phocenses. There is a distance of eighty stadia from the
Bœotian city Thisbe to Bulis; but from Anticyra through
the continent I do not know that there is any road; for be-
tween Anticyra and Bulis there are mountains which are both steep and rough. From Anticyra to the port, a distance of one hundred stadia intervenes. But from the port to Bulis, I conjecture the foot road is about seven stadia in length. A torrent in this part of the country falls into the sea; and the natives call this torrent Heracleios or Herculean. Bulis, too, is situated on an eminence, to such as sail from Anticyra to Lechæum, a promontory of the Corinthians. More than half the inhabitants here live by catching shell-fish for the dying of purple. But there are not any ornaments in Bulis which deserve much admiration. They have, however, two temples, one of Diana, and the other of Bacchus; and the statues which they contain are made of wood. Whom these were made by, I cannot by any means conjecture.

The Bulidii denominate that god, whom they venerate above all others, the greatest: and, in my opinion, this is an appellation of Jupiter. They have, likewise, a fountain which they call Saunion. But to Cirrha, which is a haven of the Delphi, there is a road from Delphos of sixty stadia in length. When you descend into the plain, you will see a Hippodrome in which the equestrian Pythian games are celebrated. With respect to the Taraxippos in Olympia; I have related the particulars concerning it in my account of the Elean affairs. But in this Hippodrome of Apollo, the charioteers sometimes meet with accidents that occasion sorrow, as the Daemon in every undertaking distributes to men, sometimes prosperous, and sometimes adverse events. However, in this Hippodrome there is nothing which terrifies the horses, and the origin of which might be referred to the anger of some hero, or to some other cause. But the plain which commences from Cirrha is entirely destitute of trees, whether they are unwilling to plant any in it through a certain dire execration, or whether this arises from the inaptitude of the soil. They say that this city, which is called
Cirrha at present, was thus denominated from the nymph Cirrha. However, Homer in the Iliad, and in his hymn to Apollo, calls this city by its ancient name Crissa.

But, in after times, when the inhabitants of Cirrha acted in other respects impiously towards Apollo, and laid waste the country sacred to the god, the Amphictyons thought proper to war on the Cirrhæans, chose for the purpose Clisthenes the Sicyonian tyrant for their general, and brought Solon from Athens, that he might assist them by his councils. On their consulting the oracle, too, respecting the victory, the Pythian deity thus answered them: "You will not be able to subvert the tower of this city, till the waves of azure-eyed Amphytrite, sounding on the black deep, shall wash my grove." Solon, therefore, persuaded them to consecrate the Cirrhæan land to Apollo, so that the grove of the god might be near the sea. He likewise employed another stratagem against the Cirrhæans; for he turned the course of the river Plistus, which flowed into the city. When the inhabitants, too, of the city resisted their besiegers, drinking from wells, and collecting rain water, Solon threw some roots of hellebore into the Plistus; and, when he perceived that the water was sufficiently infected with the poison, turned the river again into its ancient channel. The Cirrhæans, therefore, drinking greedily of the water, were afflicted with a violent flux, and were no longer able to guard the walls. In consequence of this the Amphictyons took the city, and punished the Cirrhæans for their impiety to the god. Then, too, Cirrha became the haven of the Delphi. This city, likewise, contains a temple of Apollo, Diana, and Latona; and in it there are large statues of Attic workmanship. In the same temple, too, there is a statue of Adrastia; but this is not so large as the other statues.
CHAPTER XXXVIII.

But the land of those Locrians who are called Ozolæ is next to Phocis after Cirrha. I have heard different reports concerning the appellation of these Locrians. But I will relate all that I have heard. When Orestheus the son of Deucalion reigned in this country, a bitch was delivered of a piece of wood, instead of a whelp. This piece of wood Orestheus buried in the ground; and they say, that in the following spring a vine was produced from it, and that from the wood of its branches (ozoi) the people were called Ozolæ. Others again say, that Nessus, who carried the wife of Hercules over the river Evenus, did not immediately die of the wound which he received from Hercules, but fled to this country; that he died here; and that the air became noxious from the filthy odour of his dead body. There is, likewise, a third report, that a fetid vapour was exhaled from the water of a certain river; and a fourth, that this country abounds with asphodel, and that the smell of it was very predominant. It is also said, that the first inhabitants of this place were autochthones, or earth-born; and that, in consequence of their not having yet learnt to weave garments, they used to cover their bodies, as a defence from the cold, with the recent skins of wild beasts; at the same time turning the hairy part of the hide outwards for the sake of ornament. And hence the smell of their bodies necessarily resembled that of the skins. But Amphissa is about one hundred and twenty stadia distant from Delphos, and is the largest and most celebrated city of the Delphi. The inhabitants of this city have joined themselves to the Ætolians, in consequence of being ashamed of the name of the Ozolæ. Indeed, it is probable that Augustus Cæsar subverted the country of the Ætolians, in order to people Nicopolis, and that he caused
a great part of them to migrate to Amphissa. However, these people originated from the Locrians; and their city (as they say) was denominated from Amphissa, the daughter of Macareus the son of Æolus, and who was beloved by Apollo.

This city is adorned with many excellent pieces of workmanship; but the monuments of Amphissa and Andræmon deserve to be mentioned beyond all the rest. They say that Gorge, the wife of Andræmon, and daughter of Oeneus, is buried here with Andræmon. But in the tower there is a temple of Minerva; and in it an erect brazen statue. They say that this statue was brought by Thoas from Troy, and that it belonged to the Trojan spoils. This, however, I cannot believe. For in the former part of this work, I have shown that the Samians, Rhœcus the son of Phileus, and Theodorus the son of Telecles, were the first that found out the art of casting brass. But I have not yet been able to find any of the works of Theodorus which consist of brass. But in the temple of Ephesian Diana, as you approach to that cell which contains certain pictures, you will see above the altar of Diana, who is called Protothronia, a stone inclosure. Upon this inclosure there are other statues, and an image of a woman near its extremity. This statue was made by Rhœcus; and the Ephesians call it Night. The statue, therefore, of Minerva in Amphissa is more ancient in its appearance, and the art displayed in its fabrication is less polished. The Amphissenses, too, celebrate the mysteries of the youths who are called Anactes. Of these gods there are various opinions. For, according to some, they are the Dioscuri; according to others, the Cures; and a still greater number think that they are the Cabiri. These Locrians too have other cities. Thus, above Amphissa, and towards the continent, is the city Myonia. This city is distant from Amphissa thirty stadia, and the inhabitants dedicated a shield to Jupiter in Olympia.
OF GREECE.

It is likewise situated in a lofty place, and contains a grove and altar of the gods called Meilichioi, or the mild. To these divinities they perform nocturnal sacrifices: and they consume the flesh of the victims in the place where they sacrifice before the sun rises. Above the city, too, there is a grove of Neptune; and this they call Poseidonion. In it there is a temple of Neptune; but it has not at present any statue. These people, therefore, dwell above Amphissa.

But Oeanthea borders on the sea, and in the neighbourhood of this city is Naupactus. All the other Locrian cities, too, except Amphissa, are in subjection to the Patrois, who were invested with this authority by the emperor Augustus. In this city, Oeanthea, there is a temple of Venus; and a little above the city there is a grove of cypress and pine-trees. In this grove there are a temple and statue of Diana. But the paintings on the walls are obliterated by time, so that not one of them remains for inspection. I conjecture, that the city was denominated from a woman or a nymph. For as to what pertains to Naupactus, I know it is reported, that the Dorics, together with the sons of Aristomachus, built a fleet in this place for the purpose of sailing to Peloponnesus; and that from this circumstance the city was denominated. With respect to the Naupactians, how the Athenians gave the Messenians, who took up their residence in Ithome, when Sparta was shaken by an earthquake, Naupactus to inhabit, which they had taken from the Locrians; and how, after the slaughter of the Athenians at Ægospotamos, the Lacedaemonians expelled the Messenians from Naupactus, these particulars I have copiously related in my account of the Messenian affairs. The Messenians, therefore, being obliged to leave Naupactus, the Locrians again took possession of it.

As to the verses which the Greeks call Naupactia, they are commonly attributed to a Milesian; but Charon the son of Pytheus says, that they were composed by the Naupactian
Carcinus: and this is our opinion on the subject. For how can it be reasonable to suppose, that verses upon women, composed by a Milesian, should be called Naupactian? But in Naupactus there is near the sea a temple of Neptune; and in the temple there is an erect statue of brass. There is, likewise, a temple of Diana, which contains a statue of white stone, in the attitude of discharging an arrow. They denominate the goddess Ætola. Venus, too, is honoured in a cavern: and they pray to this goddess on other occasions; but widows in particular request of her, that they may be again married. As to the temple of Æsculapius, it is nothing but ruins. But at first it was built by a private man, whose name was Phylsius. For it happened, that when his eyes were so diseased that he was almost blind, the god who is worshipped in Epidaurus sent to him Anyte, a woman renowned for composing verses, with a letter. Anyte dreamt that she received this letter, but, when she awoke, found it in her hands sealed. She, therefore, sailed to Naupactus, and ordered Phylsius to break the seal, and read its contents. And at first, indeed, he thought it was not possible for him to read the letter, as his eyes were in such a diseased condition; but hoping that it might be the means of procuring him some assistance from Æsculapius, he at length opened it, was immediately cured of his malady, and gave Anyte two thousand pieces of gold, called stateres, which was the sum specified in the letter.
NOTES
ON THE
FIRST VOLUME.

Page 2. AND Jupiter is seen holding a sceptre, and victory. Jupiter is everywhere called by Homer, as well as Orpheus, "the father of gods and men, ruler and king, and the supreme of rulers, ἐναλος κρατοῦν." On account, therefore, of his commanding or ruling characteristic, he is very properly represented with a sceptre, which is certainly an obvious symbol of command. The symbol of victory likewise justly belongs to him, on account of his all-subduing power, which vanquishes all mundane opposition, and causes the war of the universe to terminate in peace. Proclus, on the Cratylius, informs us, that his sceptre, according to Orpheus, was twenty-four measures in length, by which, says he, the theologian signifies his establishing those two divine orders, the celestial and supercelestial, and his reigning over two series of gods, each of which is characterised by the number twelve. Καὶ γὰρ δίττας ύψης υπεστημένου, τον τε οὐρανόν, καὶ τον ύπερούρανον. Ὑπὲρ αυτοῦ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον εἶναι φησὶν ὁ Θεολόγος τοιούτως καὶ εἶπεν μετρῶν, ὡς δίττων αρχών τοῦ διδασκάζων. I only add farther, at present, that Jupiter, according to his first subsistence, is the Demiurgus, or artificer of the world, and that he is received from hence into all the following orders of gods. Hence there are various Jupiters, who preside over the different parts of the universe, and all of whom are suspended from the first Jupiter, the Demiurgus, so as to form various links of that divine chain, which, on account
of its incorruptible nature, is beautifully called by Homer a golden chain. The same must be understood of every other divinity, considered according to his highest subsistence; viz. that various other divinities, of the same characteristic, proceed from him into the parts of the world: and, if the reader carefully attends to this theory, when he reads Homer, or the fables of any other ancient theological poet, and is able to apply it properly, he will find that the theology of the ancients is founded in a theory no less beautifully connected than astonishingly profound; no less enchanting than scientific; no less true than marvellous and mystic. See more concerning this most important subject in my Notes on the Cratylus, and Introduction to the Parmenides of Plato; in my Translation of Sallust on the Gods and the World; and of the Emperor Julian's Oration to the Sun, and to the Mother of the Gods.

Page 3. The goddesses called Genetyllides.] The Scholium upon Aristophanes informs us, that Genetyllis is an epithet of Venus, and that she is so called because she presides over the generation of animals. Perhaps, therefore, as there are two Venuses, as we shall see hereafter, the Genetyllides are these two.

Page 5. And of Bacchus holding a torch.] There is great propriety in representing Iacchus, or Bacchus, with a torch; for Bacchus is the mundane intellect; and fire, with the ancients, was very properly considered as a symbol of intellect from its tending upwards.

Page 6.—and this Bacchus they call Melpomenes.] The Orphic theologists, as I have shown in p. 101 of the Dissertation prefixed to my Translation of Orpheus's Hymns, called the intellect of each of the celestial spheres by some one of the appellations of Bacchus; and the soul, or animating part of the sphere, by the name of one of the Muses. Agreeably to this, in the orb of the sun, they called the intellective part Tristericus Bacchus, and the animating part Melpomene. But as the intellect and soul of the sun, and so of every other orb, form one divine nature, from their admirable union with each other, the intellect
of this sphere may be justly called Melpomenos: and it would
be by no means improper to call the animating part Tristero.
Page 7: They report, indeed, that the father of Erichthonius,
&c.] The fables of the ancients are, in their secret meaning,
utility, and construction, the most beautiful and admirable
pieces of composition which the mind of man is capable of
framing, though nothing has been so little understood, or so
shamefully abused. Of the truth of this observation, the reader,
whose mind has been enlightened by true science, will be fully
convinced by the following explanation, drawn from ancient
sources, of the fable alluded to by Pausanias in this part.
Previous to which it will be proper to observe, that the first
cause, according to the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophers,
on account of his transcendent simplicity, was called the one;
this name being adapted the best of all others to a nature truly
inexpressible and unknown. But it is impossible that such a nature
could produce this visible world without mediums; since, if this
had been the case, all things must have been like himself,
natures inexpressible and unknown. It is necessary, therefore, that
there should be certain mighty powers between the first cause
and us: for we, in reality, are nothing more than the drags of
the universe. These mighty powers, from their surpassing
similitude to the first god, were very properly called by the
ancients gods; and were considered by them as perpetually
subsisting, in the most admirable and profound union with each
other and the first cause; yet so, as amidst this union, to pre-
serve their own essence distinct from that of the highest god.
Hence, as Proclus beautifully observes, they may be compared
to trees rooted in the earth: for as these, by their roots, are
united with the earth, and become earthly in an eminent degree
without being earth itself, so the gods, by their summits, are
profoundly united to the first cause, and by this means are
transcendentally similar to, without being the first cause.

But these mighty powers are called by the poets a golden
chain, on account of their connexion with each other, and incor-
putible nature. Now, the first of these powers you may
call intellectual; the second, vivisc; the third, Pauvian, and so on, which the ancients, desiring to signify to us by names, have symbolically denominated. Hence, says Olympiodorus, in MS. Comment. in Gorgiam, we ought not to be disturbed on hearing such names as a Saturnian power, the power Jupiter, and suchlike, but explore the things to which they allude. Thus for instance, by a Saturnian power rooted in the first cause, understand a pure intellect: for Ἐρῶς or Saturn is ἀρχή νους, i.e. ἐντάξεως, or a pure intellect. Hence, says Olympiodorus, we call those that are pure and virgins, ἀρχαῖ. He adds, On this account poets*, say, that Saturn devoured his children, and afterwards, again sent them into the light, because intellect is converted to itself, seeks itself, and is itself sought: but he again refundeth them, because intellect not only seeks, and procreates, but produces into light and profits. On this account, too, he is called ἀγνωστοματίς, or inflected counsel, because an inflected figure verges to itself. Again, as there is nothing disordered and novel in intellect, they represent Saturn as an old man, and as slow in his motion: and hence it is that astrologers say, that such as have Saturn well situated in their nativity are prudent and endued with intellect.

Again, the ancient theologians called life by the name of Jupiter, to whom they gave a two-fold appellation δία and ἡγεμόν, signifying by these names, that he gives life through himself. Farther still they assert that the Sun is drawn by four horses, and that he is perpetually young, signifying by this his power, which is motive of the whole of nature subject to his dominion, his fourfold conversions, and the vigour of his energies. But they say that the Moon is drawn by two bulls: by two, on account of her increase and diminution; but by bulls, because as these till the ground, so the Moon governs all those parts which surround the earth.

This being premised, as a specimen of the manner in which fables are to be understood, let us consider the meaning of that

*This is asserted by Hesiod in his Theogony.
to which Pausanias alludes. According to the fable, then, Vulcan falling in love with Minerva, emitted his seed on the earth, and from hence sprang the race of the Athenians. By Vulcan, therefore, we must understand that divine power which presides over the spermatic and physical reasons which the universe contains: for whatever Nature accomplishes by verging towards bodies, the same Vulcan performs in a divine and exempt manner, by moving Nature, and using her as an instrument in his own proper fabrication: for natural heat has a Vulcanian characteristic, and was produced by Vulcan for the purpose of fabricating a corporeal nature. Vulcan, therefore, is that power which perpetually presides over the fluctuating nature of bodies: and hence, says Olympiodorus, he operates with bellows (ἐν φοσμῷ), which occultly signifies his operating in natures (ἀν τοῦ ἐν ταῖς φυσέως). But by earth we must understand matter, which was thus symbolically denominated by the ancients, as we learn from Porphyry de Antr. Nymphe. By Minerva we must understand the summit κοσμῆ of all those intellectual natures that reside in Jupiter, the artificer of the world: or, in other words, she is that deity which illuminates all mundane natures with intelligence. The Athenians therefore, who are souls of a Minerval characteristic, may be very properly said to be the progeny of Vulcan and the Earth, because Vulcan, who perpetually imitates the intellectual energy of Minerva in his fabrication of the sensible universe, imparts to them through this imitation those vehicles, and those spermatic reasons, through which, in conjunction with matter, they become inhabitants of this terrestrial abode. And thus much for the fable alluded to by Pausanias. For farther information on the most interesting subjects discussed in this note, see my translation of the Cratylus, Phaedo, Parmenides and Timæus of Plato; my Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries; my Translation of Sallust on the Gods and the World; and of the Emperor Julian’s Oration to the Sun, and to the Mother of the Gods.

Page 8. Apollo, whom they denominate Alexicacus.] Apollo is Alexicactus, or the disperser of evil, through the divinity Pæan,
whom he contains in his essence, as is evident from the following lines in the beautiful hymn of Proclus to the Sun:

Σὺς ἄτεμο μελισσωδὸς ἀλεξίακου διασής
Παιμὸν βλαστήσας, τὴν ὄνεσθασαν ὕπειραν,
Πληθὺς ἄρμονις πανάνεμονος ὑπὲρα κόσμου.

i.e.

"From thy bland dance, repelling deadly ill,
Salubrious Peon blossoms into light,
Health far diffusing, and th'extended world
With streams of harmony innocuous fills."

Page 9. The daughters of the Sun are said to have bewailed the misfortune of their brother Phaeton.] The following explanation is given by the Platonic philosophy of the well known fable of Phaeton. Phaeton signifies a comet, by which considerable parts of the earth are at times destroyed. But he is said to be the offspring of the Sun, because a comet, according to the Platonists, is a sublunar body, consisting of a collection of dry vapours, raised and set on fire by the Sun. He is likewise said to have desired the government of the chariot of the Sun, because a comet desires to imitate the circular motion of the Sun. He did not keep the track observed by his parent, because a comet does not move in a direction parallel to that of the Sun. He was blasted by thunder through the anger of Jupiter, because this comet was extinguished by moist vapours. On this account he is said to have fallen into the river Eridanus, because the comet was extinguished through moisture. He was lamented by the Heliades, because the vapour proceeding from the dissolution of the comet flowed downwards, being of a watery nature, and in this respect corresponding to tears. The Heliades were changed into poplar trees, because a juice distills from the poplar tree similar to amber; and amber has a golden splendour; and gold is dedicated to the Sun. The fable therefore obscurely signifies that the juice of the poplar tree is produced from moisture similar to that which was produced by the dissolution of the comet.

Page 12. It is related by Herodotus.] Herodotus in Terpsich. informs us, that it was Clisthenes the Athenian, of the family
of the Alemoneidae, who divided the four Athenian tribes into
ten.

Page 30. And took care that globular vessels, &c.] Many of
the present day are of opinion, that the ships of the ancients
were of a very inconsiderable size, though a small degree of re-
spection must convince every unprejudiced mind, that ships
which contained many banks of rowers, and great quantities of
armed men, must have been very large vessels. But the fol-
lowing account of a ship constructed by Ptolemy Philopater,
from Plutarch, in his Life of that great commander Demetrius,
abundantly proves the truth of what I have advanced. "Before
the time of Demetrius, says he, there had not been seen a galley
with fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. But after Demetrius,
Ptolemy Philopater built a prodigious galley of eighty banks of
oars. It was two hundred and eighty cubits in length. Its
height from the water to the top of the stern was forty-eight
cubits. It had four hundred mariners, and four thousand
rowers: and besides all this, there was convenient standing for
nearly three thousand soldiers to fight above the decks." It is
true that Plutarch adds, this unwieldy hulk was only fit for
show, and not for service; but it affords a very convincing
proof, that the ancients had conceptions of framing much larger
ships than any of the present time; and it appears to me, that
the sixteen-oared galleys of Demetrius, mentioned by Plutarch,
must have been at least as large as our first rate men of war.
The reader may see a large and very entertaining description
of this ship, though widely different in some particulars from
the above account, in Athenaeus, lib. 6. cap. 5.

Page 32. But the truth of this is confirmed by Homer, &c.]
It is not however the Epirots that Homer alludes to, by a people
unacquainted with the sea, and who knew not the use of salt:
but as, in the person of Ulysses, Homer has beautifully repre-
sented to us the image of one who passes in a regular manner
from a sensible to an intellectual life, he very properly describes
him, after having braved the storms of the ocean, or the dangers
and difficulties attending a life subordinate to that of intellect,
as destined to arrive among a people to whom the sea was un-
known, or, in other words, to live a life wholly intellectual and.
NOTES ON THE

divine. As Pausanius therefore was pious, but without philosophy, he could not have any conception of the concealed philosophical meaning of Homer in the fable of Ulysses. See more concerning this, in my translation of, and notes to, Porphyry's Cave of the Nymphs, in vol. ii. of Proclus on Euclid.

Page 35. Pyrrhus received a wound in his head.] It appears from Livy, i. 29. c. 18. and Plutarch in Pyrrho, that Pyrrhus was slain in this manner, as a just punishment for his impiety in plundering the treasuries of the temple of Proserpine.

Page 37. It was my intention, indeed, &c.]. It is a circumstance remarkably singular, that the Pythagorean philosopher Numenius was, as well as Pausanius, deterred by a dream from disclosing the Eleusinian mysteries. Before the extinction of the genuine religion of mankind, indeed, and the introduction of gigantic impiety, it must have been highly improper to unfold these mysteries to all men: but when delusive faith succeeded to scientific theology, and divine mystery was no more, it then became necessary to reveal this most holy and august institution. This appears to have been done by the latter Platonists: and from some important passages which fortunately yet remain in the manuscript Commentaries of these great men on Plato, I have been enabled to unfold the leading particulars of this interesting affair. These particulars the reader may find in my Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.

Page 38. Near this is the temple of Celestial Venus.] The Celestial Venus (for there are two Venuses, as is well known) is that divine power which collects together the different genera of things, according to one desire of beauty. She is therefore very properly said to derive her subsistence from the prolific power of Heaven: for Heaven, as I have shown in my notes on the Cratylus, composes that order of gods which is called by the Chaldean Theologists νοοτας και νοος, i.e. intelligible and at the same time intellectual; which corresponds to intelligence; and is wholly of a containing and connective nature. “But the second Venus, says Proclus (in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum), Jupiter produces from his own generative powers, in conjunction with Dione: and this goddess likewise proceeds from foam, after the same manner with the more ancient Venus, as Orpheus
evinces. But these goddesses differ from each other, according to the causes of their production, their orders, and their powers. For she that proceeds from the genitals of Heaven is supermundane, leads upwards to intelligible beauty, is the supplier of an unpolluted life, and separates from generation. But the Venus that proceeds from Dione governs all the co-ordinations in the celestial world and the earth, binds them to each other, and perfects their generative progressions, through a kindred conjunction. These divinities too are united with each other, through a similitude of subsistence: for they both proceed from generative powers; one from that of the containing power of Heaven, and the other from that of Jupiter the artificer of the world.” He adds, “that by the sea we must understand an expanded and circumscribed life; by its profundity, the universally-extended progression of such a life; and by the foam, the greatest purity of nature, that which is full of prolific light and power, that which swims upon all life, and is as it were, its highest flower.”

It is remarkable that, according to the first of these passages, the second Venus was produced from foam in the same manner as the first, as Proclus proves from the authority of the Orphic writings: for this information is not to be gathered from any other writer that I am acquainted with. Nor need it seem strange, that this should be mentioned by no ancient author prior to Proclus: for before the establishment of the Christian religion, the Orphic writings were deservedly held in such great veneration, from containing the ceremonies of a mode of worship coeval with the universe, that the less mystic parts of them were but seldom cited, and the most mystic, not at all. As Proclus, therefore, was the man that unfolded the theology and philosophy of the Greeks in the most consummate perfection, and this at a period when the ancient religion was almost entirely extirpated, and the Orphic writings were considered as sacred but by a few, we cannot wonder at meeting with this, and much similar information, in the works of this incomparable man.
which modern explanation of the fables of the ancients are replete, may be ascribed to the two following causes: the want of ability to distinguish, in the same person, history from fable; and ignorance of the secret meaning of ancient fable. Thus, in the present instance, most of the moderns would, I am persuaded, consider this story about Theseus as at bottom merely historical, though it is, in fact, one of those ancient fables which are replete with the most philosophical and mystic information. At present, indeed, it does not seem to be even suspected by any one, that the theology of the Greeks, when viewed in its genuine purity, is a thing the most sublime and scientific that the mind of man can possibly devise; and that consequently, as the Grecian fables are the progeny of this theology, they cannot fail of being remarkably scientific and sublime. That the reader, therefore, whose mental eye is not so darkened by oblivion as to exclude all possibility of recovering the use of it, in the present life, may be convinced of the truth of the preceding observations, let him attend to the following information, derived from the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato.

There are three orders of souls which are the perpetual attendants of the gods. The first of these orders angels compose; the second, demons; and the third, heroes. But as there is no vacuum either in incorporeal or corporeal natures, but, on the contrary, profound union, it is necessary, in order to accomplish this, that the last link of a superior order should coalesce with the summit of one proximately inferior. Hence, therefore, between essential heroes, who perpetually attend the gods, and are consequently impassive and pure, and the bulk of human souls, who descend with passivity and impurity, it is necessary there should be an order of human souls, who descend with impassivity and purity. These souls were called by the ancients, with great propriety, Heroes, on account of their high degree of proximity and alliance to such as are essentially Heroes. Hercules, Theseus, Pythagoras, Plato, &c. were souls of this kind, who descended into generation both to benefit other souls, and in compliance with that necessity by which all natures inferior to the perpetual attendants of the gods are at
times obliged to descend. The characteristics of these heroic souls are grandeur of action, elevation, and magnificence; and Plato, in his Laws, says, that we ought to venerate them, and perform funeral sacrifices in honour of their memory. They are, too, of an undefiled nature when compared with other human souls, than whom they are likewise far more intellectual. They have much of an elevated nature, and which is properly liberated from an inclination to matter. Hence they are easily led back to the intelligible world, in which they live for many periods; while, on the contrary, the most irrational kind of souls are either never led back, or this is accomplished with great difficulty, or continues for a very inconsiderable period of time.

But as every god, beginning from on high, produces his proper series as far as to the last of things, and this series comprehends many essences different from each other, such as Angelical, Daemoniacal, Heroical, Nymphical, and the like, the lowest powers of these orders have a great communion and physical sympathy with the human race, and contribute to the perfection of all their natural operations, and particularly to their procreations. As these heroic souls, too, have a twofold form of life, viz. *dusastic* and *diasastic*, the former of which is called by Plato, in the Timeus, *the circle of difference*; and the latter, *the circle of sameness*, and which are characterised by the properties of *male* and *female*;—hence these souls at one time exhibit a deiform power, by energizing according to the masculine prerogative of their nature, or the circle of sameness, and at another time according to their feminine prerogative, or the circle of difference; yet so, as that according to both these energies they act with rectitude, and without merging themselves in the darkness of body. They likewise know the natures prior to their own, and exercise a providential care over inferior concerns, without, at the same time, having that propensity to such concerns which is found in the bulk of mankind. But the souls which act erroneously according to the energies of both these circles, or which, in other words, neither exhibit accurate specimens of practical or intellectual virtue—these differ in no respect from gregarious souls, or the
herd of mankind, with whom the circle of sameness is fettered, and the circle of difference sustains all-various fractures and distortions.

As it is impossible, therefore, that these heroic souls can act with equal vigour and perfection, according to both these circles at once, as this is the province of natures more divine than the human, it is necessary that they must sometimes descend and energize principally according to their doxastic part, and sometimes according to their more intellectual part. Hence, one of these circles must energize naturally, and the other be hindered from its proper energy. On this account Heroes are called Ἵμεροι Demigods, as having only one of their circles illuminated by the gods. Such of these, therefore, as have the circle of sameness unfettered, as are roused to an elevated life, and are moved about it, according to a deific energy—these are said to have a god for their father, and a mortal for their mother, through a defect with respect to the doxastic form of life. But such, on the contrary, as energize without impediment according to the circle of difference, who act with becoming rectitude in practical affairs, and at the same time enthusiastically, or, in other words, under the inspiring influence of divinity—these are said to have a mortal for their father, and a goddess for their mother. And in short, rectitude of energy in each of these circles is to be ascribed to a divine cause, which illuminates, invigorates, and excites them in the most unrestrained and impassive manner, without destroying freedom of energy in the circles themselves, or causing any partial affection, sympathy, or tendency in illuminating deity. When the circle of sameness, therefore, has dominion, the divine cause of illumination is said to be masculine and paternal; but when the circle of difference predominates, it is said to be maternal. Hence Achilles acts with rectitude in practical affairs, and at the same time exhibits specimens of magnificent, vehement, and divinely-inspired energy, as being the son of a goddess. And such is his attachment to practical virtue, that even when in Hades, Homer represents him as desiring a union with body, that he may assist his father. While on the contrary Minos and
Rhadamanthus, who were heroes illuminated by Jupiter, raised themselves from generation to true being, and meddled with mortal concerns no farther than absolute necessity required.

Theseus therefore, who as well as Hercules was a hero, who energized principally according to an intellectual life, and who was a lover of both intelligible and sensible beauty, may be said to have been bound by Pluto, while he was united with body, because every thing sublunary is under the dominion of this god; and to have been liberated by Hercules, because through his assistance he was led from a sensible to an intellectual life, which has the same relation to a corporeal life, as the light of day to the darkness of night.

Page 143. But it appears to me, that Homer, &c.] We should rather say that Homer derived his knowledge respecting the souls in Hades, and the names of the infernal rivers which it contains, from the mystic traditions of Orpheus, who instituted the religion of Greece, and that the rivers called Acheron and Cocytus in Cichyrus were denominated from their similitude to those of the same name in Hades. But the reader must not suppose that the infernal rivers described by Homer are nothing more than the paradoxical sports of poetical fancy; but, as Proclus on Plato’s Republic beautifully observes, it is proper to believe, that for those who require chastisement and purification, subterranean places are prepared, which, from their receiving the various defluxions of the elements above the earth, are called rivers by mythologists, and are filled with daemons who preside over souls, and who are of an avenging, punishing, purifying, judicial characteristic. Hence, says he, the poetry of Homer is not to be condemned, when it calls the infernal region a place,

"Horrid and dark, and odious to the gods."

For the variety and imagination of the presiding daemons excite all this obscurity and horror. I only add, that Acheron is a place adapted to the purgation of care and sorrow, and which also corresponds to air and the meridional part of the world; but that Cocytus together with Styx correspond to earth and
the western centre, and punish hatred, through lamentations and grief. See more on this subject, in my Introduction to the Phædo of Plato.

Page 46. Olen.] Olen was a Lycian poet, and composed hymns in honour of Apollo at Delos.

Page 48. That Celestial Venus is the eldest of those divinities who are called the Parcae.] We have already observed, that there are two Venuses, one supermundane, the other mundane. The first of these is the Celestial Venus, mentioned in this place by Pausanias, as the eldest of the Parcae, though according to the Orphic hymn to this goddess, and which I have no doubt is the truth, she is the ruler of the Fates: for the Hymn says και κράτεσις τρισων μοιρων, “thou governest the three fates.”

Page 49. And the temple of Diana the huntress.] The sphere of the Moon is, as is well known, attributed to the goddess Diana: and this divinity, as we are informed by Proclus in Tim. p. 260, “is the cause of nature to mortals, as she is the self-conspicuous image of sowal Nature.” Σελήνη μεν αυτια της θαλας της φυσεως, το αυτοιον αγαλμα εις της πηγαις φυσεως. As the Moon therefore is the cause of the existence of all natural life, so likewise of its dissolution; for the natural life which she imparts to all animals and plants, brings with it a limited duration, and, when the period of its existence is accomplished, returns to this divinity as its fountain. Hence Diana is very properly represented as a huntress: for through certain un-apparent powers resident in the rays of the Moon, of which arrows are an image, she takes away, or in other words, receives back again, the natural life which she gave.

Page 50. Bacchus leading Vulcan back to heaven.] The meaning of this beautiful fable appears to me to be as follows: Vulcan, as we have already observed, is that divine power which presides over the spermatic and physical reasons of the universe; or, in other words, which by using nature as an instrument, produces all the bodies which the universe contains. Juno is the inspective guardian of all motion and progression. Hence she is said to have hurled Vulcan from heaven, because she is the cause of Vulcan’s prolific progression to the ex-
tremity of things, and of his being everywhere present with his productions in the most unrestrained manner—in a manner, by which this progression, continually suspended from its proper principle, pervades through every order. But the golden throne which Vulcan sends to Juno, is that vehicle depending on the goddess, and from illuminating which she has a mundane establishment: and the unapparent bonds which it contains are those vital connectives by which soul becomes united with body. These bonds are said to be fixed in the throne by Vulcan, because this deity is superior to Juno, considered according to her mundane establishment. All the gods except Bacchus were unable to persuade Vulcan to free Juno from her bonds; because Bacchus, or the mundane intellect, is the monad or proximately exempt producing cause of the ultimate progressions of all the gods; and hence Vulcan, considered according to his last procession, is suspended from Bacchus by whom at the same time he is converted on high. Hence Bacchus is said to have led him back to heaven: but it is added, by means of intoxication; i.e. by deific intelligence, through which every inferior deity is converted to deities of a superior characteristic, and all the gods become absorbed in the ineffable principle of all things. Lastly, by Vulcan freeing Juno from her bonds, nothing more is meant than, that this goddess according to her mundane establishment receives a power from Vulcan, through which while she illuminates with a divine light her depending vehicle, she is at the same time exempt from all inclination and passive affection towards the subject of her illuminations: and the same reasoning must be applied to every mundane divinity.

Page 52. 

_Gave that oracle concerning the bladder._] This oracle is preserved by Plutarch in his life of Theseus, and is thus, except in the last line, translated by Langhorn:

> From royal stems thy honour, Theseus, springs,
>  
> By Jove belov'd, the sire supreme of kings.
>  
> See rising towns, see wide-extended states,
>  
> On thee dependent, ask their future fates!
>  
> Hence, hence with fear! Thy favour'd bark shall ride,
>  
> Safe, like a bladder, o'er the foamy tide.

Page 53. _And that Bacchus himself appeared as their leader._]
The following Platonic dogma, which belongs to the greatest arcana of ancient Wisdom, solves all that appears to be so absurd and ridiculous to the atheistical and superficial in such-like historical relations as the present. Every deity beginning from on high, produces his own proper series to the last of things; and this series comprehends in itself many essences differing from each other. Thus, for instance, the Sun produces Angelical, Daemoniacal, Heroical, Nymphical, Panical, and such-like powers, each of which subsists according to a solar characteristic; and the same reasoning must be applied to every other divinity. All these powers are the perpetual attendants of the Gods, but they have not all of them an essence wholly superior to man. For after essential Heroes an order of souls follows, who proximately govern the affairs of men, and are daemoniacal κατά σχέσιν, according to habitude or alliance, but not essentially. Of this kind are the Nymphs that sympathize with waters, Pans with the feet of goats, and the like; and they differ from those powers that are essentially of a daemoniacal characteristic, in this, that they assume a variety of shapes (each of the others immutably preserving one form), are subject to various passions, and are the causes of all-various deception to mankind. Proclus in Schol. MSS. in Cratylius observes, that the Minerva which so often appeared to Ulysses and Telemachus was of this latter kind. ὅτι εἰσὶ καὶ πάνες τραγουσκέλες, καὶ αἰθήμαται ψυχαί σχῆμαί ποικίλως χρωμαί, καὶ προσεχώς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολιτευομέναι. ὅια γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶ τῷ Ὀδυσσεί, καὶ τῷ Τελεμάχῳ φανετα. i. e. “There are Pans with the feet of goats, and Minerval souls assuming a variety of shapes, and proximately governing mankind; such as was the Minerva that appeared to Ulysses and Telemachus.” The Bacchus therefore, that appeared to the Lacedaemonians in the war mentioned by Pausanias, must be considered as belonging to one of the orders of those powers we have just enumerated.

Page 57. Theseus, when he departed to slay the Minotaur.] The explanation given by the moderns of the Minotaur, and the other parts of the fable to which it belongs, is as absurd and foreign from the truth, as any of their solutions of ancient fables.
FIRST VOLUME.

"I shall make it appear (says the Abbé Banier* with all the
lawless levity of a Frenchman, and in the true spirit of a Catholic
divine) that the Minotaur, with Pasiphae, and the rest of that
fable, contain nothing but an intrigue of the queen of Crete
with a captain named Taurus; and the artifice of Dædalus only
a sly confident." And in this impudent manner he explains
the most celebrated fables of antiquity. It is true indeed, that
my own countrymen are at present unacquainted with the divine
wisdom of the ancients; but I do not know of any English writer
that has attempted to explain the Grecian fables in a manner so
impertinent, trifling, and absurd. Surely every thinking mind
must unite with me in acknowledging, that if the ancients in-
tended to conceal in their fables nothing more than what Banier
presents us with, their fables are far more puerile than the riddles
composed by the ingenious Mr. Newbery for children. Lord
Bacon, though far from penetrating the profound meaning of
the ancients in these fables, saw enough to be convinced that
they were replete with the highest wisdom of which he had any
conception; and has done all in attempting to unfold them that
great genius without the assistance of genuine philosophy is able
to effect. But the most piercing sagacity, the most brilliant
wit, and the most exquisite subtlety of thought, without this
assistance, are here of no avail.

It is indeed easy for ingenious men to give an explanation of
an ancient fable, which to the superficial observer shall appear
to be the precise meaning which its inventor designed to convey,
though it be in reality very far from the truth. This may be
easily accounted for by considering, that all fables are images of
truths, but those of the ancients, of truths with which but few
are acquainted. Hence, like pictures of unknown persons, they
become the subjects of endless conjecture and absurd opinion,
from the similitude which every one fancie discovers in them,
to objects with which he has been for a long time familiar. He
who understands the explanations given by the Platonic philo-
sophers of these fables will subscribe to the truth of this ob-
servation, as it is impossible that these interpretations could so

*Vol. i. of the translation of his Mythology, p. 29.
wonderfully harmonize with the external or apparent meaning of the fables, without being the true explanations of their latent sense. But to return to the fable in question. Olympiodorus in his MS. Commentary on the Gorgias of Plato, beautifully unfolds most of it as follows: "The Minotaur signifies the savage passions which our nature contains. The thread which Ariadne gave to Theseus, a certain divine power conjoined with our nature. And the labyrinth, the obliquity and abundant variety of life. Theseus therefore, being one of the most excellent characters, vanquished this impediment, and freed others together with himself." ο μαν γαρ Μινωταυρος τα εν ημιν θηριωδή παθη σημαινετε ο δε μιλος, δεινον τινα δυναμιν εξηγησαν, ο δε λατρευον το σκολιου και τον του αποινον ταυ του. ὁ τον θησεως αιτιον ου, καικεφαλησεν, αλλα και αλλας πεμφηθησας μεν ειλινα.

Page 58. For there is nothing extant of Museus, &c.] Unfortunately, at present, not one of the works of the ancient Museus is extant: for it is well known to all the learned, that the little poem entitled, The Loves of Hero and Leander was composed by a grammarian of a much later age than that of Museus.

Page 60. Hygia, who they report is the daughter of Æsculapius.] Hygia, or Health, in the Orphic hymn to Æsculapius, is called the wife of Æsculapius. But this is by no means discordant with what Pausanias asserts: for a communion of energies among divine natures was called by ancient theologists χρυσος γαμος, or a sacred marriage. Hence, Health, considered as proceeding from Æsculapius, may be called his daughter, and, as communicating with him in divine energies, his wife.

Page 60. When Bacchus first came to Attica.] The reader must be careful to remember, that the Bacchus here mentioned was one of those heroes of whom we have given an account in the note to p. 50; and that he was called Bacchus because he descended from the deity of that name.

Page 62. Hercules, according to the fable, strangling the Dragons.] I have already observed concerning Hercules, that he was one of those exalted characters belonging to the human
race, who, from their high degree of proximity and alliance to essential Heroes, were justly called by the ancients Heroes μακράς οικείων, or according to habit, and that he energised principally according to an intellectual life. As Hercules, therefore, was a character of this kind, it would be absurd to consider the prodigies related of him as historical facts; but we should view them in the light of fables, under which certain divine truths are concealed. Indeed, to such as consider the accounts given of Hercules as historical facts, we may very properly address the words of Plato to Dionysius, when he was interrogating him on this very subject, I mean the achievements of Hercules, “that if the things reported of Hercules are true, he was neither the son of Jupiter, nor blessed, but on the contrary miserable: but if he was the son of Jupiter and blessed, these accounts are false.” ἀλλος τις δὲ τοις τα τοιαύτα μετάφυσια λέγων, ἔτι ό αὐτοψίας Παλαιων τοις Διονυσίῳ περὶ τοῦ Ἰππόλητος· δι᾿ εἰ μὲν ταῦτα αἰσθήσει, αἱ τερατοὶ λέγουσι, έστι διὸς ης, εἰς εὐθαμμον, ἢλλ᾿ αὐθαμμον· ει δὲ διὸς ης καὶ εὐθαμμον ψευδή ἄντι ταῦτα.

But the meaning of the present fable, as Pausanias very properly calls it, appears to be as follows: A dragon is a symbol of the partial life of the soul, i. e. of the life which she leads while separated from the gods: for as a dragon is said to cast off its skin and become young again, so the soul acquires rejuvenescency by always descending into generation. It is therefore by no means wonderful, that Hercules, who was born with intellectual prerogatives so much superior to the bulk of mankind, should even from his infancy have been remarkably united with divine natures, and thus may be said to have vanquished a partial life, which is implied by his strangling dragons in his infancy. I only add farther concerning Hercules at present, that as he descended from Jupiter, it appears to me that his life was both polite and philosophic, and this in the highest degree possible to human nature.

Page 62. Minerva rising from the head of Jupiter.] Minerva, as Plato beautifully observes in the Cratylus, is deific intelligence; and hence she is said to have proceeded from the head

* Olympiodori M. B. Schol. in Platonis Gorgiam.
of Jupiter, or the demiurgic intellect, by which the world was produced, because she is the progeny of the deific intelligence of this intellect, which is the very summit, flower, and as it were head of Jupiter.

Page 62. For they first of all denominated Minerva Ergane.] Ergane means artificer: and the propriety of this appellation must be obvious to every one, from what we observed in the preceding note; I mean, that she is the immediate progeny of the artificer of the universe.

Page 63. Jupiter, who is denominated Polieus.] Polieus means the guardian of a city; and this is a very proper epithet of Jupiter, because he is the cause of a politic and philosophic life.

Page 64. In her hand she holds a spear, a shield lies at her feet, and near her spear there is a dragon, which may perhaps be Erichthonius; and at the base of the statue the generation of Pandora is represented.] The spear of Minerva is a symbol of that all-pervading power, through which the gods without control are enabled to pervade the universe, to aid sublunary forms, and to amputate base matter. Her shield signifies that untamed power, which first appears in her essence, and from thence becomes an invincible defence to the gods; through which they remain secure from passion, and reign over the universe triumphant and pure. A dragon, too, is very properly considered as one of the symbols belonging to this goddess. For, as we have before observed, this animal signifies the partial life of the soul, or, in other words, the condition of its intellect when separated from divine intellects: and it is the province of Minerva, as we are informed by Proclus, to establish all partial intellects, in the universal intellect of Jupiter.

With respect to Pandora, it is well known that, according to the fable, she was a woman made out of earth by Vulcan, at the command of Jupiter, in order to take vengeance on Prometheus for having stolen fire from heaven; that she was adorned by each god with some particular gift; and that she was afterwards sent by Jupiter to Epimetheus the brother of Prometheus with a box full of all various evils. The recondite meaning however of this fable is, I fear, at present perfectly unknown; and therefore I
FIRST VOLUME.

shall present the reader with the following beautiful explanation of it from the MS. Scholia of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias of Plato:—“Prometheus is the inspective guardian of the descent of rational souls: for to exert a providential energy is the employment of the rational soul, and prior to any thing else, to know itself. Irrational natures indeed perceive through percussion, and prior to impulsion know nothing: but the rational nature is able, prior to information from another, to know what is useful. Hence Epimetheus is the inspective guardian of the irrational soul, because it knows through percussion, and not prior to it. Prometheus, therefore, is that power which presides over the descent of rational souls. But fire signifies the rational soul itself; because, as fire tends upwards, so the rational soul pursues things on high. But you will say, Why is this fire said to have been stolen? I answer, that which is stolen is transferred from its proper place to one that is foreign. Since, therefore, the rational soul is sent from its proper place of abode on high, to earth as to a foreign region, on this account the fire is said to be stolen. But why was it concealed in a reed? Because a reed is cavernous like a conduit pipe (συρρυγωδής), and therefore signifies the fluid body (το ζευστόν σωμα) in which the soul is carried. But why was the fire stolen contrary to the will of Jupiter? Again the fable speaks as a fable: for both Prometheus and Jupiter are willing that the soul should abide on high; but as it is requisite that she should descend, the fable fabricates particulars accommodated to the persons. And it represents, indeed, the superior character, which is Jupiter, as unwilling; for he wishes the soul always to abide on high; but the inferior character Prometheus obliges her to descend. Jupiter, therefore, ordered Pandora to be made. And what else is this, than the irrational soul*, which is of a feminine characteristic? For as it was necessary that the soul should descend to these lower regions, but, being incorporeal and

*The true man, or the rational soul, consists of intellect, the reasoning power, and opinion: but the summit of the irrational life is the phantasy under which desire, like a many-headed savage beast, and anger, like a raging lion, subsist.
NOTES ON THE

divine, it was impossible for her to be conjoined with body without a medium, hence she becomes united with it through the irrational soul. But this irrational soul was called Pandora, because each of the gods bestowed on it some particular gift. And this signifies that the illuminations which terrestrial natures receive, take place through the celestial bodies*

I add farther concerning Minerva, from Proclus on the Timæus, that she is called Phosphor, because she extends the whole of intellectual light. The Saviour, as establishing every partial intellect in the total intellects of her father Jupiter. Calliergos, or producing beautiful works, as comprehending all the works of her father in intellectual beauty. A virgin, as extending an undefiled and unmingled purity. Aigiochos, or agistbearing, as moving the whole of Fate, and governing its productions. Philoscopic, as replete with intellectual knowledge, and the light of wisdom. And Philopolemic, as uniformly ruling over the opposing natures which the world contains. Proclus farther informs us in MSS. Schol. in Cratylum, "that this goddess is called Victory and Health; the former, because she causes intellect to rule over necessity, and form over matter; and the latter, because she preserves the universe perpetually whole, perfect, exempt from age, and free from disease. It is the property, therefore, of this goddess to elevate and distribute, and through an intellectual dance, as it were, to connect, establish, and defend inferior natures in such as are more divine." η ΑΣΗΝΑ ΝΙΚΗ προαγορωσας και ΤΓΙΕΙΑ, τον μεν τουν κραιειν πολεως της αναγειν, και το ειδος της υλης, ολον δ' αει και τελειον, και αγιον, και ανοσον διαφυλακθοντα το παν. εικειον ουν της του θεου ταυθης, και το αναγειν, και μερειν, και δια της νοοες χρειας συναπτειν τοις θεολογοις, και ενιδρυναι και φρουρειν εν αυτοις.

Page 70. It is reported that this statue fell from heaven.] The reason why some statues were called by the ancients Diopeteis,
is (says Jamblichus apud Phot. p. 554) "because the occult art
by which they were fabricated by human hands, was incon-
spicuous."

Page 70. Callimachus made for the statue of the goddess a lamp
of gold, which, when filled with oil, burns day and night for the
space of a year, &c.] The ancients with great propriety dedi-
cated a burning lamp to Minerva, as she is the goddess of
Wisdom: for as truth is light itself, and has a most intimate
alliance with wisdom, it is impossible that any corporeal
substance can more aptly symbolize with wisdom than sensible
light. Hence Asclepius Trallianus in Schol. MSS. in Nicom.
Arithmet. Isagogen. beautifully derives the etymology of σοφία
wisdom from τὸ σαφῆς the perspicuous and clear. But for the
sake of the liberal reader I will transcribe the passage, as the
manuscript is very rare. ἀρχὶ δὲ τὶ σαφῆς, φανερὸν δὲ σαφῆς τὸς
ουσα, ὡς σαφηνέστατα τὰ παντα. ἀρχὶ δὲ τὸ σαφῆς τὸ σαφῆς
ἀληθῆ; λεγομένον αὐτὸ τὸν φωτός. οἶχαν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, παῦσθ᾽ οὐσα
φαινόλα, τωνὶ περιστερεὰ καὶ καθαρὰ καλεῖ. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ σαφῆς
εἰς ὅπε τὰ κακομεμερεῖα εἰς κυβέρνη τῇ σοφοῖς (ἴ. τῆς σοφοῖς) εἰς φως καὶ
γνώσιν ἐπιφέρειν, διὰ τὸντο εἰλικρὴν οὐσίας. ἢ. e. "What then is wis-
dom?" We reply that it is a certain clearness, as being that which
renders all things perspicuous. But from whence was this word
clearness denominated? We reply, from light. From whence
also Aristotle calls all such things as are apparent, luminous,
and pure. Since, therefore, the clear is accustomed to lead into
light and knowledge things concealed in the darkness of igno-
rance, on this account it is thus denominated."

The following remarkable passage, indeed, shows that the an-
cients were in possession of a stone, from which they made
ever-burning wicks for lamps. This passage is from Apollonius,
in his little treatise entitled Ιστορίαι Θαυμαστίαι, or Wonderful
Histories, and is taken from Tacitus. Τακοὶ, ιπ περὶ ξυνῶν, τὸ
καμάριος (φύσιν) λειυχένοις λίθος εὐφυεύς εχεῖ ερυθρός καὶ χρω-
δίζει, εὐ τοι ἡσύχασε καὶ ὑψίστατα χειρεκμαγχεία. στρέφουσι δὲ εὐς αὐτός
καὶ εὐνυχίας, καὶ συνεν καμάρενα λαμματα καὶ ακαλακαϊσαντα. τὸν δὲ
ἐκμαγέον τῶν δυσαμαμένων τὴ κυλος γιγνεῖαι, αὐ δι υδαῖς, αὔλα
κλήματις (forte κλήματις) κασάκια, καὶ τὸν τὸ εκμαγέον επιθυμεῖν.
NOTES ON THE

καὶ οἱ μονοφασις αιτοφει, αυτοὶ δὲ λαμπον καὶ καθαρον γινέει υπο τον
κυρος, καὶ παλιν αι ται αυλαις εγγραθείς χροιας. τα δ’ ἐλλυχνα
μενει ται απαντα χρονον εκαλασαικοτα καλομενα μετ’ ελαιων.
δειμαζει δε και τους πλωρατιζομενους η ομη του ἐλλυχνου
καιρουν. γνυεται δε ο λιθος αυτος, και εν Καρυστῳ μεν αει’ ου και
τουνοις αλαβειν. τολυς δε εν Κυκρα καταβαλοντων απο τους
Γερανδρου ως επι Σολας πορευομενοι, εν αριστερα του Ελμαιου υπο
κατω πετρων. και κατα τοναειλην αυξεται, και παλιν φθινωτος
του θελνου μειουται και ο λιθος. That is, “Ticus, in his Treatise
on Stones, says, that the stone which is called Carystius contains
a certain woolly and coloured substance, from which garments
are spun and wove. Wicks for lamps, likewise, are twisted from
this substance, which burn with a clear light, without being con-
sumed. These garments, too, are not purified from the dirt which
they contract, by water; but they enkindle the branches of
vines, and then place the garments on them. The dirt is by this
means removed, and the garments become white and pure
through the fire, and adapted to the purposes for which they
were before employed. But the wicks which are formed from
this substance for lamps, when burnt with oil, give a perpetual
light, without requiring fresh supply. By the smell, too, of these
lamps, those that labour under the falling sickness are detected.
This stone grows in Carystus, from whence it derives its name.
It likewise abounds in that part of Cyprus through which you
descend from Geranrum towards Soli, on the left hand of
Elmeus beneath the rocks. This stone increases about the
full moon, and is diminished when the moon decreases.” It
appears from this curious passage, that this stone Carystius
must be the same with linum vitum, or asbestinum.

What Plutarch, too, in his treatise, Why the Oracles cease to
give answers, says concerning the non-existence of this stone in
his time, particularly deserves the attention of the philosophic
reader. “It is not long (says he) since the quarry of Carystus
has ceased to yield a certain soft stone, which used to be drawn
into a fine thread; for I suppose that some here have seen
towels, net-work, and coifs, woven of that thread which could
not be burnt; but when they were soiled with using, people
threw them into the fire, and took them out white and clean; for the fire only served to purify them. But all this is vanished, and nothing is to be found in the quarry now, but some few fibres, or hairy threads, lying scattered up and down. Aristotle and his followers affirm, that the cause of all this is owing to an exhalation within the earth, the phenomena proceeding from which fail, or again make their appearance, when this exhalation fails, or revives and recovers itself again." The reason why this stone sometimes fails, and at others appears again, can only be satisfactorily accounted for by that theory respecting fertile and barren periods, which the reader will find unfolded in the note to page 97.

With respect to the lamp mentioned by Pausanias, whether its burning day and night for a year was entirely owing to the wick being made of Carpasian flax, so that the lamp was not larger than the lamps used in common, deserves to be investigated by the curious in natural researches. But that the ancients possessed the art of constructing lamps that would burn for many ages without supply, I think the liberal reader will be fully convinced, from perusing the following account of lamps found in ancient sepulchres, collected from Licitus, De Lucernis Antiquorum, Baptista Porta, and Pancirollus.

In the first place, then, Baptista Porta, in his treatise of Natural Magic, relates, that about the year 1550, in the island Nessa in Naples, a marble sepulchre of a certain Roman was discovered, upon the opening of which, a phial was found containing a burning lamp. This lamp became extinct on breaking the phial, and exposing the light to the open air. It appeared that this lamp had been concealed before the advent of Christ. Those who saw the lamp reported, that it emitted a most splendid flame. But the most celebrated is the lamp of Pallas, the son of Evander, who was killed by Turnus, as Virgil relates in the tenth book of his Aeneid.

This was discovered not far from the city of Rome, in the year 1401, by a countryman, who, digging deeper than usual, observed a stone sepulchre, containing the body of a man of extraordinary size, which was as entire as if recently interred,
and which had a large wound in the breast. Above the head of the deceased there was found a lamp burning with perpetual fire, which neither wind nor water, nor any other superinduced liquor, could extinguish: but the lamp being bored in the bottom, and broke by the importunate enemies of this wonderful light, the flame immediately vanished. That this was the body of Pallas, is evident from the inscription on the tomb, which was as follows:

Pallas, Evander's son, whom Turnus' spear
In battle slew, of mighty bulk, lies here.

In the Appian Road, too, at Rome, in the time of Pope Paul the Third, a lamp was discovered burning in the sepulchre of Tullia the daughter of Cicero, which became extinct on the admission of the external air. From whence it appears that this lamp had continued to shine for about 1550 years. The historian, Pancirollus, who mentions this lamp, is a respectable author, and relates it as a well-known fact, in his curious book, entitled, Concerning memorable Things known to the Ancients, but now lost.

Saint Austin, too, (De Civitat. Dei, l. 21. cap. 6.) says, that a lamp was found in a temple dedicated to Venus, which was always exposed to the open weather, and could never be consumed or extinguished. And Ludovicus Vives, his commentator, mentions another lamp, which was found a little before his time, that had continued burning for 1050 years.

A very remarkable lamp was discovered about the year 1500 near Atrestes, a town belonging to Padua in Italy, by a rustic, who, digging deeper than usual, found an earthen urn, containing another urn, in which last was a lamp placed between two cylindrical vessels, one of gold, and the other of silver, and each of which was full of a very pure liquor, by whose virtue, it is probable, the lamp had continued to shine for upwards of 1600 years; and, unless it had been exposed to the air, might have continued its wonderful light for a still greater period of time. This curious lamp was the workmanship of one Maximus Olybius, who most probably effected this wonder by a profound
skill in the chymical art. On the greater urn some verses were inscribed in Latin which may be translated as follows:

I.
Plunderers, forbear this gift to touch,
'Tis awful Pluto's own:
A secret rare the world conceals,
To such as you unknown.

II.
Olybius in this slender vase
The elements has chain'd;
Digested with laborious art,
From secret science gain'd.

III.
With guardian care two copious urns
The costly juice confine,
Lest, through the ruins of decay,
The lamp should cease to shine.

On the lesser urn were the following verses:

Plunderers with prying eyes, away!
What mean ye by this curious stay?
Hence with your cunning, patron god,
With bonnet wing'd, and magic rod!
Sacred alone to Pluto's name
This mighty work of endless flame.

It appears to me that the perpetuity of these lamps was owing to the consummate tenacity of the unctuous matter with which the flame was united, being so proportioned to the strength of the fire, that, like the radical moisture and natural heat in animals, neither of them could conquer or destroy the other. Licetus, who is of this opinion, observes, that in order to preserve this equality of proportion, the ancients hid these lamps in caverns, or close monuments: and hence it has happened, that on opening these tombs, the admission of fresh air to the lamps has produced so great an inequality between the flame and the oil, that they have been presently extinguished.
NOTES ON THE

Page 71. *Canophori.* ] So called from carrying canisters in which the sacred rites were deposited.

Page 74. *The Crommyonian boar.* ] I have already observed that the labours of Hercules are allegorical; perhaps, therefore, his destroying this boar signifies his subduing the fierce and savage nature of the passions.

Page 76. *But it is said of Pan, &c.* ] Pan, according to the Orphic theology, is the monad or summit of all the sublunary local gods and daemons, and first subsists at the extremity of the intelligible order, being there, as we are informed by Damascius, no other than the celebrated Protagonus, or Phanes. As the Moon, therefore, as well as many other divinities, is celebrated by the Orphic theologians as both male and female, perhaps Pan is the masculine power of the moon; and this opinion is strengthened by the following curious passage from Stephanus de Urbibus, in the article Panos. "There is (says he) a great statue of Pan, with its private parts raised in a straight direction to the length of seven fingers. The right hand of the statue holds whips elevated towards the moon, of which luminary they say Pan is an image." εστι δε ου την ούλη αγαλμα μεγα, ουκ εις χαλικους επι φησι τη ματηγας τη δεξιαι σεληνη, εις ειναι ειναι τον Πανα. Let the reader, however, carefully remember that the Pan seen by the Lacedæmonian messenger was a daemoniacal power, and not the divinity of this name.

Page 76. *Eschylus was the first that represented these divinities with snakes in their hair.* ] Those who are of opinion that the Orphic hymns are spurious compositions, will doubtless imagine that their opinion is indisputably confirmed by the present passage; for the Furies in these hymns are called ὃρμοντλωκαμοι, or snake-haired; and consequently it may be said, they must have been written posterior to the time of Eschylus, if what Pausanias asserts be true. It must, however, be remembered, that Eschylus was accused of inserting in his trage-

* Vid. hym. 69.*
dies things belonging to the mysteries*; and I shall produce some very strong arguments in the course of these notes, to prove that the Orphic hymns which have come down to us, are the very hymns which were used in the Eleusinian mysteries. If this be the case, either Pausanias is mistaken in what he asserts of Æschylus in this place, or, which appears to me to be more probable, being a man religiously fearful of disclosing any particulars belonging to the mysteries, he means that no one prior to Æschylus openly represented the Furies with snakes in their hair; or, in other words, that Æschylus was the first profane writer (as a Christian would express himself when speaking of some Pagan, with reference to the authors of the Bible) who described the Furies in this manner. I shall only observe farther at present, that there is a passage in the Cataplus of Lucian, which very much corroborates my opinion. The passage is as follows: "Tell me, Cynic, for you are initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries, do not the present particulars appear to you similar to those which takes place in the Mysteries?—Cyn. Very much so. See then, here comes a certain torch-bearer, with a dreadful and threatening countenance. Is it therefore one of the Furies?" ειπει μοι, καλεωθής γαρ, ω Κυνικε, τα Ελευσινία, φως ομοιάς ετώς εκεί τα ενδύα τοις δοκει; ΚΤΝ. ευ λεγεις. έδων ου κροσιζηται τις δακοπόνας τις, φοέωμεν τι, και απείλημεν προσελπουσά· η αρα ην Ερυμνός εσιν; It is evident from this passage, that the Furies in the Mysteries were of a terrible appearance, which Pausanias informs us was not the case with their statues: and it is from the circumstance of the statues of these divinities not being in the least dreadful in their appearance, that he infers Æschylus was the first that represented them so. Hence, as the Mysteries were instituted long before Æschylus, it is evident, that the terrible aspects of the Furies were not invented by him; and it is more than probable that this dreadful appearance was principally caused by the snakes in their hair. The same Orphic hymn, too, calls the Furies φοέωμεν, i.e. having terrific aspects.

NOTES ON THE

Page 77. The verses of Homer, alluded to by Pausanias, are to be found in the 23d book of the Iliad; and are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

and emulate thy sire,
The great Mecisthenes; who, in days of yore,
In Theban games the noblest trophy bore,
(The games ordain'd dead OEidus to grace)
And singly vanquish'd the Cadmean race.

Page 79. For the pomp of the Panathenaia.] The Athenians had two festivals in honour of Minerva, the former of which, on account of the greater preparation required in its celebration, was called the greater Panathenaia; and the latter, on account of its requiring a less apparatus, was denominated the lesser Panathenaia. The celebration of them likewise was distinguished by longer and shorter periods of time. In the greater Panathenaia, too, the veil of the goddess was carried about, in which, says Proclus, the giants were represented vanquished by the Olympian gods. Proclus farther informs us (in Tim. p. 26) that these festivals signified the beautiful order which proceeds into the world from intellect, and the unconfused distinction of mundane contrarieties. But what are we to understand by the veil of the goddess, and the victory obtained over the giants? I answer, her veil is an emblem of that one life or nature of the universe, which, as Proclus observes, the goddess weaves, by those intellectual vital powers which her essence contains; and the battle of the giants against the Olympian gods, signifies the opposition between the last demiurgic powers of the universe (or those powers which partially fabricate and proximately preside over mundane natures), and such as are first. But Minerva is said to have vanquished the giants, because she rules over these ultimate artificers of things, by her unifying powers.

Page 79. Aristotle and Callistus.] That is, best and most beautiful. It appears to me, that Diana was thus denominated from her intimate alliance with Apollo: for Proclus, in his MSS.
Scholia on the Cratylius, informs us that there is a great correspondence between the Coric* or virginal series, and the Apolloniaca. "For (says he) the former is the unity of the middle triad of rulers, i.e. of the supermundane gods, and emits from herself vivific powers; but the latter converts the solar principles to one union; and the solar principles are allotted a subsistence immediately after the vivific. Hence, according to Orpheus, when Ceres delivered up the government to Proserpine, she thus admonished her:

Αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔλεην ἔστειλέν παμφανάθεαν,
Τετῆθεν σταίκα τεκνὰ πυρηνενόχλοι προσέκακη.

i.e.

But next Apollo's flow'd bed ascend;
For thus the god famed offspring shall beget,
Refulgent with the beams of glowing fire.

But how could this be the case, unless there was a considerable degree of communion between these divinities?" As Apollo, therefore, from his analogy to the good, or the first cause, may very properly be called the best (for Apollo emits from his essence intellectual, and the good superessential light), Diana likewise may be thus denominated from her intimate alliance with Apollo. The same reason, too, accounts for her being called most beautiful: for Mercury, Venus, and Apollo compose the supermundane elevating triad, and are most profoundly united to each other.

Page 85. The daemon Anteros.] Of this power, who avenges the injuries of lovers, the following remarkable story is told by Eunapius in his Life of Jamblichus: "This philosopher went with his disciples to Gadara in Syria, a place so famous for baths, that after Baiae in Campania it is the second in the Roman empire. Here a dispute about baths arising while they were bathing, Jamblichus smiling said to them: "Though what I am going to disclose is not pious, yet for your sakes it shall be

* This series constitutes the vivific triad of supermundane gods, and consists of Diana, Proserpine, and Minerva; or, according to the Chaldean theologians, of Hecate, Soul, and Virtue, which are only different names of the same power.
undertaken; and at the same time he ordered his disciples to inquire of the natives, what appellations had been formerly given to two of the hot fountains, which were indeed less than the others, but more elegant. Upon inquiry, they found themselves unable to discover the cause of their nomination; but were informed that the one was called Eros or Love, and the other Anteros, or the god who avenges the injuries of lovers. Jamblichus immediately touching the water with his hand (for he sat, perhaps, on the margin of the fountain), and murmuring a few words, raised from the bottom of the fountain a fair boy, of a moderate stature, whose hair seemed to be tinged with gold, and the upper part of whose breast was of a luminous appearance. His companions being astonished at the novelty of the affair, 'Let us pass on,' says he, 'to the next fountain;' and at the same time he arose, fixed in thought, and, performing the same ceremonies as before, called forth the other Love, who was in all respects similar to the former, except that his hair scattered in his neck was blacker, and was like the sun in fulgence. At the same time, both the boys eagerly embraced Jamblichus, as if he had been their natural parent; but he immediately restored them to their proper seats, and, when he had washed, departed from the place." Let the reader, however, be careful to remember, that though Eros and Anteros are gods considered according to their first subsistence, yet these which are mentioned by Eunapius were of the daemoniacal order; and were perhaps demons only καλα ὁξεισ, according to habitude or alliance.

Page 85. Carrying with them burning lamps.] The propriety of employing burning lamps, in a contest sacred to Prometheus, is sufficiently apparent from the account we have already given of this divinity. For Prometheus, we have shown, is the inspective guardian of the descent of rational souls; and fire, from its tending upwards, is an emblem of the rational soul. As a burning lamp, therefore, may be considered as a very proper image of our rational part, it appears to me, that this custom adopted by the Athenians, of running from the altar of Prometheus to the city with burning lamps, in which he alone
was victorious whose lamp remained unextinguished in the race, was intended to signify that he is the true conqueror in the race of life, whose rational part is not extinguished, or, in other words, does not become dormant in the career.

Page 85. For Socrates, in the night before that day on which Plato became his disciple, saw in a dream a swan fly to his bosom.] The soul of Plato, according to the ancients, descended from Apollo, to whom the swan is sacred; and consequently this bird plainly signified Plato in the dream of Socrates. Olympiodorus, too, in his Life of Plato, informs us, that when that philosopher was near his death, he dreamt that he was changed into a swan, and that, by flying from tree to tree, he gave much trouble to the fowlers in catching him; and this dream, says he, according to the Socratic Simmias, signified that his meaning would not be apprehended by his interpreters. For interpreters are similar to fowlers, by attempting to explain the conceptions of the ancients: and Plato’s meaning cannot be apprehended, because his discourses, like those of Homer, may be understood physically, ethically, theologically, and in short multifariously. For the souls of Homer and Plato are said to have been produced all-harmonic. Let it, however, be remembered, that though Plato’s meaning was by no means apprehended by his more ancient interpreters, yet it is most divinely and fully unfolded by the latter Platonists, among whom Olympiodorus holds a very distinguished place.

Page 85. Apollo changed him into the bird whose name he bore.] Nothing more appears to be signified by this fable, than that Cynicus was a man wholly given to external harmony, and who therefore knew nothing of philosophy, which is the greatest music, as Plato in the Phædo beautifully observes. In consequence, therefore, of this neglect of his soul, he become united to the life of a swan, as the punishment of his guilt. But observe, that when the rational soul is said to be changed into a brute, the meaning is, that the soul becomes bound to the life of a brute in the same manner as our presiding daemons are united to our souls: for the human soul never becomes the animating part of a brute, any more than daemons become human souls

VOL. III.
I only add, that the doctrine of transmigration, when viewed in this light, is extremely beautiful; and Syrianus and Proclus were, I believe, the first by whom it was thus explained.

Page 86. *There is a temple of Ceres Thesmophorus.* Ceres was with great propriety worshipped by the ancients as Thesmophorus, or the legislator: for this goddess, as we are informed by Sallust, *De Diis et Mundo*, according to her mundane distribution is the divinity of the planet Saturn: Saturn, according to Plato in the Cratylus, is pure intellect; and law, according to the same great philosopher in his Laws, is ἀνθρώπινη, a distribution of intellect.

Page 86. *The first fruits of the Hyperboreans are semi.* It appears from the Scholiast on Pindar, that the Greeks called the Thracians Boreans: there is therefore (says Larcher) great probability, that they called the people beyond these Hyperboreans. Callimachus, in his hymn to Delos, mentions these people in the following lines, as translated by Dr. Dodd:

--- states flowing from each clime  
Of the well-peopled globe, from east to west,  
From Arctic and Antarctic pole—where Heaven  
The virtue of the inhabitants rewards  
With length of days: these to the Delian god  
Begin the grand procession; and in hand  
The holy sheaves and mystic offerings bear.

Page 86. *Commit them to the Arimaspi.* The Arimaspi were Hyperborean Cyclopians, who dwelt about the Scythian river Arimaspus, which is full of golden sands.

Page 87. *Apollo Dionysidonus.* Perhaps instead of διονυσοδος it should be διονυσίπ, Dionysoter or the saviour of Bacchus. My reasons for supposing that this alteration is requisite, are derived from the following curious and beautiful passage, from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Phaedo of Plato: “In order,” says he, “to the soul’s descent, it is necessary that she should first establish an animating image of herself in the body; and in the second place, that she should sympathize with the image, according to a similitude of form: for every form
passes into a sameness with itself, through naturally verging to itself. In the third place, being situated in a divisible nature, it is necessary that she should be lacerated and scattered together with such a nature, and that she should fall into an ultimate distribution, till, through the energies of a cathartic life, she raises herself from the extreme dispersion, and loosens the bond of sympathy through which she is united with body: and till, at the same time energizing without the image, she becomes established according to her primary life. And we may behold a resemblance of all this in the fable respecting Bacchus, the exemplar of our intellect. For it is said that Dionysius, establishing his image in a mirror, pursued it, and thus became distributed into the universe. But Apollo excited and elevated Bacchus; this god being a cathartic deity, and the true saviour of Dionysius, and on this account he is celebrated as Dionysosoter*. Such as are desirous of seeing the original of this curious passage, and many important particulars respecting the mysteries of Bacchus unfolded, from Greek manuscripts, may consult my Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.

Page 87. *And of Earth, whom they call a mighty goddess.*] Earth is called by Plato, in the Timeus, the most ancient and first of the gods in the heavens; and this, says Proclus, on account of her stability and generative power, her symphony with heaven, and her position in the centre of the universe. For the centre possesses a mighty power in the universe, as connecting all its circulations; and hence it was called by the Pythagoreans the tower of Jupiter, from its containing a demiurgic guard. And if we recollect the Platonic hypothesis concerning the earth, that our habitable part is nothing but a dark hollow, and very different from the true earth, which is adorned with a beauty similar to that of the heavens, we shall have no occasion to wonder at her being called the first and most ancient of the celestial gods. But the Platonic hypothesis which Proclus alludes to is this, which is an Egyptian tradition: that the summit of the earth is ethereal, in order that it may unite with

* In the MS. it is *someight*; but should doubtless be read *someawndstw*.
the orb of the moon; that it is everywhere perforated with holes like a pumice-stone; and that we reside at the bottom of certain of these hollows, while we fancy that we dwell on the summit of the earth. The great antiquity of this doctrine may be collected from what Homer says in the Iliad, that Heaven and Earth are common to the three divinities, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto*; and consequently each of these must be divided between them. The earth, therefore, must be divided analogous to the universe, into that which is celestial, terrestrial, and middle. And there must be some part of it ethereal, which belongs to Jupiter. As this part, therefore, cannot be the surface on which we reside, it must consequently be contiguous to the moon. See more concerning this curious and interesting theory, in my Introductions to the Phædo and Timeæus of Plato.

Page 87. Ceres Anesidora.] This word means the bestower of gifts, and is agreeable to the etymon of Ceres given by Plato in the Cratylus: for δημηρ, says he, is δίδωσι μηρ, a bestowing mother. But why this goddess was so called by the wise ancients, the following beautiful extract from the MSS. Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus will abundantly unfold: "It is requisite to consider this goddess, not only as the supplier of corporeal food, but, beginning from the gods, we should view her as first of all supplying them with aliment, afterwards the natures posterior to the gods, and last of all such as are indigent of corporeal aliment. For the characteristic of love shines forth first of all in the gods: and this is the case with the medicinal and prophetic powers of Apollo, and with those of every other divinity. But nutriment, when considered with reference to the gods, is the communication of intellectual plenitude from more exalted natures to those of an inferior rank. Gods, therefore, are nourished, when they view with the eye of intellect gods prior to themselves; when they are perfected, and view intelligible beauties, such as justice itself, temperance itself, and the like, as Plato observes in the Phædrus." Shortly after this, he observes, "that according to Orpheus, Ceres is

* Γαῖα ἔσθι βοτήν πάνω καὶ μακρόν Ὀλυμπός. Iliad. 15.
the same with Rhea: for Orpheus says that, subsisting on high in unproceeding union with Saturn, she is Rhea, but that, by emitting and generating Jupiter, she is Ceres. For thus he speaks:

_Ruπὴ τὸ πέντε τούτων, εἰς διὰ τὸν ὄμηρον_  
_

_Gegeνεῖ δαμαρτίγεσθαι._

_Ι. ε._

The goddess who was Rhea, when she bore Jove, became Ceres.

"But Hesiod says that Ceres is the daughter of Rhea. It is, however, evident that these theologists harmonize with each other: for whether this goddess proceeds from union with Saturn to a secondary order, or whether she is the first progeny of Rhea, she is still the same. Ceres, therefore, being of this kind, and receiving the most ancient and ruling order, from the whole vivific Rhea †, and comprehending the middle centres of whole vivification ‡, she fills all supermundane natures with the rivers of all-perfect life, pouring upon all things vitality, indivisibly and uniformly.

"But prior to all this, she unfolds to us the demiurgic intellect, (Jupiter) and imparts to him the power of vivifying wholes. For, as Saturn supplies her from on high with the cause of being; so Ceres from on high, and from her own prolific bosoms, pours forth vivification to the demiurgus. But possessing herself the middle of all vivific deity, she governs the whole fountains which she contains, and comprehends the one bond of the first and last powers of life. She stably convolves, too, and contains all secondary fountains. But she leads forth the uniform causes of prior natures to the generation of others. This goddess, too, comprehends Vesta and Juno: in her right hand parts Juno, who pours forth the whole order of souls; but in her left hand parts Vesta, who leads forth all the light of Virtue. Hence, Ceres is with great propriety called by Plato mother, and, at the same time, the supplier of aliment. For, so

* This Orphic fragment was never before published.
† Τὰς ὀλίγας ζωγραφος Peerr.  ‡ Τὰς ὀλίγας ζωγραφιες
far as she comprehends in herself the cause of Juno, she is a mother; but as containing Vesta in her essence, she is the supplier of aliment. But the paradigm of this goddess is Night: for immortal Night is called the nurse of the gods. Night, however, is the cause of aliment intelligibly*: for that which is intelligible is, according to the oracle †, the aliment of the intellectual orders of gods. But Ceres first of all separates the two kinds of aliment in the gods, as Orpheus says:

† Μωσάοι γαρ προκόουσι, καὶ αμφιπολλυς, καὶ σκάδους.
Μωσάοι δὲμδεσσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἔρων ἔκλαρος οὐκ ἔρων.
Μωσάο δέγλαιν οὖν μελίσσων κειστέρων.

i. e.

She cares for powers ministrant, whether they
Or gods precede, or follow, or surround:
Ambrosia, and tenacious nectar red,
Are too the objects of her bounteous care.
Last to the bee her providence extends,
Who gathers honey with resounding hum.

"Ceres, therefore, our sovereign mistress (δισωται), not only generates life, but that which gives perfection to life; and this from supernal natures to such as are last: for virtue is the perfection of souls. Hence mothers who are connected with the circulations of time, bring forth their offspring in imitation of this two-fold and eternal generation of Ceres. For, at the same time that they send forth their young into the light, they extend to them milk naturally produced, as their food."

Page 89. And when the Athenians inquired of the oracle, &c.] There are very few, I fear, of the present day, who do not consider the oracles of the ancients as mere delusions; and who do not ascribe the accomplishment of their predictions, either to the tricks of designing priests, or the random power of chance.

• Because Night subsists at the summit of that divine order, which is called by the Chaldæan theologians νυξ & καὶ νυξ, intelligible, and at the same time intellectual.

† That is, according to one of the Chaldæan oracles.

‡ These verses, too, were never before printed.
FIRST VOLUME.

This, however, must necessarily be the case at a period when divine influence is totally withdrawn, and delusion and perfect atheism are the substitutes for the genuine religion of mankind. While men, indeed, are ignorant that true theology (and such was that of the ancients) is perfectly scientific, being founded on the clearest and most natural conceptions of the human mind; and while, in consequence of this ignorance, they believe nothing to be real but objects of sense, the doctrine of a communication between men and divine natures must appear ridiculous in the extreme. And yet one should think, that history must convince the most incredulous, that the numerous instances in which the predictions of oracles have been so wonderfully accomplished, could not be the result either of chance or intrigue. Indeed, he who can read the many instances of this kind adduced by Pausanias, and yet deny the possibility of man communicating with higher powers, must either be an atheist or a fool.

For the sake, therefore, of the lover of divinity, I shall summarily disclose the scientific theory of oracles, according to the philosophy of Plato. As there is not one father of the universe only, one providence, and one divine law, but many fathers subordinate to the one first father, many administrators of providence posterior to, and comprehended in, the one universal providence of the demiurgus of all things, and many laws proceeding from one first law, it is necessary that there should be different allotments, and a diversity of divine distribution. Hence there are allotments of partial souls, such as ours, of unpolluted souls, such as heroes, beneficent demons and angels, and of the gods themselves. But the allotments of angels, demons, and heroes are suspended from those of the gods, and possess a more various distribution: for one divine allotment comprehends many angelic allotments, and a still greater number of such as are demoniacal. For multitude is every where suspended from one principle. And as in essences, powers, and energies, progressions from these generate a kindred multitude; so with respect to allotments, such as are first transcend in power, but are diminished according to multitude, as being
nearer the one father of the universe, and the one total providence which he contains; but such as are second to these possess a subordinate power, and an increased multitude.

Such, then, being the general particulars respecting the theory of allotments, the next thing to be considered is, that the allotment of a divine nature, whether celestial or sublunary, is an unrestrained government, and a providential energy about the subjects of its government. By unrestrained government I mean an exemption from all passivity, and from any tendency towards or alliance with subordinate natures; for every thing divine is at the same time every where and no where. It is every where, considered as illuminating all things with its own ineffable light; and it is no where, considered as exempt from all the properties of the natures which it illumines. The same, too, must be understood, in an inferior degree, of those beneficent natures that are the perpetual attendants of the gods: for the energy of these also is unrestrained, but not in that transcendent manner in which it is possessed by the gods. In the third place, the allotments of the gods and their attendants are perpetual: for immutability is the essential property of a divine nature, and consequently must be communicated to that which perpetually attends divinity, and exerts a beneficent energy. But notwithstanding this immutability of better natures, yet in order to the proper reception of their illuminations, it is necessary that there should be as perfect an aptitude in the recipients as they are capable of receiving. Hence, as in generation, or the sublunary region, wholes remain perpetually according to nature, but their parts are sometimes according and sometimes contrary to nature, this must be true of the parts of the earth. When those circulations, therefore, take place, during which the parts of the earth subsist according to nature, and this is accompanied with a concurrence of proper instruments and places, then divine illumination is abundantly and properly received. But when the parts of the earth subsist contrary to nature, as at present, and which has been the case ever since the oracles ceased, then, as there is no longer an aptitude of places, instruments, and times, divine influence can no longer
be received, though the illuminations of divine natures continue immutably the same; just, says Proclus, as if a face standing in the same position, a mirror should at one time receive a clear image of it, and at another, one obscure and debile, or indeed no image at all. For, as the same incomparable man farther observes, it is no more proper to refer the defect of divine inspiration to the gods, than to accuse the sun as the cause of the moon being eclipsed, instead of the conical shadow of the earth into which the moon falls.

Page 91. *There is a temple of Nemesis, &c.*] Proclus on Hesiod informs us, that *Nemesis* was celebrated in hymns as *the angel of justice*; and that she is represented by Hesiod clothed in a white garment, because she is an intellectual power, far removed from the atheistic and dark essence of the passions.

Page 91. *The river of the Ocean.*] Herodotus in Euterpe says, "That he knows no river of the name of Ocean, and that he believes it was either invented by Homer, or some poet of former times:" and Mr. Wood is of opinion, "That the Ocean in Homer's time had a very different meaning from that which it now conveys." Herodotus is certainly right in what he says, as he only considered the sensible Ocean; and Mr. Wood discovers some sagacity in conjecturing, that Ocean formerly had a different meaning from what it has at present. For, when Homer calls Ocean a *river*, he alludes to the deity of this name, who belongs to that order of gods which is called intellectual, and of which Saturn is the summit; who is a fontal deity *γάλακτος* Σάτυρος, and is therefore very properly denominated a *river*, as giving birth to the *procession* of the gods into the sensible universe, and being, according to his last subsistence, the source of the sea and the all-various streams that flow upon the earth.

For every cause is that primarily, which its effect is secondarily; and hence causes were assigned by ancient theologists the same names with their effects. Concerning this deity, Proclus in his MSS. Scholia on the Cratylus observes as follows: "Ocean is the cause to all the gods of acute and vigorous energy, and bounds the distinctions of the first, middle, and last orders; converting himself to himself, and to his proper principles,
NOTES ON THE

through swiftness of intellect, but moving all things from himself to energies accommodated to their natures; perfecting their powers, and causing them to possess a never-failing subsistence.”

And in his Commentaries on the Timæus, p. 296, he observes of this deity, considered according to his sublunary subsistence, “that he is the cause of motion, progression, and power, conferring vigour and prolific abundance on intellectual lives, but swiftness of energy and purity in generations to souls, and facility of motion to bodies. That considered as subsisting in the gods, (i.e. in sublunary gods) he comprehends a motive and providential cause: but in angels he comprehends an unfolding and intellectual swiftness; in daemons efficacious power; and in heroes he is the supplier of a magnificent and efficacious life. Besides this, he imparts to every element the characteristic of his nature. Thus, with respect to air, he produces all the mutation of aerial natures, and is, as Aristotle observes, the cause of the circle of the meteors.

“But in the watery element he is the cause of fertility, facility of motion, and all-various powers: for, according to the poet*,

From him the sea and every river flows.

In earth he is the source of generative perfection, of the distinction of forms, and of generation and corruption. Hence, such terrestrial orders as are vivific and demiurgic he defines; and such powers as comprehend the forms of earth, and are the inspective guardians of generation, he excites and multiplies, and calls forth into motion.” And shortly after he adds, “That Ocean in fine is the cause of all motion; intellectual, belonging to souls, and natural, to all secondary natures: but Tethys is the cause of all the distinction of the streams proceeding from the Ocean, conferring on each a proper purity of natural motion.”

I only add, that it is peculiar to the Platonic philosophy to suspend physics from theology, and this in imitation of Orpheus, who suspends Nature herself from the vivific goddess Rhea, who

* Homer.
is the cause of all life, both that which is intellectual, and that which is inseparable from the fluctuating nature of bodies. This peculiarity must surely be pleasing to everyone that is not atheistically inclined; at the same time, that by leading us up to such principles as are truly first, it enables us to remove the veil which conceals the mystic wisdom of the ancients, and which causes it to appear in the eyes of the multitude inextricably confused, and beyond all comparison absurd. The truth of this observation will be immediately assented to by any one who understands the above explanation of Ocean.

Page 92. *Table of the Sun.*] The table of the Sun, according to Herodotus in Thal. was this:—"A plain in the vicinity of the city (above Syene in Æthiopia) was filled to the height of four feet with the roasted flesh of all kinds of animals, which was carried there in the night, under the inspection of the magistrates: during the day, whoever pleased was at liberty to go and satisfy his hunger. The natives of the place affirm, that the earth spontaneously produces all these viands: this, however, is what they term the table of the Sun." I have given the passage as translated by Mr. Beloe.

Page 92. *Atlas is so lofty, &c.*] The great height of the mountain Atlas is very successfully employed by Proclus in Tim. p. 56, as an argument for the truth of that Platonic hypothesis concerning the earth, which we have mentioned in a former note. The passage in which he employs this argument is as follows: "It is here requisite to remember the Platonic hypothesis concerning the earth. For Plato does not measure its magnitude after the same manner as mathematicians; but thinks that its interval is much greater, as Socrates asserts in the Phædo. In which dialogue also he says, that there are many habitable parts similar to the places of our abode. And hence he relates, that an island and continent of this kind existed in the external or Atlantic sea. For, indeed, if the earth be naturally spherical, it is necessary that it should be such according to its greatest part. But the parts which we inhabit, both internally and externally, exhibit great inequality. In some parts of the earth, therefore, there must be an ex-
panded plain, and an interval extended on high. For, according to the saying of Heraclitus, he who passes through a very profound region will arrive at the Atlantic mountain, whose magnitude is such, according to the relation of the African historians, that it touches the aether, and casts a shadow of five thousand stadia in extent; for from the ninth hour of the day the sun is concealed by it, even to his perfect demersion under the earth. Nor is this wonderful: for Athos, a Macedonian mountain, casts a shadow as far as to Lemnos, which is distant from it seven hundred stadia. Nor are such particulars as these, which Marcellus the Africanic historian mentions, related only concerning the Atlantic mountain; but Ptolemy also says that the Lunar mountains are of an immense height; and Aristotle, that Caucasus is enlightened by the rays of the sun a third part of the night after sunset, and a third part before the rising of the sun; and if any one considers the whole magnitude of the earth, bounded by its elevated parts, he will conclude that it is truly of a prodigious magnitude, according to the assertion of Plato. I only add, that what Proclus observes here from Ptolemy about the height of the Lunar mountains is contradicted by Mr. Bruce, who says in his book, on the Source of the Nile, that these mountains are by no means of that prodigious altitude which they were supposed to be by the ancients. However, for my own part, I prefer Ptolemy's authority to that of Mr. Bruce, notwithstanding the person of Mr. Bruce during his travels was, as he informs us, by no means despicable; and in addition to this, his circumstances were affluent, and his connexions powerful.

Page 94. I can also mention others that were once men, and were after their death worshipped as gods by the Greeks. I have already abundantly shown in a former note, that there is an order of souls among men, who, from their superior purity, and magnanimity, and their proximity to beings essentially more excellent, were very properly denominated by the ancients, heroes. These elevated souls, too, were justly called by the same names as the divinities from which they descended: for the characteristic of every divine nature extends itself to the
last of things, so as even to leave a vestige of its ineffable prerogatives in the dark and rebounding receptacle of matter. Heroes, however, though they were worshipped by the ancients, yet they were neither considered as gods, nor worshipped as such, by those who paid them no other honours than what were ordained by the Grecian laws, as is evident from Plato’s Laws. Pausanias, therefore, in the passage before us, seems, for want of a philosophical acquaintance with the religion of his country, to confound the divine and human nature: and it is to passages of this nature that we must ascribe the general prevalence at present of that most licentious and ignorant opinion, which asserts all the gods of the ancients to be nothing more than deified men.

Page 97. _And that I might conjecture his bulk, &c._] That, in the heroic age, men abounded of a prodigious stature cannot be denied, without supposing the whole of the Iliad to be a fable; though, on the other hand, to imagine with the Scotch Grammarian that there has been a gradual declension of the stature of mankind from the most early periods, and that the human species will at last come to nothing, is an opinion too extravagant and unphilosophical to deserve the labour of confutation. The fact is, that the superior strength and size of the celebrated heroes of antiquity can only be accounted for satisfactorily, by having recourse to that recondite wisdom of the ancients, which was first discovered in the colleges of the Egyptian priests, and was afterwards delivered ænitistically by Pythagoras, scientifically by Plato, and _entheastically_, or _according to a deific energy_ (ευθεορθικός), by his latter disciples. From this most arcane and sublime wisdom we learn, that all the parts of the universe cannot participate the providence of the gods in a similar manner, but that some of its parts must enjoy this eternally, and others temporarily; some in a primary, and others in a secondary degree. For the universe being a perfect whole, must have a first, a middle, and a last part. But its first parts, as having the most excellent subsistence, must always exist according to nature; and its last parts must sometimes subsist according to, and sometimes contrary to nature.
Hence the celestial bodies, which are the first parts of the universe, perpetually subsist according to nature, both the whole spheres, and the multitude co-ordinate to these wholes; and the only alteration which they experience is a mutation of figure, and variation of light at different periods: but in the sublunary region, while the spheres of each of the elements remain, on account of their subsistence as wholes, always according to nature, the parts of these wholes have sometimes a natural and sometimes an unnatural subsistence; for thus alone can the circle of generation unfold all the variety which it contains.

But the different periods in which these mutations happen are called by Plato, with great propriety, periods of fertility and sterility: for in these periods a fertility or sterility of men, animals, and plants takes place; so that in fertile periods mankind will be both more numerous, and upon the whole superior in mental and bodily endowments to the men of a barren period. And a similar reasoning must be extended to animals and plants. This is signified by Plato, though obscurely, in the following passage from the eighth book of his Republic: χαλέων μὲν καὶ βηδηνι πολιν οὐλώ ἔσταταν. ἀλλ’ ἐσεὶ γενομένων πανί φόραι εἰσιν, οὕτως ἡ ποιμάν ἔφερας τὸν ἀπαντὰ μενὶ χρόνον, ἀλλὰ λιθόστασι. λυχνίς δὲ ὅτι μονον φόντων εὐγενείων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν εὐγενείς ζωίς φορά, καὶ αφοριστι ψυχῆς τε, καὶ σωμάτων γραμμάτῳ, οἷαν περιτριῶν εἰκαστής πολλῶν περιφοράς συναισθοὶ εὐγενείων μὲν βραχυμορούσῃ, εὐαντοίς δὲ εὐάνθας. i.e. "It is difficult for a city so constituted to be moved from its establishment. But since every thing which is generated is obnoxious to corruption, neither can a constitution of this kind remain perpetually, but must be dissolved. And its dissolution is this: A fertility and sterility of soul and bodies not only takes place in terrene plants, but also in terrene animals, when the revolutions of each of these conjoin the ambit of their circles; which are shorter to the short-lived, and contrarywise to the contrary."

The so much celebrated heroic age, therefore, was the result

* For an account of the wholes which the universe contains, and which forms one of the most interesting parts of the Platonic philosophy, see my Introduction to the Timæus of Plato.
of one of these fertile periods, in which men, transcending the herd of mankind both in practical and intellectual virtue, abounded on the earth. But in consequence of that beautiful progression of things which takes place throughout the universe, viz. in consequence of multitude every where being suspended from a monad, or uniting cause; and multitude exquisitely allied to its monad preceding dissimilar multitude, it is necessary that each of these heroic souls should be the leader of other souls of an inferior rank, but yet resembling their leader in a high degree. Thus Achilles in the Iliad, who, as we have observed in a former note, is an heroic soul energizing according to practical virtue, stands at the head of a kindred multitude of souls, who, from their proximity to such characters as himself, are dignified with the appellation of heroes. Ajax belonged to this kindred multitude, together with Tydides, Ulysses, and many others; this multitude at the same time possessing gradations of excellence, in order that its extremity may coalesce with less elevated souls. It is therefore by no means wonderful that Ajax possessed such remarkable strength and magnitude of body, as he belonged to that class of souls who approximate very near to real heroes among men.

But a very natural doubt may here arise in the mind of the thinking reader, why Æneas, who is said to have been born of a goddess, as well as Achilles, and of a goddess of a much higher rank than the mother of Achilles, is represented by Homer as engaged in a bad cause, which he evidently is, by fighting for the Trojans. I answer, that the doubt may be solved by reading Homer with that profound attention which his poems so justly demand. For we shall find, that though he calls Æneas a hero, as well as Achilles, from his resembling true heroes in many respects, yet he plainly evinces that his claim to this character was not incontrovertible, when he represents Apollo thus speaking to Æneas: (Iliad. 20. v. 105.)

---

καὶ ἐὰν τινὶ Διὸς οὐρανῶν Ἀφροδίτη

ἐγγενεῖσθαι

i.e. "For they say that you are descended from Venus the
daughter of Jupiter." For here the term they say plainly indicates that his claim to this honour was ambiguous: but he never uses an expression of this kind when he speaks of Achilles. I add, that these periods of fertility and sterility depend on the different circulations of the heavens; and that this theory solves at once all that appears so absurd to persons ignorant of true philosophy in many of the relations of ancient historians: I mean, the accounts they give of animals which nowhere exist at present; and their ascribing properties to such animals as now exist, so different from what they are now found to possess. For it evidently follows, that in fertile periods animals must exist which are unknown to barren periods; and that all the tribes of animals must upon the whole be superior in every respect; just as in fertile ground, and in fertile seasons, the produce is more abundant, the species of production are more various, and their qualities superior to what are found in the produce of barren ground, in the barren seasons of the year.

But the following account of human bones of prodigious magnitude which have been discovered, will, I doubt not, be acceptable to the reader, in addition to the histories of this kind given by Pausanias. The author of this account is Phlegon Trallianus; and it is taken from his little treatise, On admirable things; and on those that have lived to a great age. "Not many years since, in Messene, Apollonius says, that a large stone vessel was broke through violent tempests, and a great inundation of water, and that a head was washed out of it, three times as large as that of a man, with two rows of teeth. An inscription informed those that were endeavouring to find whose head it was, that it was the head of Idas: for this was the inscription, IΔΕΩ, i.e. OF IDAS. The Messenians, therefore, at the public cost, provided another vessel, and placed in it the remains of the hero in such a manner, that they were more secure than before, as they perceived that this was the person of whom Homer* says:

* Iliad. 9. v. 554.
FIRST VOLUME.

Was the strongest of the mortal race
That flourish'd then, who for a beauteous nymph
Dared with Apollo Phæbus to contend,
And aim his arrows at the radiant king.

"In Dalmatia, too, in that which is called the cavern of Diana, many bodies may be seen, whose ribs exceed sixteen cubits.

"But the grammarian Apollonius relates that there was an earthquake during the reign of Tiberius Nero, through which many celebrated cities of Asia were entirely destroyed, but which Tiberius afterwards rebuilt at his own expense; for which benefit the Asiatics made a colossal statue of him, and placed it near the temple of Venus, which is in the forum of the Romans; and after this, they placed the statues of the several cities that had been rebuilt. Not a few, too, of the cities of Sicily suffered through this earthquake, and places near Rhegium, together with several of the cities in Pontus. But in those parts in which the earth was rent asunder, very large dead bodies were found; the magnitude of which, indeed, so astonished the inhabitants, that they were unwilling to move them. That the affair, however, might be generally known, they sent to Rome one of the teeth of these bodies; and this was more than a foot long. The ambassadors, at the same time they showed this to Tiberius, asked him whether he wished that the hero to whom this tooth belonged should be brought to him. Upon this Tiberius very prudently thought of a means by which he might neither be deprived of knowing the dimensions of this body, nor yet be guilty of the impiety of robbing the dead. He ordered a celebrated geometrician, whose name was Pulcrus, and whom he honoured for his art, to be called, and desired him to make a face in proportion to the size of that tooth. The geometrician, therefore, having calculated from the size of the tooth the dimensions of the face and of the whole body, accomplished the task imposed on him with great celerity, and brought the face to the Emperor, who, after he had satisfied himself with beholding it, ordered the tooth to be restored to the place from whence it was taken.

"Nor ought we to refuse to assent to this narration, since
there is a place in Egypt called Litrae, in which bodies are to be seen not less in size than the above-mentioned, and these not buried in the earth, but exposed to the view, neither confused nor disturbed, but placed in proper order, so that he who looks at them can tell which are the bones of the thighs, legs, and other members. It is not therefore by any means proper to disbelieve these accounts: but we ought to think that at first nature being very vigorous, caused every thing to approach near to the perfection of the gods*; and that becoming afterwards debilitated, the magnitude of bodies also decreased. I am likewise informed, that at Rhodes there are bones which far surpass in magnitude the bones of men of the present day. And the same Apollonius says, that there is a certain island near Athens, which the Athenians fortified with walls; and that when they were digging the foundations of these walls, they found a sepulchre of one hundred cubits in length, in which there was a skeleton of the same dimensions with the sepulchre, with this inscription: I Macroseiris, who lived five thousand years, am buried in a long island.

"Eumachus, in his description of the earth, says that the Carthaginians, when they were digging a trench in their own country, found two skeletons placed in coffins, one of which was twenty-three, and the other twenty-four cubits in length.

"And Theopompos Sinopensis, in his Treatise on Earthquakes, says, that a sudden earthquake happening in the Cimmerian Boephorus, a certain hill was rent asunder, and bones of a prodigious magnitude were thrown out of it: for the length of the whole skeleton was found to be twenty-four cubits. He adds, that the Barbarians who dwelt about those parts threw these bones into the lake Maeotis."

Page 97. The pancratium.] This was a mode of wrestling and boxing, in which it was lawful to use any kind of play, in order to obtain the victory.

Page 101. Peleus vowed his hair to the river Sperchius.] The

* This opinion is very natural to a mind unacquainted with the various circulations of the heavens.
verses of Homer alluded to by Pausanius are these, which may be found in the 23rd book of the Iliad:

Sperchius! whose waves in many errors lost
Delightful roll along my native coast!
To whom my father vow'd at my return,
These locks to fall, and hecatombs to burn.

I only add, that the obscure and intricate mode of expression employed by Pausanius in the present passage, and which he so frequently adopts, led me into an error in the translation of it, from not recollecting at the time the verses of Homer alluded to. I beg the reader, therefore, to correct the passage as follows: "That Peleus vowed the hair of Achilles to the river Sperchius, for his safe return from Troy."

Page 102. *MILD JUPITER.* It appears that Jupiter Milichius, or *mild Jupiter,* is the same with that power called *the Demon,* in the Orphic hymns: for in the hymn to him he is expressively called μελιχίον Διός, *mild Jupiter.* It appears, too, that this deity is the same with the Janus of the Romans. For in the hymn just cited there is the following line:

ἐν σοι γαρ λυπάς τε χαράς κλώδες οὐκ ὅριναι.

i.e.

"In thee, the keys of joy and sorrow are carried."

And Janus, it is well known, was represented as a porter. Scaliger, indeed, in the translation of this line, expressly assigns two epithets to this divinity, which belong only to Janus, i.e. *Patulius* and *Clusius,* the power that opens and shuts.

*Patulius, merori, Patulius, Clusius idem es.*

Indeed, that Jupiter is the same with Janus, is indisputably clear, from the following verse of a MS. hymn in my possession, of Proclus, which is entitled Τύγος κοινος, or a common hymn:

κατ' ἔναν πρώσαναν γεν αἰθήλε—

i.e.

"Grandfather Janus, Jove immortal, hail!"

And here it may not be improper to observe as a circumstance...
truly admirable, that Orpheus, Homer, Plato, and the Chaldaean oracles, have unanimously characterized Jupiter by the dual. Thus both Orpheus and Plato call him by a twofold name Δίας and Ζηρα; the former signifying that he is the cause through which things subsist; and the latter his vivific power; for he is the first cause of vivification. Plato, too, in the Parmenides, characterizes him by the dialectic epithets, sameness and difference. Homer places two urns by his throne. And he is called by the Chaldaean oracles δις ευνειενα, twice beyond. The two faces of Janus, therefore, as he is the same with the Jupiter of the Greeks, admirably correspond with the dual characteristic assigned to that divinity by the most ancient theologians.

I add, that the reader must not be disturbed on finding that Jupiter is called a daemon, as this epithet is only given to him in the way of analogy. For, as it is the employment of essential daemons to attend on the gods, and proximately preside over inferior natures; so each subordinate order of gods, from following the operations of its proximate superior order, and presiding over subject natures, may be called analogically demoniacal with respect to that order. It is in this sense of the word that Plato, in the Timeus, calls the sublunary gods daemons in one place, and in another gods of gods; and that in the Banquet, he calls Love a mighty daemon, and in the Phaedrus a god. But not only gods were called daemons by ancient theologists, but intellects, souls, daemons, and even men were called gods by them. Each, however, was thus denominated in a different respect. For intellects were called gods according to union; souls, according to participation; daemons, according to contact; and men, according to similitude: while, in the mean time, such as are properly gods were assigned this appellation essentially. The observation of these distinctions will enable the philosophic reader to solve many apparent inconsistencies in the writings of ancient theologists, and convince him that the ancients believed in beings superior to the demoniacal order. By the power, therefore, called the Daemon, which so often occurs in Pausanias, we must understand Jupiter.

Page 102. But he that has been initiated in the Eleusinian
mysteries, &c.] From the present passage, in conjunction with some other authorities which I shall adduce, we may collect no contemptible argument in favour of the opinion, that the Orphic hymns which exist at present were the very hymns which were used in the Eleusinian mysteries. "For (says Pausanias) it is not lawful to ascribe the invention of beans to Ceres; and he that has been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, or has read the poems called Orphic, will know what I mean." Now Porphyry de Abstinence, lib. 4, informs us, that beans were forbidden in the Eleusinian mysteries*; and in the Orphic hymn to Earth, the sacrificer is ordered to fumigate from every kind of seed, except beans and aromatics. Again, Suidas informs us, that τελευ means a mystic sacrifice, the greatest and most venerable of all others, ἰσοὶ μυστηριωδῆς, ἡ μεγίστη καὶ τιμωδέστερα. And Proclus, whenever he speaks of the Eleusinian mysteries, calls them the most holy teletai, αγιωλαίαι τελευαι †. Agreeably to this; the Orphic hymns are called in the Thryllitian manuscript τελευαι: and Scaliger justly observes, that they contain nothing but such invocations as were used in mysteries. Besides, many of the hymns are expressly thus called by the author of them. Thus the conclusion of the hymn to Protagonus invokes that deity to be present at "the holy telete," εσ τελευη αγιαν: of the hymn to the stars, to be present "at the very learned labours of the illustriously-holy telete:

Εὐλογήσεως τοις τελευης τελευαιρος αὐτοῦ.

And in the conclusion of the hymn to Latona, the sacrifice is called an all-divine telete. Βασιλεία ταυρειόν τελευήν, as likewise in that of the hymn to Amphietetus Bacchus. And in short, the greater part of the hymns will be found to have either the word telete in them; or to invoke the respective divinities to bless the mystics, or initiated persons. Thus the conclusion of the hymn

† In Plat. Theol. p. 371, et in MS. Comment. in Alcibiad.
to Heaven entreats that divinity to confer a blessed life on a recent mystic:

the conclusion of the hymn to the Sun, "to bestow a pleasant life on the mystics;" and in a similar manner most of the rest.

Farther still, Demosthenes, in his first Oration against Aristotle, has the following remarkable passage: καὶ τὴν αμφατὴν καὶ σημείην δικὴν, ἣν ἐκείς αγιωλόσας ἔλαβες καλαδεῖκας Ὀρφής παρὰ τὸν τὸν Διὸς Σέρειον φησὶ καθημενήν, παῦλα τὰ τῶν αὐτῶν σφόρτυ: i.e. "Let us reverence inexorable and venerable Justice, who Orpheus, our instructor in the most holy teletai, says is seated by the throne of Jupiter, and inspects all the affairs of men." Here Demosthenes you see calls the mysteries most holy, as well as Proclus; and I think we may conclude with the greatest confidence from all that has been said, that he alluded to the hymn to Justice, which is among the Orphic hymns, and to these very lines:

Ὀρφεας Ἀρχαὶ μετέχειν παλιὸν ἡλικίας, οὐρανομορφων
Ἦκεῖ τοις ἀεικὰῖ σεῖς Σέρειον ἀκροίτες.
Οὐρανότητα παραλύο. βῆτε Ἔρωτι κυκλοφοροῦν.

i. e. "I sing the all-seeing eye of splendid Justice, who sits by the throne of king Jupiter, and from her celestial abode beholds the life of mortal men."

Page 104. Homer calls these daughters, &c.] Pausanias doubtless alludes to Homer's hymn to Ceres: but these names are not to be found in the hymn at present, owing to an unfortunate chasm in a part of the hymn where they were mentioned.

Page 106. The poet Pamphus.] Pamphus was an Athenian contemporary with Linus, and is said to have composed poems and hymns prior to Homer.

Page 110. The twelve gods, as they are called.] These twelve divinities are Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Vesta, Minerva, Mars, Ceres, Juno, Diana, Mercury, Venus, Apollo. The first triad of these gods is demiurgic; the second, defensive; the third, vivific; and the fourth, elevating and harmonic. These divinities,
according to their first subsistence, considered as characterized by the number twelve, form that order of gods which is called ἀνυκτάρας, or liberated, by the Chaldaean theologists, but ὑπερορανιός, supercelestial, by the Greeks, because it is immediately situated above the mundane gods. But these gods are received from the liberated order into the world. Hence, as Sallust observes in his elegant little work, On the Gods and the World*: “Of these gods, some are the causes of the world’s existence; others animate the world; others again harmonize it, thus composed from different natures; and others lastly guard and preserve it when harmonically arranged.” He adds, “The truth of this may be seen in statues as in enigmas. For Apollo harmonizes the lyre, Pallas is invested with arms, and Venus is naked; since harmony generates beauty, and beauty is not concealed in objects of sensible inspection. But since these gods primarily possess the world, it is necessary to consider the other gods as subsisting in these; as Bacchus in Jupiter, Æsculapius in Apollo, and the Graces in Venus. We may likewise behold the orbs with which they are connected; viz. Vesta with earth, Neptune with water, Juno with air, and Vulcan with fire. But the six superior gods we denominate from general custom; for we assume Apollo and Diana for the sun and moon; but we attribute the orb of Saturn to Ceres, æther to Pallas; and we assert that heaven is common to them all.”

Page 111. *Bacchus Nyctelius.*] So called, because his mysteries were celebrated by night.

Page 111. *Venus Verticordia.*] Thus denominated, according to Gyraldus, because she *turns the heart* to chastity. Vid. Valer. Maxim. lib. viii.

Page 111. *The Oracle of Night.*] The following mystic particulars respecting the Oracle of Night are given us by Proclus, in Tim. p. 63, and p. 96. “The artificer of the universe, prior to his whole fabrication, is said to have betaken himself to the Oracle of Night, to have been there filled with divine conceptions, to have received the principles of fabrication, and (if

* Casp. vi.
it be lawful so to speak) to have solved all his doubts. Night, too, calls upon the father Jupiter to undertake the fabrication of the universe; and Jupiter is said by the theologist (Orpheus) to have thus addressed Night:

Μαία Ἕλης νυκτί, Νυξ ομβρίες, πώς ταυτί φρασίς;
Πώς δέ μοι ἀνακόμησις ἱλασσαίης Ἴδε μοι;
Πώς δέ μοι εἴ τι τα παιδ' ἐχεις, καὶ χαρίς ἱκανον:

i, e.

O Nurse, supreme of all the powers divine,
Immortal Night! how with unconquer'd mind
Must I the source of the immortals fix?
And how will all things but as one subsist,
Yet each its nature separate preserve?

To which interrogations the goddess thus replies:

Ἄλλα παθέν περίξ ασάργα καθ' τ' ὀν μεσων
Ομφας, εν δι' τι γαϊναν απειρίζον, εν δι' Ἐκανοσαί,
Εν δι' τι τείξα παθα, τα' τ' ἐνακε ἐφερατον.

i. e.

All things receive inclosed on every side,
In ether's wide, ineffable embrace:
Then, in the midst of ether place the heaven,
In which let earth of infinite extent,
The sea, and stars, the crown of heaven, be fix'd.

"And Jupiter is instructed by Night in all the subsequent mundane fabrication: but after she has laid down rules respecting all other productions, she adds:

Ἄλλας σεν δισμον πραλεισιν εἰπεν ταυςτής,
Συμφραξίν οξ εἰς ἀνήρων αἴθρωσιν

i. e.

But when your power around the whole has spread
A strong coercive bond, a golden chain
Suspend from ether."

Thus far Proclus. But the first subsistence of the goddess
Night is at the summit of that divine order, which is called by
the Chaldaean theologists νος ἦς καὶ νοσός, intelligible and at the
same time intellectual. She is besides the mother of the gods, who are nourished with intelligible food from the contemplation of her divinity: and on this account she is called the nurse of the gods. Proclus, therefore, in the above passages, speaks of Night according to this her first subsistence: but in the passage before us of Pausanias, we must consider this goddess according to her mundane subsistence. I only add, that the Chaldaean doctrine of other purer worlds above the inerratic sphere seems, from the Orphic verses just cited, to have been known to and embraced by Orpheus. For the Chaldaean theologists, as I have proved in my Notes on the Cratylus of Plato, believed, that there were seven corporeal worlds: one empyrean, three ethereal, and three material; which last three consist of the inerratic sphere, the planetary spheres, and the sublunary region. And in one of the above cited Orphic verses, Jupiter is ordered to receive all things inclosed in ether; plainly indicating that there is something ethereal beyond the sensible heavens.

Page 114. Gods that are called Prodromean.] i.e. Antecessors: for, as among the genera superior to mankind, some are the antecessors of the gods, in like manner certain subordinate orders of gods may be called the forerunners of superior orders, considered as preparing, by their light, natures inferior to the divine for the reception of illumination from a prior order of gods. Alcathous, therefore, very properly sacrificed to these gods before he began to raise the wall of the tower.

Page 114. Upon which they say Apollo laid his harp.] As the characteristics of all the divine orders are participated by the last of things, hence a vestige of supernal light is not only visible in plants, but in particular stones. Thus, as Proclus observes in his small treatise De Magia, "The sun-stone by its golden rays imitates those of the sun; but the stone called the eye of heaven, or of the sun, has a figure similar to the pupil of an eye, and a ray shines from the middle of the pupil. Thus, too, the lunar stone, which has a figure similar to the moon when horned, by a certain change of itself, follows the lunar motion. And the stone called Helioselesus, i.e. of the sun and moon, imitates, after a manner, the congress of those luminaries,
which it images by its colour." This being the case, it is by no means wonderful, that there should be certain stones which possess a debile vestige of the divine harmony of Apollo; and the stone mentioned by Pausanias, from its being one of this kind, may have occasioned the fabulous report, that Apollo laid his harp on it.

Page 116. An heroic monument of Ino.] By Ino, the ancients signified symbolically the sublunary element water, as the following passage from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Phædo enices: o Καθαρός μεν ο υποελεγμος κόσμος ως Διονυσιακός, διο και αρμονία συνεχεί τιν Ψυχ, και των τεκλαμον Βακχικόν παλήτρεσσα δι' αυθείας Διονυσιακά πεσοντα, Σεμελή μεν τε τον αγαθον δε την γην, διατεταγμενα τα ουσηα γενεμαλα, Ινο δε το ωυρον, εναλος ουσα και Αυθεια δε την αραα, η λοιπα; ι.e. "Cadmus is the sublunary world, as being Dionysiacal, on which account Harmony is united to the god, and as being the father of the four Bacchuses. But they make the four elements to be Dionysiacal; viz. fire to be Semele; earth, Agave, tearing in pieces her own offspring; water, Ino; and lastly, air, Autonoe."

Page 117. Hesiod in his catalogue of women, &c.] The meaning of Hesiod, in the passage alluded to by Pausanias in his Catalogue of Women (which work is unfortunately lost), is this, as it appears to me: Iphigenia after her death became united with Hecate, from whom she originally descended; and on this account might be said to be changed into Hecate, on account of wholly subsisting through union, according to the characteristic of that goddess. I only add that, according to Orpheus, as we are informed by Proclus on the Cratylus, there is a great union between Diana, the mundane Hecate, and Proserpine; and that Orpheus calls Diana Hecate.


Page 118. Hecable and Opis.] These are two names of Diana, the former alluding to the emission of the moon's rays, and signifying far-darting; and the latter alluding to the beauty of Diana's countenance: for Opis, according to Callimachus, in his hymn to this goddess, signifies a beautiful countenance:

Ους ημας των, ημαθήσαι.
Page 119. *Imeros and Apothos.*] According to Plato, in the Cratylus, the former of these words signifies *amatorial desire of a present object,* and the latter, *desire of an absent object.*

Page 121. *Apollo Tutelaris.*] i.e. Apollo, the guardian of the city: for every city, as is well known, according to the ancient theology, has its guardian deity. But we learn from Olympiodorus in Comment. MS. in Platonis Alcibiadem, that of the mundane gods from which bodies alone are suspended, some are *celestial ἀπαντος,* others *etherial or fiery κύματος,* sive *τυρας,* others *aerial αετος,* others *aquatic νυμφης,* others *terrestrial χειμωνιας,* and others *subterranean νεφελασμοι.* But that among the terrestrial some preside over climates, or are *climatachic κλιμακαρχας,* others are *guardians of cities νομονος,* and others lastly are *the guardians of houses ναυμων.* Let the reader, too, carefully remember, that these allotments of the divinities are immutable; viz., that though parts of the earth may become at times unfit to receive divine influence, through subsisting contrary to nature, as I have observed in a former note, yet the beneficent illuminations of the gods continue invariably the same.

Page 121. *And Latona.*] The following admirable account of Latona, from the MSS. Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus, cannot fail of being highly acceptable to the Platonic reader. *Latona is a vivific fountain comprehended in Ceres: and hence, according to the Grecian rites, she is worshipped as the same with Ceres,* these rites evincing by this the union of the goddesses. But this goddess emits the whole of vivific light, illuminating the intellectual essences of the gods, and the orders of souls: and lastly, she illuminates the whole sensible heaven, generating mundane light, and establishing the cause of this light in her offspring, Apollo and Diana; and causes all things to glitter with intellectual and vivific light. She imparts likewise to souls the consummation of virtue, and an illumination which leads them back to the intellectual port of their father*, hastily withdrawing them from the winding paths of matter †, the entanglements of vice, and the roughness of the passage over the sea of

* i.e. Jupiter.
† Of these winding paths the Dedalean labyrinth is an image.
NOTES ON THE

generation. It appears to me, indeed, that theologists considering this, denominated her Ἀγίω Λατώνα, on account of her extending to souls smoothness of manners, a voluntary life, and divine gentleness and ease. For to such as raise themselves to her divinity, she imparts an ineffable energy, a blameless life, gentleness of manners, serenity, and intellectual tranquillity. Whether, therefore, she is called Leto, from a voluntary life, for ἀγίῳ signifies ἐὰν γενέσθαι I am willing; or from ἀγίον the smooth, her name will perfectly evince through both these, the powers which she possesses. For the compelled energies of the soul take place through material roughness, and the obliquity of a life in generation diminishes the soul’s voluntary life. But an ascent to the gods imparts a smooth and gentle instead of a hard and rough, and a voluntary instead of a compelled life.

“Why then is it necessary to call, as some do, Latona matter, as capable of being easily turned, and subsisting as an express resemblance of all forms, like a mirror receiving the representations of all things; and to say that she is the cause of oblivion to those that look into her? Why is it necessary to call Apollo harmony, as subsisting from Latona and Jupiter? For thus the god would be inseparable from matter, and not the cause of the harmony in the universe. It is better, therefore, to say, that Latona is not the receptacle of Apollo, but that she is the mother and fountain of all vivific light, which preserves all things by heat: but that Apollo, who is a separate divinity, is the supplier of all harmonic life, and of all those mundane reasons by which the universe is indissolubly bound. But you may say that Socrates derives her name from Λεθή, because she peculiarly causes in souls an oblivion of evils, and of the roughness and storms in generation; of which, while the soul retains the memory, she cannot possibly establish herself in intelligibles: for memory, says Plotinus, leads to the object of memory. And as Mnemosyne excites the memory of intelligibles, so Latona imparts an oblivion of material concerns.”

Page 121. *Diana the Saviour.*] The epithet of the Saviour, as may be inferred from Proclus on the Cratylus, was given by
the ancients to all the celestial gods in common. For, speaking
of the Christians of his time, he observes: "Men of the present
day do not believe that the sun and moon are divinities, nor do
they worship the other celestial natures, who are our Savioirs
and governors, leading back immortal souls, and being those
that fabricate and give subsistence to mortal souls*. I should
however say, that men of this kind, who dare to entertain such
an irrational opinion respecting the celestial gods, are hastening
to Tartarus, and to the most ineffable and inordinate part of the
universe."

"Page 127. Neptune contended with the Sun.] There are two
ways of considering the battles of the gods, which are so much
celebrated in fable; and each of these solves all the apparent
absurdity in which such fables are involved. The first of these
is from considering the orderly distinction in the progression of
all the divine genera from their ineffable source. I mean that
some are the causes of union, and others of separation to things
posterior; that some impart a generating power, and others an
undefiled purity to subordinate natures; and that some impart a
good, separate from the nature of its recipient, but others such
a good as is consubstantial with its receptacle. Now this distin-
tinction, and seeming opposition, in divine natures, was called
by ancient mythologists: contention and war. I say seeming
opposition: for all divine natures subsist in the most perfect
friendship and profound union with each other; and at the same
time that the essence and energy of each are perfectly distinct,
they are either all in all, which is the case with the divine uni-
ties, or all in each, which is the case with forms or ideas.

But the second mode of considering the battles of the gods
is, by regarding their progressions into the universe; in con-
sequence of which the last orders dependent on the gods, as they
are produced by a long-interval from the first causes, are con-
tiguous to the subjects of their government, and adhere to mat-
ter, contract contrariety and all- various division, and, by their
proximate care of mortal concerns, are obnoxious to desires and

* i. e. to the souls of brutes.
NOTES ON THE

passions. Lastly, on account of their great sympathy with mortal concerns, and the partial providence which they exert for their welfare, they actually war with each other. But as even the last orders which perpetually follow the gods preserve the properties of their leaders, though in a partial and manifold manner, hence they were very properly called, by the ancients, by the names of the gods their respective leaders. Thus for instance, not only the deity who illuminates all things with supermundane light, and who sits with Jupiter and the celestial gods, was called Apollo, but this name was given to the demon who was the guardian of Hector. This last mode, indeed, of considering battles among the gods, is the key, in the hands of the skilful, to the secret meaning of much of the mythology in the Iliad, and shows us how the relation here given by Pausanias is to be understood. For it means, that certain demoniacal powers, who rank among the last attendants of the gods Neptune and the Sun, once contended with each other about the land of Corinth; and that Bramens, a demon belonging to the deity of that name, acted as a mediator between them. I only add farther, that these demons, who are thus proximate to the subjects of their government, and who are influenced by passions like men, are not essentially demons, though they are the perpetual attendants of the gods; but they are demons only \textit{xal\,\,\,$\alpha$\textgreek{
\gamma\,\,\,\,\,$\alpha$\textgreek{
\omega};, according to habit, proximity, and alliance. For between essential demons, who are the constant attendants of the gods, and men who are only sometimes demons according to habit, and sometimes attendants of the gods, it is necessary there should be an order of beings, who are always demons according to habit, and always the attendants of the gods.

Page 131. But there are three statues of Jupiter, &c.] It appears to me highly probable, that the three Jupiters, mentioned in this place by Pausanias, are those three brother deities, the offspring of Saturn, between whom, according to Homer, the universe is divided; or, in other words, that they are Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto. For the second of these statues, says Pausanias, is called terrestrial Jupiter, which is an epithet of Pluto, as is evident from the Orphic hymn to that deity; and
FIRST VOLUME.

from Homer, as cited by Pausanias, p. 204; and Neptune, in the Orphic hymn to Equity, is called marine Jupiter, 

swelos
swelos; Zev. But that the reader may see the processions and offices of these three demiurgic gods, who are supermundane deities according to their first subsistence, I shall present him with the following translation from Proclus in Theol. Plat, p. 367.

"These ruling gods replenish the apparent order of things in conjunction with the mundane gods; and distribute whole parts under the moon, in a manner different from their government in the heavens; but they everywhere energize according to a paternal and demiurgic mode, unfolding the one fabrication of the universe, and accommodating it to parts. But their allotment and distribution are first according to the whole universe: and one of these (Jupiter) produces the essences of things; but the second (Neptune) lives and generations; and the third (Pluto) administers the divisions of forms. And one of these establishes in the one demiurgus of the world every thing proceeding from thence: but the other evocations all things into progression: and the third converts all things to himself. But their second distribution is into the parts of the universe. For the first of these gods governs the inerratic sphere, and its revolution. But the second presides over the planetary spheres, and perfects their multiform, efficacious, and prolific motions. And the last of these gods governs the sublunar region, and perfects intellectually the terrestrial world. But in the third place, we may contemplate these three demiurgic progressions in that which is generated. Jupiter therefore governs the summit of generated natures, and the sphere of fire and air: but Neptune excites with an all-various motion the extremely-mutable elements, and is the inspector and guardian of every humid essence subsisting in air and water: and Pluto administers by his providence the earth, and all which it contains; and on this account he is called Terrestrial Jupiter.

"In the fourth place, with respect to the whole of generation, Jupiter is allotted the most excited places, in which, as Socrates observes in the Phædo, the regions destined to blessed souls are
NOTES ON THE

contained; because they live separate from generation, under
the government of Jove: but Neptune governs hollow places
and caverns, in which generation, motion, and concussions sub-
sist; on which account he is called the earth-shaking god: and
Pluto governs places under the earth, the various streams of
water, Tartarus, and the places in which souls are judged.
Hence the souls which have not yet proceeded into generation,
but abide in the intelligible place, are said to be of the order of
Jupiter: but such as live in generation are said to be placed
under Neptune. And those which after generation are purified
and punished, and either wander under the earth for a thousand
years, or again return to their principle, are said to live under
Pluto. In the fifth place, the distributions of these gods are
divided according to the centres of the universe. For Jupiter
possesses the oriental centre, as being allotted an order corre-
spondent to that of fire: but Neptune obtains the middle centre,
which corresponds to a vivific nature, and through which ge-
neration enjoys celestial natures: and Pluto obtains the western
centre; since the west is allied to earth, because it is nocturnal,
and the cause of obscurity and darkness. For shade proceeds
from the earth, and earth is the privation of light from west to
east. Lastly, according to every division of the universe, such
natures as are first, and obtain the principality, belong to Jove;
such as are middle correspond to the kingdom of Neptune; and
such as are last belong to the empire of Pluto."

Page 132. Mercury in a sitting posture, and by the side of
him a ram.] The reason why Mercury was represented by the
ancients with a ram, depends on the intimate alliance of this
god with Minerva, who, as we are informed by Proclus on the
Timæus, presides over that celestial constellation called the ram,
and from thence imparts a motive power which governs the
universe. But the agreement of Minerva with Mercury will be
obvious from considering that this goddess, as we have before
observed, extends the whole of intellectual light; and that Mer-
cury is the source of the reasoning power. Hence the ancients
used to render the statues of both these divinities one, by joining
them together: and a statue of this kind they called σφακτήρ,
Hermathena, or Mercury-Minerva. These Hermathenas are mentioned by Cicero in his books De Inventione. I only add, that the verses of Homer cited by Pausanias may be found Iliad 14. v. 490.

Page 134. Minerva Chalinitis. i. e. the Bridler.

Page 136. Isis.] Isis is the same with Minerva, according to the Egyptians, as we are informed by Plutarch, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris. Proclus, too, in Tim. p. 30, says that according to the Egyptian historians, there was the following inscription on the statue of Minerva, in the adytum of the temple: εγώ ειμι παν το γένος, και ον, και εομενοι και τον εμον πετον οδίς τον θησεις καθιλυφειν' εν εγω καρπων ετεκον, ηλιος εγνετο. i. e. "I AM EVERY THING THAT HAS BEEN, THAT IS, AND THAT SHALL BE; AND NO MORTAL HAS EVER YET BEEN ABLE TO WITHDRAW MY VEIL. THE FRUIT WHICH I HAVE BROUGHT FORTH IS THE SUN." It is remarkable that this inscription, as far as to the first period, is cited by Plutarch in his above-mentioned treatise; but I know of no author except Proclus who has cited the latter part, "the fruit which I have brought forth is the sun;" nor has this important addition been noticed by any modern writer that I am acquainted with, owing doubtless to the want of a copious index to these invaluable commentaries of Proclus.

As Isis therefore is Minerva, and as the veil of this goddess, as I have observed in a former note, is an emblem of Nature, which proceeds from those intellectual vital powers contained in the essence of Minerva, we may perceive the reason why the Arrians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians called Nature (as we are informed by Apuleius) Isis. Likewise since the moon, as we learn from Proclus, is the αυτοκινον αγαλμα της φυσις, the self-visible image of Nature, we may see why Nature was called by the Cretans, according to Apuleius in the same place, Diana. And in short, as Minerva was justly called by the ancients κορυφη των θεων, the summit of the gods, and is therefore their source in conjunction with her father Jupiter, we may at one view see the propriety of her being called by the names of so many other goddesses, in the following sublime passage from
the Metamorphoses of Apuleius: for, as every cause is that primarily which its effect is secondarily, Minerva is in a certain respect the same with all the divinities that proceed from her, when they are considered according to their causal subsistence in her essence.

The divinity of the moon, then, thus addresses the metamorphosed Apuleius: En adsum tuis commota, Luci, precibus, rerum Natura parentis, elementorum omnium domina, seculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum, regina Manium, prima ceelitum, Deorum Deorumque facies uniformis: quae coeli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferorum deploarta silentia nutibus meis dispenso: cujus numem unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis. Me prigenii Phryges Pessinunticam nominant Deum matrem. Hinc Autochthones Attici Cecropiam Minervam; illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem: Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam Diana; Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam; Eleusinii vetustam Deam Cererem: Junonem alii, alii Bellonam, alii Hecaten, Rhamnusiam alii. Et qui nascentis dei Solis inchoantibus radibus illustrantur, Æthiopes, Arriques, pricaque doctrina pollentes Egyptian ceremoniis me prorsus propriis percolentes appellant vero nomine reginam Isidem. That is, "Behold, Lucius, moved with thy supplications I am present; I, who am Nature, the parent of things, queen of all the elements, initial progenitor of ages, the highest of divinities, queen of departed spirits, the first of the celestials, and the uniform appearance of gods and goddesses: who rule by my nod the luminous height of the heavens, the salubrious breezes of the sea, and the deplorable silences of the infernal regions; and whose divinity, in itself but one, is venerated by all the earth, according to a multiform shape, various rites, and different appellations. Hence, the primitive Phrygians call me Pessinuntica, the mother of the gods; the native Athenians, Cecropian Minerva; the floating Cyprians, Paphian Venus; the arrow-bearing Cretans, Dictyannian Diana; the three-tongued Sicilians, Stygian Proserpine; and the inhabitants of Eleusis, the ancient goddess Ceres. Some again have invoked me as Juno, others as Bellona, others
as Hecate, and others as Rhamnusia: and those who are enlightened by the emerging rays of the rising sun, the Æthiopians, Arriians, and Ægyptians, powerful in ancient learning, who reverence my divinity with ceremonies perfectly proper, call me by a true appellation queen Isis."

Page 137. Serapis.] This divinity, as we learn from Plutarch in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, and Porphyry on Oracles as cited by Eusebius, is the same with the Pluto of the Greeks.

Page 137. Ægina the daughter of Asopus was ravished by Jupiter.] What are we to understand by this relation? That this was once actually the case? But to suppose this would be absurd in the extreme. As all such relations, therefore, are very far from being literally true, we should consider them as fables in which some mysterious meaning is involved;—a meaning which from its sublime nature ought to be concealed from the vulgar, as their eyes are too weak to sustain the splendours of the highest truths. By ravishment and adultery, then, between divine and human natures, ancient theologists meant to insinuate that communication of energy between the two which we have taken notice of in a former note, in which we showed how heroes may be said to be the sons of gods and goddesses. But as this communication of energy takes place through angels, demons, and essential heroes as mediums, hence the Jupiter mentioned in this fable must be considered as a demoniacal power of the series of Jupiter, who by giving perfection to the natural life of Ægina, and removing every thing which would be an impediment to the foetus in her womb, was said to have ravished her.

Page 137. Sisyphus.] The following beautiful passage from the MSS. Scholia of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias of Plato fully unfolds the meaning of the fable respecting the punishment of Sisyphus. For the original of this passage I refer the reader to my Dissertation on the Mysteries, p. 45. "Ulysses," says he, "descending into Hades, saw among others Sisyphus, and Tityus, and Tantalus; and Tityus he saw lying on the earth, and a vulture devouring his liver; the liver signifying that he lived solely according to the desiderative part of his nature, and through this was indeed internally prudent; but earth signifying
the terrestrial condition of his prudence. But Sisyphus, living under the dominion of ambition and anger, was employed in continually rolling a stone up an eminence, because it perpetually descended again; its descent implying the vicious government of himself; and his rolling the stone, the hard, refractory, and as it were rebounding condition of his life. And lastly he saw Tantalus extended by the side of a lake, and that there was a tree before him, with abundance of fruit on its branches, which he desired to gather, but it vanished from his view; and this indeed indicates that he lived under the dominion of the phantasy: but his hanging over the lake, and in vain attempting to drink, implies the elusive, humid, and rapidly-gliding condition of such a life."

Page 141. "Homer, however, refers them to a more illustrious origin." For according to Homer, Zethus and Amphion were the offspring of Jupiter, as is evident from the following lines from the Odyssey, book xi. v. 261.

"There moved Antiope with haughty charms,  
Who bless’d th’ almighty Thund’rer in her arms:  
Hence sprung Amphion, hence brave Zethus came,  
Founders of Thebes and men of mighty name."

—Pope.

Page 142. "Homer says." Iliad 2. v. 117. The translator of these verses is Mr. Pope.

Page 143. "Quinquertium." The five principal exercises in the Olympic games, viz. hurling the quoit, running, leaping, hurling the dart, and wrestling. The Romans added to these swimming and riding.

Page 145. "After Apollo and Diana had slain the serpent Python." Olympiodorus in Comment. MS. in Phaedonem observes concerning Python, Echidna, and Typhon, as follows: ὃς τὸν Τυφών τῆς κακοῦς τῶν ὑπογείων πνευμάτων, καὶ ὅδατων, καὶ τῶν αλλῶν σοφοίων ξίαιοις χνητεῖς αἰτίας. ᾧ ἂν Αἰχίδην τιμωρίας αἰτία καὶ κολαστικὴ λογικὴν τε καὶ αλογικὴν ψυχήν διὸ τα μὲν αἰον παζδενος, τα δὲ κατὰ εἰσὶν οἰκείον. ὁ δὲ Πυθών χαμοὶ τῆς μακρικῆς ὑλῆς αναδοτος. αἰμινὸν ἔτη τῆς περὶ ταῦτα απάξιας τὰ καὶ αντι-φράξεως αἰτίαν λεγεῖν. That is, "Typhon is the cause of the
violent motion of all-various subterranean vapours and waters, and the other elements. But *Aēchidna* is an avenging cause, and the punisher of rational and irrational souls; on which account her upper parts are those of a virgin, and her lower parts resemble those of a serpent. And Python is the guardian of the whole of prophetic exhalation; or, we may say with greater propriety, that he is the cause of the disorder and obstruction about exhalations of this kind." As the prophetic power therefore proceeds originally from Apollo, the opposition of energy between Apollo and Python, and the dominion of that of the former over that of the latter, gave rise to the fable mentioned in this place by Pausanias. Diana, too, may be said to have assisted Apollo in slaying Python, in consequence of the wonderful union between these two divinities.

Page 150. *For Hesiod says.* In his Works and Days, lib. i. v. 263.

Page 151. *Mercury Forensis.* Mercury was thus denominated as presiding over affairs of law: and the propriety of this appellation will be evident from considering that Mercury is the source of gymnastic, music, and reasoning; that reasoning is an intellectual operation; and that law, as Plato (De Legibus) beautifully observes, is υἱὸν διανοίας, the distribution of intellect. For the sake of the liberal reader, I shall further observe concerning Mercury, that he is the source of invention: and hence he is said to be the son of Maia; because search, which is implied by Maia, leads invention into light. He bestows, too, mathesis on souls, by unfolding the will of his father Jupiter; and this he accomplishes as the angel or messenger of Jupiter. Proclus in MS: Comment. in Alcibiad. observes, "that he is the inspective guardian of gymnastic exercises; and hence herma, or carved statues of Mercury, were placed in the Palæstra: of music, and hence he is honoured as the lyrist λαράας among the celestial constellations: and of disciplines, because the invention of geometry, reasoning, and discourse is referred to this god. He presides, therefore, over every species of erudition, leading us to an intelligible essence from this mortal abode, governing the different herds of souls, and dispersing the sleep and oblivion.
NOTES ON THE

with which they are oppressed. He is likewise the supplier of recollection, the end of which is a genuine intellectual apprehension of divine natures."

After this he observes that the different ages of our life on the earth correspond to the order of the universe: "For our first age (says he) partakes in an eminent degree of the lunar operations; as we then live according to a nutritive and natural power. But our second age participates of Mercurial prerogatives; because we then apply ourselves to letters, music, and wrestling. The third age is governed by Venus; because then we begin to produce seed, and the generative powers of nature are put in motion. The fourth age is solar; for then our youth is in its vigour and full perfection, subsisting as a medium between generation and decay; for such is the order which vigour is allotted. But the fifth age is governed by Mars; in which we principally aspire after power and superiority over others. The sixth age is governed by Jupiter; for in this we give ourselves up to prudence, and pursue an active and political life. And the seventh age is Saturnian, in which it is natural to separate ourselves from generation, and transfer ourselves to an incorporeal life. And thus much we have discussed, in order to procure belief that letters, and the whole education of youth, is suspended from the Mercurial series." I only add, that as the first gifts of this god are intellectual, so his last pertain to the acquisition of gain. Hence he was called the god of merchandise and theft: for craft, as Plotinus beautifully observes, is a defluxion of intellect; and from these two professions craft is inseparable.

Page 151. To Hercules as to a hero.] The grand source, as it appears to me, of all that dire confusion which has taken place in opinions respecting the gods, is the belief that they were nothing more than men who once lived on the earth, and after their death were deified for their exalted worth. This opinion, too, originated from a misconception of divine fables, and ignorance of the manner in which every divine order proceeds to the extremity of things. For every god, as I have before observed, confers the characteristic of his nature on all his parti-
FIRST VOLUME.

...and those heroic souls that have at times appeared on the earth, and of whom we have given an account in a former note, conscious that they possessed the properties of those gods from whom they descended, called themselves by the names of their parent divinities. Thus heroic souls who descended from Jupiter, called themselves by the name of that god. Thus a hero Æsculapius has lived among men, who descended from the god of that name. This, too, has been the case with an heroic Bacchus, Mercury, Apollo, and in short with heroes of the same names with all the other gods. Hence we must consider Hercules as a hero who descended from the deity of that name, who in his highest subsistence, according to the Orphic theology, is the same with the celebrated Phanes or Protagonus, the exemplar of the universe. As heroic souls, therefore, of this kind were, as we have before observed, called by the ancients gods according to similitude, or in other words, from their approaching to the perfection of a divine nature as much as is possible to man, and particularly when liberated from the present body; hence it is easy to see how Hercules may be a god, and yet a man; how the hero Hercules may be said to have been deified after his death, without confounding the divine with the human nature; and in short, how ignorance of this most important particular has given birth to the delirious systems of modern writers on mythology.

Page 153. And on her head she bears the pole. As the word τόξος, the pole, was used by the ancients to signify the heavens, it seems to me evident that this statue represented Celestial Venus.

Page 153. Similar to the square figures of Mercury. Proclus in Euclid informs us that the Pythagoreans signified by a square a pure and immaculate order. And shortly after he adds, "that the gods who are the authors to all things of stable disposition, of pure and uncontaminated order, and of unimbling power, are very properly manifested as from an image by a quadrangular figure." As it is the province therefore, of Mercury to unfold and fill all things with truth, and truth is the...
same with pure simplicity; and as stability of essence is derived from truth, we may easily perceive the propriety of consecrating a square figure to Mercury. As Hercules, too, according to his mundane distribution as a god, seems to be the same with the Sun, according to the Orphic theology, and Mercury, Venus, and Apollo are deities of the same order, and profoundly united to each other, we cannot wonder that the statues of Hercules should resemble those of Mercury.

Page 154. Averrunci.] These gods were worshipped as the averters of evil, as their name implies.

Page 154. Ceres Prostasis.] That is, Ceres to whom empire belongs.

Page 156. Sacred dragons.] A dragon, as we have before observed, is a symbol of the partial life of the soul; and health is symmetry, and a subsistence according to nature. But the soul, while she is separated from the divinities, or, in other words, leads a partial life, lives in a manner contrary to her nature, and is diseased. She requires, therefore, the assistance of Æsculapius, or the god of health, that she may be restored to her true life. And hence the propriety of consecrating dragons to Æsculapius. But a dragon may be considered as the symbol of partial life of every kind, and consequently of that mortal life which is participated by the body, and which on the dissolution of the corporeal frame returns to the whole from whence it was derived. This life, therefore, from its partial nature, requires the assistance of Æsculapius, and this from its intimate connexion with body in a most eminent degree; so that by consecrating a dragon to Æsculapius, the ancients implied that this divinity is the physician both of souls and bodies.

Page 158. The Rhodian poet.] i.e. Apollonius in his Argonautics, lib. i.

Page 159. Pythagoras was the son of Mnesarchus.] Jamblichus in his Life of Pythagoras informs us, that Mnesarchus and Pythais, who were the parents of Pythagoras, descended from the house of Anceus.

Page 160. Hebe.] This goddess is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad, lib. iv. v. 2; and in the Odyssey, lib. xi. v. 602.
Page 161. The apples of the Hesperides. The following beautiful passage from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias of Plato, will inform the reader what he is to understand by the Hesperian regions. δι' ἔκ στεναὶ οἱ αὐτὴς ὑπερκοιλιῶσι τὴν Σάλατος ἀμφίπορον οὐσίαν. τὸν οὖν πολλὰν τὴν ὕπερκοιλιαν τοῦ· εἶτο καὶ τῇ γενεσίᾳ, μακροστήνης καλονές· ἄνθιον. δὲ· στενί καὶ· τὸ πλωσιον πάλιον. διὰ τοῦ τουλί· καὶ ἰ Ἰρενίκης τελειώταις· αἰθον εν τοῖς κυτεροῖς· μερονειν επιτησαλεῖ, αὖτε· καλά· γενναίοις· τοις· σκύλοιον· καὶ· κυβονίον· εἶτο· καὶ· λοξον· εν· ἑμμαρ·· ὅ· στιν· εν· αὐς· τί· καὶ· φοι· εγ. That is, "It is necessary to know, that islands stand out of, as being higher than the sea. A condition of being, therefore, which transcends this corporeal life and generation, is denominated the islands of the blessed; but these are the same with the Elysian fields. Hence, Heracles is said to have accomplished his last labour in the Hesperian regions; signifying by this, that having vanquished an obscure and terrestrial life, he afterwards lived in open day, that is, in truth and resplendent light." I only add, that the Hesperian golden apples which were plucked by Heracles, signify his reaping undefiled advantages, through arcane and celestial labours; for gold, from its incorruptible nature, is a symbol of purity.

Page 163. His verses.] The translator of the verses here cited from Homer’s hymn to Ceres, is Mr. Lucas.

Page 166. Danaus.] Danaus married his fifty daughters to his brother’s fifty sons, and caused all of them, except Hypertimenestra, to slay their husbands the first night.

Page 167. Homer.] This verse of Homer is in the Odyssey, lib. ii. v. 120.

Page 169. In one of her hands she holds a pomegranate.] Juno is a vivific goddess, and is the inspective guardian of motion and progression; and on this account (says Olympiodorus) in the Iliad she perpetually rouses and excites Jupiter to providential energies about secondary concerns. With respect to the pomegranate, the Emperor Julian, in his Oration to the Mother of the Gods, informs us, that it was not permitted to
be eaten in the sacred rites of the goddess, because it is a terrestrial plant. Perhaps, therefore, by Juno holding a pomegranate in her hand, her dominion over earthly natures is implied.

Page 169. With respect to the cuckoo, &c.] Pausanias is certainly right, when he says that such relations as the present ought not to be neglected; though he was far from apprehending its meaning. The concealed sense, however, of this fable appears to me to be as follows: Jupiter, desirous that Juno, by participating his divine energies, should become profoundly united to him (for this is the meaning of his being enamoured with Juno), is beheld by the goddess as subsisting according to sublime wisdom. For a bird may be considered as the image of elevation: and a cuckoo, according to Aelian, a most wise bird. Let it, however, be carefully remembered, that the divinities are profoundly united to each other perpetually, according to an energy separate from mundane concerns, and yet at the same time providentially preside over every part of the universe: but fables, in order to exhibit these different energies to our view, by apt images, are obliged to represent them as taking place at different times.

Page 171. The reply of the Pythian oracle to Glaucus, the son of Epicides, king of the Spartans (read and king of the Spartans.)] That children should be punished for the crimes of their parents, which the Pythian oracle said was the case with the posterity of Pelops, or cities for the sins of individuals, to a mind unenlightened by sublime philosophy, must appear highly absurd and unjust. But if we direct our attention to the pre-existence of human souls, and consider that many are punished in the present, for offences which they have committed in a former life; and that those, whose guilt is of a similar kind, are by the wise administration of providence, brought together, as to form one family, or one city, the apparent absurdity in this doctrine immediately vanishes, and the equity of divine vengeance becomes conspicuous. Proclus, in his book entitled Ten Doubts concerning Providence, informs us that the mysteries
evidence that certain persons are punished for the crimes of their progenitors, and that gods who preside over expiations, ἄργων θεοι, free offending souls from such punishments:

Page 180. *The oracle.* The whole of this oracle (for Pausanias only gives the first part of it) is given by Herodotus, lib. vi.

Page 180. *Jupiter Phyem.* Jupiter was so called because he assists fugitives.

Page 183. *The following lines.* These lines are in the last book of the Iliad, v. 765 and 766 of Mr. Pope's translation:

Page 189. *Dispersed the darkness from his eyes.* The circumstance respecting Diomed, here mentioned by Pausanias, is related by Homer in the fifth book of the Iliad, where Minerva is represented thus addressing Diomed:

Αὖθις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὀρφαλλόν ἔδωκε τῷ ἄργῳ τῷ ἄργῳ,
Οὐφρονισθεὶς ἦν Ἡρμῆς, ὃς καὶ οὕτως ἔδωκε.

i. e.

"From mortal mists thine eyes are purg'd by the,
And well enabled gods and men so good."

Minerva is with great propriety represented by Homer as thus employed: for she not only enkindles intellectual light in the soul, but removes that darkness, which, when resident in the eye of the soul, prevents it from beholding the nature of gods and men. And here it may not be improper to observe, that, through ignorance of ancient theology, a very beautiful passage in the fifth book of the Iliad has not been understood either by any of the translators or commentators on Homer that I am acquainted with. This passage is in the beginning of the fifth book, and consists of the 4th and 7th lines, which are these:

δεῖ εἰς τὴν ἐκκόμβον τι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐσπάσαται καλώς
τοστάτην τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοῦτον κτιόμενον

These lines, literally and truly translated, are as follow:

"She (that is Minerva) enkindled an unwearied fire from his helmet and his shield." And, "Such a fire did she enkindle from his head and his shoulders." But all the translators rem-
NOTES ON THE

der these lines, as if unwearied fire in the first line and fire in the second were nominatives, and not accusatives. I am indebted to Proclus in Plat. Polit. p. 353, for this information.

Page 189. Three eyes.] These three eyes in the statue of Jupiter were doubtless designed as symbols of those three deities, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, of whom we have given a copious account in a former note: and these eyes being fixed in one body, signify the profound union of these deities with each other. The verse of Homer, cited by Pausanias, is in the Iliad, lib. viii.

Page 197. Homer.] Iliad 4, verse 193. For what reason Pausanias concludes that Aesculapius is called a god by Homer in these verses, I cannot possibly conjecture. It cannot be from the epithet ἀμφώτορ blameless; for this is given by Homer to men, as to Chalcas in the first book of the Iliad, and to Ulysses in the Odyssey: and there is no other word which seems in the least to favour the construction of Pausanias.

Page 207. Orms.] This Egyptian deity is the same with Apollo and the Sun, according to Herodotos, lib. ii. 144. Aelian 10. 14, the Emperor Julian, oration 4. Horapollo. lib. i. c. 17. Plutarch de Iside. Porphyry apud Euseb. and Macrobius 1. Saturn. 20.

Page 208. The signature of a trident.] The following passage from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias unfolds the meaning of Neptune's trident in a manner perfectly satisfactory, and at the same time shows the great beauty of the symbols employed by the ancients in their arcane theology. τῷ πακεστὶ τα εγκοσμία, τα μεν οὐρανία, τα δε χρυσία, και τα μελαζου τούτων, πυρικ, αερικα, υδατικα, και τούτων μεν τα ουρανια εχει ο Ζευς, τα δε χρυσια ο Πλούτων, τα δε μελαζου ο Ποσειδιων. δια τουτο Ζευς κυριαρχει εχει, ως σημαιαν τον θυσιανον. ο δε Ποσειδιων δια τουτο τριαναν, ως σημαιαν του σεβασμου του μελαζου. ο δε Πλούτων κυριαρχει, δια το σκολιων, ωσπερ γαρ κυανη κυβης την κεφαλην, ουλω και αυθη η δυναμει των αφανων εστι. That is, "Mundane natures are triple: for some are celestial, others terrestrial, and others situated between these; viz. natures fiery, aerial, aquatic. And of these, Jupiter possesses such as
are celestial, Pluto such as are terrestrial, and Neptune the natures between these. Hence Jupiter holds a sceptre, which signifies his judicial power*. But Neptune a trident, because he is the inspective guardian of this triple nature, which has a middle situation. And Pluto wears a helmet, on account of the darkness over which he presides. For, as a helmet conceals the head, so Pluto is the power that presides over invisible natures."

And here, a reader unskilled in the ancient theology will doubtless object, that according to this doctrine, Neptune must either be the same with Juno, since he is the divinity of air, or there must be two divinities of the air. To this I answer, that Neptune, considered as one divinity who presides over all the middle elements, comprehends in his essence Juno, according to her sublunary distribution; so that both Neptune and Juno govern the air, but the former more universally, and the latter more particularly; the former ruling at the same time over other natures, but the latter presiding over air alone. And the same reasoning must be extended to Neptune and Vulcan, with respect to the element of fire.

I only add, that the helmet of Pluto, which Olympiodorus speaks of in the above citation, is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad, lib. v. ver. 845.

\[
\text{av\lambda\alpha\upsilon \varepsilon\omicron,}
\]
\[
\text{\Delta\upsilon \iota\delta\sigma\kappa\iota\nu\iota\mu\iota, \mu\iota \mu\iota \iota \delta\omicron \delta\gamma\mu\omicron\sigma\alpha\upsilon \varepsilon\omicron.}
\]

i. e.

"Minerva then, lest powerful Mars should view
Her visage, cover'd it with Pluto's helm."

And from hence we may infer the great antiquity of helmets that entirely covered the face.

Page 217. Depriving Homer of sight.] Those who have happily penetrated the profound wisdom of the ancients, will be easily convinced that the report concerning the blindness of Homer is merely fabulous, containing some recondite information, like other divine fables of antiquity. For he is said to

* It likewise signifies, as we have before observed from Proclus, his commanding or ruling characteristic.
NOTES ON THE

have lost his sight through his accusation of Helen. But it would be ridiculous in the extreme, if we take all that is related of Helen in the literal sense, to suppose that Homer should have been deprived of his sight for reviling such an infamous woman. Indeed, not only the blindness of Homer is fabulous, but both the Iliad and Odyssey are to be considered as divine fables. I do not mean to assert by this, that there never was such a war as the Trojan; or such a person as Ulysses: but it is my opinion, that Homer, by combining fiction with certain historical facts, has delivered to us some very concealed and valuable information in these two admirable poems.

That the rape of Helen, indeed, is fabulous, was the opinion of no less a person than Plato, as is evident from the following passage from his Phædrus: "There is an ancient purification for those who offend in matters respecting mythology, which Homer did not perceive, but which was known to Stesichorus. For being deprived of his eyes through his accusation of Helen, he was not, like Homer, ignorant of the cause of his blindness, but knew it, as being a musician. So that he immediately composed the following lines:

False was my tale; thou ne'er across the main
In beauteous ships didst fly, Troy's lofty towers to gain.

And thus having composed a poem directly contrary to what he had before published, and which is called a recantation, he immediately recovered his lost sight." That the blindness, too, of Homer, and his account of the Trojan war, are pregnant with mystic meaning, is thus beautifully shown by Proclus on Plato's Republic, p. 393: "Stesichorus, who considered the whole fable of Helen as a true narration, who approved the consequent transactions, and established his poetry accordingly, with great propriety suffered the punishment of his folly, that
in ignorance: but at length, through the assistance of music, he is said to have acknowledged his error; and thus, through understanding the mysteries concerning Helen and the Trojan war, to have recovered his sight. But Homer is said to have been blind, not on account of his ignorance of these mysteries, as Stesichorus, but through a more perfect habit of the soul; viz. by separating himself from sensible beauty, establishing his intelligence above all apparent harmony, and extending the intellect of his soul to unapparent and true harmony. Hence, he is said to have been blind, because that intellectual beauty to which he raised himself, cannot be usurped by corporeal eyes. On this account, too, fables bordering on tragedy represent Homer as deprived of sight, on account of his accusation of Helen. But fables, in my opinion, intend to signify by Helen all the beauty subsisting about generation, for which there is a perpetual battle of souls, till the more intellectual, having vanquished the more irrational forms of life, return to that place from which they originally came. But, according to some, the period of their circulation about sensible forms consists of ten thousand years, since a thousand years produce one ambit as of one year. For nine years therefore, i.e. for nine thousand years, souls revolve about generation; but in the tenth having vanquished all the barbaric tumult, they are said to have returned to their paternal habitations.” I only add farther, that the English reader who is desirous of understanding the mystic meaning of the Odyssey, may perhaps find his expectations not entirely disappointed by perusing the notes to my translation of Porphyry on Homer’s Cave of the Nymphs, in vol. ii. of Porclius on Euclid.

Page 218. Sacrifices and incantations.] He whose intellectual eye is strong enough to perceive that all things sympathize with all, will be convinced that the magic, cultivated by the ancient philosophers, is founded on a theory no less sublime than rational and true. Such a one will consider, as Plotinus observes, the nature of soul, as every where easy to be attracted, when a proper subject is at hand, which is easily passive to its influence. And that every thing adapted to imitation is readily
NOTES ON THE

passive, and is, like a mirror, able to seize a certain form, and reflect it to the view.

Page 222. Ceres, indeed, is called Chthonia.] Chthonia means terrestrial; and Ceres was, we may suppose, thus denominated from her profound union with Vesta, the proper divinity of the earth. "For some (says Proclus on Euclid) call both the Earth and Ceres, Vesta, and they say that Rhea totally participates her nature, and that all generative causes are contained in her essence."

Page 227. The hydra.] As we have already shown that the labours of Hercules are allegorical, the account given of his cutting off the hydra's heads, which formed one of his labours, must consequently be a fabulous narration. By the hydra, therefore, the ancients seem to have occultly signified the various and material form of the soul, which branches out into—1. Communication with the lives and opinions of the multitude. 2. Multiform desires, which divide the soul about body, and cause it to energize about externals; at one time connecting it with irrational pleasures, and at another time with actions indefinite and opposing each other. 3. The senses, which are educated as it were with the rational soul, and deceive its cogitative power: for these are multiform, and perceive nothing accurate or true. 4. Phantasies, on account of their figured and divisible nature, and immense variety, which do not suffer us to betake ourselves to an indivisible and immaterial essence, but draw down those who are hastening to the apprehension of such a nature, to a passive intelligence. 5. Opinions, because these are various and infinite, tend to externals, and are mingled with phantasy and sense. The hydra's heads, therefore, are images of all these, which Hercules, who is an intellectual hero, is with great propriety said to have destroyed.

Page 228. To lead back Semele.] Bacchus is the monad, or proximately exempt producing cause of the Titans, or ultimate artificers of things; and Semele, as we have shown from Olympiodorus, in a former note, is sublunary fire, i.e. the divinity of sublunary fire. As Semele, therefore, according to her ultimate progressions, is suspended from Bacchus, she may very properly
be said to have been led back from Hades, or the profundities of a material nature, by Bacchus; because every divine monad elevates to itself the series of which it is the head. I only add, that it is by no means improbable that this Alcyonian lake may be one of those passages through which the defluxions of the elements are transmitted to the inmost recesses of the earth, so as to form those subterranean rivers which are so much celebrated by ancient theologists. So that nothing more is meant by this fable, than that this divine power Semele, while she illuminates the profundities of the earth with as great a portion of divine light as they are capable of receiving, of a light which is enshrined as it were in the grossest fire, is at the same time elevated by Bacchus to an energy perfectly immaterial, impassive, and pure. For divine illumination, while it proceeds into the dark and rebounding receptacle of matter, is neither obscured by its darkness, defiled by its impurity, nor debilitated by its privation of reality.

Page 235. Homer.] These verses, the translator of which is Mr. Pope, are to be found in the Odyssey, lib. xix. ver. 178.

Page 238. The oracle.] This oracle is given at length by Herodotus, lib. i. p. 17.

Page 241. Who has dared to corrupt the oracle of the god.] There cannot be the least doubt but that the greater part of men of the present day believe the ancient oracles to have been nothing more than the tricks of designing priests; and the remaining part, which is certainly a very small one, will, as it appears to me, ascribe them to the influence of evil spirits. However, as it is a well known fact that most of the oracles ceased when the Christian religion made its appearance, it is impossible that they should have been nothing more than fraudulent tricks; for, if this had been the case, there was a much greater necessity than ever for the exercise of such tricks, when a new religion started up, diametrically opposite to the old one; nor can any reason be assigned why on this hypothesis the oracles should cease. On the other hand, to say that they were produced by the influence of evil spirits, is just as absurd as to assert that

VOL. III.
NOTES ON THE

evil is naturally the source of good; for the tendency of the oracles was evidently directed to the good both of individuals and cities, which in numberless instances they were the means of procuring. It may therefore be safely concluded that they were produced by divine influence; and that they ceased when the Christian religion appeared, because the parts of the earth in which the oracles were given then became too impure to receive the prophetic inspiration. For, as we have observed in a former note, there must be a concurrence of proper instruments, times, and places, in order to receive divine influence in a proper manner; so that when all or any of these are wanting, this influence will either be not at all received, or will be received mingled with the delusions of error. But let the reader who desires popular conviction of this important fact, that there was no collusion in general in the ancient oracles, peruse the first book of Cicero De Divinatione; and unless his intellectual eye is dreadfully blinded by the darkness of perfect atheism, which has now spread itself among all ranks of men, he must be at least convinced that they were not produced by the knavery of priests. That the priests, indeed, were sometimes corrupted, the passage before us of Pausanias, and many other instances which might be adduced, sufficiently prove; but this does not in the least invalidate the existence of divine influence, or the reality of oracular prediction; because the best things always have been and always will be perverted, through the weakness and viciousness of the bulk of mankind.

Page 260. The Archon Eponymus.] Sylburgius observes here, that governors of this kind were called Archons, because they annually possessed the supreme authority: but that they were called Eponymi, because the years in the fasti and annals were inscribed after their names; just as among the Romans the years were not only numbered from the time in which their city was built, but were rendered remarkable by the names of their consuls.

Page 268. Jupiter Euanemos.] That is, Jupiter the cause of prosperous winds.
FIRST VOLUME.

Page 270. *Neptune Hippocurius.*] Pindar, in his Isthmian and Nemean odes, shows that a festival was celebrated by the Thebans in honour of Neptune Hippocurius.

Page 270. *Brithomartis.*] This word is a compound of the Cretan words πίλυς sweet, and μαρτίς a virgin: and according to Bochart, the latter of these words is derived from the Arabic marath.

Page 272. *Euyalian Mars.*] That is, Mars the son of Bellona.

Page 272. *Enodian Hecate.*] Diana, according to Festus, was called Enodia, because she presides over ways. We have before observed that there is a wonderful union between Hecate and Diana; and hence Proclus in his common hymn, which has been already cited in these notes, calls Hecate Prothyresa, which, as we are informed by Diodorus, is one of the appellations of Diana.

Page 278. *Orthia Diana.*] Hesychius informs us that Diana came to be thus denominated from a place in Arcadia where she had a temple.

Page 279. *Sprinkled with human blood.*] If we attend to the pre-existence of human souls, and consider the crimes which they may have committed in former periods of existence on the earth, and at the same time consider that nothing escapes the penetrating eye of providence, and that all its administrations are consummately just, the apparent cruelty in the injunction of this oracle vanishes. For of what consequence is it whether a man who deserves to die is slain before an altar, or put to death in a common way? And we may be sure that no man is punished either with death or the loss of his possessions, or in short oppressed with any calamity, unjustly. For though the conduct of such a one in that period of his existence in which he suffers may deserve a milder destiny, yet it may be safely concluded that in some past period of existence, it has been such as to demand the punishment which he endures. It must, however, be observed, that this doctrine does not hold good with respect to truly worthy men, by which I mean those heroic souls of whom I have given an account in a former note; for.
the calamities which befall others, when they happen to these, are sent by divinity as purifications necessary to the perfection of their virtue. The number of these, however, is but small, and consequently the exceptions to this observation are but few.

Page 282. *Are believed to be brothers.*] Sleep and Death were with great propriety said by the ancients to be twins, from the intimate alliance between *Sense* and *Phantasy*, from which we are liberated by these divinities. For as *Sleep* frees us from the *senses*, so *Death* from the *phantasy*. But *Sleep*, considered as a god, is that power through which the divinities are enabled to energize in a manner separate from all inferior concerns, at the same time that their providential care is extended to every part of the universe: and this latter energy was denominated by ancient theologists *vigilance*. I only add, that the passage of Homer alluded to by Pausanias is Iliad 16, v. 672, and that Sleep and Death are called brothers both by Orpheus and Hesiod.

Page 285. *Chiron.*] Chiron, according to fables, was the son of Saturn by the nymph Philyra the daughter of Ocean. And it is said that Saturn, in order to elude Rhea, changed himself into a horse when he was connected with Philyra. Hence the upper parts of Chiron, as far as to his navel, were those of a man, and his lower parts were those of a horse. Chiron, therefore, is the image of a man, who lived in the confines of the kingdom of Jupiter and Saturn, or, in other words, who lived a life partly consisting of the political and partly of the intellectual virtues, but yet so that he possessed the former in greater perfection than the latter. For the fable, by asserting that his upper parts were human, signifies his living according to the *politic virtues*, of which Jupiter is the exemplar; since Jupiter is peculiarly *πατὴρ ἄνδρων θεῶν*, the *father of gods* and *men*. As Jupiter, therefore, is *eminently* a political god, man must partake in an *eminent* degree of a political life. But the lower parts of Chiron evidently partake of the nature of Saturn: and Saturn is the source of an *intellectual life*, which he causes to receive the most extreme division. But what are we to understand by Saturn changing himself into a horse? I an-
swer, that a certain daemonical power of the order of Saturn is
signified by this mutation. For ancient theologists called the
processions of any divinity to the last of things, according to
different orders and degrees, mutations. So that the fable, by
asserting that Chiron was the son of Saturn by one of the nymphs
of the ocean, signifies that a Saturnian daemon and a nymph
co-operated with the parents of Chiron, by a certain natural
sympathy, in begetting him.

Page 285. The judgment of Paris.] The fable here alluded
to is thus beautifully explained by the philosopher Sallust, in
his treatise De Diis et Mundo, cap. 4. "It is said that Dis-
cord, at a banquet of the gods, threw a golden apple, and that
a dispute about it arising among the goddesses, they were sent
by Jupiter to take the judgment of Paris, who, charmed with
the beauty of Venus, gave her the apple in preference to the
rest. In this fable, the banquet denotes the supermundane
powers of the gods; and on this account they subsist in con-
junction with each other: but the golden apple denotes the
world, which, on account of its composition from contrary na-
tures, is not improperly said to be thrown by Discord, or Strife.
But again, since different gifts are imparted to the world by
different gods, they appear to contest with each other for the
apple. And a soul living according to sense (for this is Paris),
not perceiving other powers in the universe, asserts that the
contended apple subsists alone through the beauty of Venus."

Page 285. Dragging the three-mouthed dog from Hades.] By a dog the ancients signified the discriminating and at the
same time reproving power of the soul. For of this power the
sagacity and barking of a dog are images. And as its energies
are triple (for it detects and reproves the fallacies of the senses,
imagination, and opinion), these are represented by the three
heads of Cerberus. The great Hercules, therefore, drew this
dog from Hades up to the regions of day; viz. he liberated this
power of his soul from its residence in the dark profoundities of a
material nature, and raised it to the light of truth. This account
of Cerberus appears to me to be more accurate than that which
I have given in my Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.

Page 286. *Pirithous and Theseus forcibly taking away Helen.*] "Theseus and Pirithous," says Proclus, in Plat. Polit. p. 381, "are fabled to have ravished Helen, and descended to the infernal regions; i.e. were lovers both of intelligible and visible beauty. Afterwards one of these (Theseus), on account of his magnanimity, was liberated by Hercules from Hades; but the other (Pirithous) remained there because he could not sustain the arduous altitude of divine contemplation."

Page 287. *Bacchus, whom, in my opinion, they very properly denominate *Psila.*] Bacchus may with great propriety be called *Psila* or *wings;* for he is an intellectual deity, and intellect is of an elevating nature.


Page 310. *Homer.*] Iliad. lib. ix. ver. 292; and in the same verse Enope is mentioned.

Page 310. *The small Iliad.*] Herodotus, in his Life of Homer, says that this poem was composed by Homer, while he resided with Thestorides, and that afterwards the pedagogue published it as his own.

Page 313. *In his catalogue.*] Iliad. lib. ii. The verses which follow are from the Odyssey, lib. xxi. ver. 15, and lib. iii. ver. 489.

Page 314. *The Great Eoes.*] This poem, which is likewise called *The Catalogue of Women,* is ascribed to Hesiod; and Fabricius conjectures that the *Shield of Hercules* is a part of it.

Page 359. *But some god who had so often preserved Aristomenes, &c.*] The readers of that most ingenious and entertaining work called the Arabian Nights Entertainments will doubtless be agreeably surprised to find, if they have not discovered it before, that this interesting account of the preservation of Aristomenes in the deep chasm, has been taken from Pausanias with some alteration by the author of those tales, and forms one of the most curious parts of the history of Sindbad the Sailor. As
the Arabians, a little after the year of Christ 820, under the auspices of the Caliph Almānim, who was the great patron of literature, and indeed caused to be translated the best works of the Grecian philosophers and mathematicians into Arabic, perhaps Pausanias was translated by them at the same time. I only add, that Aristomenes appears to have been one of those heroes of whom we have given an account in a former note.

Page 380. The anger of the Dioscuri.] We must not suppose that a divine nature is capable of anger, or can be appeased by gifts: for in this case it would be subject to passion, and influenced by delight. But by such expressions as these nothing more is implied than the effects which vice and virtue produce in our souls. For guilt, as Sallust* well observes, prevents us from receiving the illuminations of the gods, and subjects us to the power of avenging demons; and prayers and sacrifices become the remedies of our vices, and cause us to partake of the goodness of the gods. So that it is the same thing, says he, to assert that divinity is turned from the evil, as to say that the sun is concealed from those who are deprived of sight.

Page 383. Sacadas and Pronomus.] For particulars respecting Sacadas, consult the Corinthiacs and Eliae of Pausanias. Suidas informs us that Pronomus was a piper remarkable for his great beard. He is also mentioned by Aristophanes in Ecclesiæsuis, and by Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 7.

Page 386. In the Iliad.] The particulars respecting Patroclus are in Iliad 16, ver. 130; respecting the spies, in Iliad 10, ver. 222; and respecting the spy sent to Troy, in Iliad 10, ver. 244. The passage respecting those that were left to guard the walls of Troy is in Iliad 8, ver. 518, &c. And the last passage is in Iliad 14, ver. 378, &c.

Page 391. Fortune.] Fortune is that divine power which disposes things differing from each other, and happening contrary to expectation, to beneficent purposes. Or it may be defined that deific distribution which causes every thing to fill up the lot assigned to it by the condition of its being. This divi-

* De Diis et Mundo.
nity, too, congregates all sublunary causes, and enables them to confer on sublunary effects that particular good which their nature and merits eminently deserve. But the following extraordinary passage from Simplicius on Aristotle's Physics, lib. ii. p. 81, concerning Fortune, will, I doubt not, be acceptable to readers of every description. η της τυχής επικρατεία την ύποπτηληγή μαλακτα του παντος μοιραν διακοσμεί, όπως και η την ουδεχομενου φυσις, ην ατακτων ουσιαν και τη οικουμενη, η τυχη μετα των αλλων αρχηγιων αιτων κατευθυνει, και τατει, και κυβερνει. διο και οαδαλουν αυτη διδοσι κρατειν, ως κυβερνητη την εν τω ουσιν της γενεσεως πλαιστη. και το πεδαλον εις σφαιρας ιδρυουσιν ως τι ανατατον της γενεσεως κατευθυνεως. κερας δε Αμαλθειας εν τη ετερα ταιν χειμων κατων πλημμες, ως του τυχειν παντων θεων καρπων αιτει. δια τουτο δε, και πολεμων και οικων, και ενος εκαστος τιμωμεν τυχει, ότι ποροι διαστατες της θεως ενουσις, κυνευνομεν διαμαρτυριες της επικαλλουσης μεθεθεων. και δεματα προς το τυχειν της τη θεου τυχης, και των εν της κρειτοσει γενεσει την αυτην εχουσιν ειδοτη. και ουτε μην πασα τυχη αγαθη. και γαρ τη πασα τευχεις αγαθου τινος εστιν, ουδε υπαρχη πολιν ποτε του θεου. των δε αγαθων, τα μην εινε προγυμναμενα, τα δε κολαστικα, ή τιμωμεν, απει και κακα λεγειν ευθυμεθα. και δια τουτο και τυχην, την μεν αγαθην ουνομαζομεν, η της τυχειν των προγυμναμενων αγαθων αιτει εστι, την δε κακη, η της κολαστικας ή τιμωριας ημες παρακειμεθα τυχειν. That is, “The power of Fortune particularly disposes in an orderly manner the sublunary part of the universe, in which the nature of that which is contingent is contained, and which being essentially disordered, Fortune, in conjunction with other primary causes, directs, places in order, and governs. Hence she is represented guiding a rudder, because she governs things sailing on the sea of generation. Her rudder, too, is fixed on a globe, because she directs that which is unstable in generation. In her other hand she holds the horn of Amalthea, which is full of fruits, because she is the cause of obtaining all divine fruits. And on this account we venerate the fortunes of cities and houses, and of each individual; because, being very remote from divine union, we are in danger of being deprived of its participation, and require in order to obtain it the assistance of
the goddess Fortune, and of those natures* superior to the human who possess the characteristic of this divinity. Indeed every fortune is good; for every attainment respects something good, nor does anything evil subsist from divinity. But of things good some are precedaneous, and others are of a punishing or revenging characteristic, which we are accustomed to call evils. Hence we speak of two Fortunes, one of which we denominate good, and which is the cause of our obtaining precedaneous goods, and the other evil, which prepares us to receive punishment or revenge."

From this beautiful passage it is easy to see why Fortune in the Orphic hymns is called Diana; for each of these divinities governs the sublunary world. At the same time it is a singular circumstance, that among the images of Fortune in Montfaucon there is but one with a rudder on a globe.

Page 391. Iliad.] Minerva, and Enyo, or Bellona, are mentioned together, Iliad 5, v. 333. Nuptials are said to be taken care of by Venus. Iliad 5, ver. 429.

Page 397. Particularly by Plato, the son of Ariston.] That Plato firmly believed in the immortality of the soul, is evident from his Phædrus, the tenth book of his Republic, and his seventh epistle, which contains the following remarkable passage: ως γεως ας ιχθυς τως παλαιοις τω και ιδροις λογοις ὃ δὲ μνημοσύνη μην ανανισθαι ψυχήν εἰναι, δικαστὰς το ισχεῖν, καὶ τινὲς τας μεγίστας τιμωρίας, αὶ τας απαλλαξθῆναι τοις σωμαῖοι. i.e. "It is proper, indeed, always to believe in ancient and sacred discourses, which announce to us that the soul is immortal, and that it has judges of its conduct, and suffers the greatest punishments, when it is liberated from the body."

Page 398. That affirm Jupiter was brought up among them.] It appears to me, that the reason why so many nations have asserted that Jupiter was born and educated among them, originated from hence: Heroic souls, such as we have already described, who, in consequence of knowing that they descended from Jupiter, and living a life conformable to the characteristic

* i.e. Angels, demons, and heroes.
NOTES ON THE FIRST VOLUME.

of that divinity, were called the sons of Jupiter, and assumed the name of their parent, may be supposed to have been born in different periods in every part of the earth; and this has given occasion to so many nations to boast that Jupiter was born among them, each nation confounding a hero who called himself Jupiter, for the reason above assigned, with the divinity of that name. I add, that Creto was fabulously called the birthplace of Jupiter by the ancient theologists: I say, fabulously, for Proclus informs us, that these theologists meant by Creto to render an intelligible nature, in which Jupiter may with great propriety and beauty be said to have been born and nursed.

Page 400. Thamyris.] The verses of Homer respecting Thamyris, alluded to by Pausanias, are in the second book of the Iliad, v. 105, &c. and are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

And Dorion, famed for Thamyris’ disgrace,
Superior once of all the tuneful race,
Till, vain of mortals empty praise, he strove
To match the seed of cloud-compelling Jove!
Too daring bard I whose unsuccessful pride
Th’ immortal Muses in their art defied.
Th’ avenging Muses of the light of day
Deprived his eyes, and smach’d his voice away;
No more his heavenly voice was heard to sing,
His hand no more awaked the silver string.

But we must not suppose that Homer means Thamyris was corporeally blind; for the intention of the poet in this narration, which is doubtless fabulous, was to signify that Thamyris, through despising a deific energy, became mentally blind, and thus no longer experienced that inspiring influence of the Muses, which prior to this used to illuminate the greatest eye of his soul with divine light. The blindness of Homer, which was far different from that of Thamyris, we have explained in a former note.

Page 408. Iphidamas.] Iliad 11, ver. 244.
NOTES
ON THE
SECOND VOLUME.

PAGE 2. [Endymion.] The following remarkable passage, from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Phædo, contains an explanation of the fable of Endymion. Ἐλεγέω δ᾽ οὐς (Ενδυμίων) αἰεν καθιεϊν, διὸς άστρονόμων εν ερήμαις διεζητάω διό καὶ φίλος τη σειρηνίον καὶ περὶ Πτολεμαίου φασίν. οὐς γαρ εἰς τεσσαρακοντάτην αἰώνα τοῖς λεγομένοις πάροικοι τοῦ Καναυκίου ομοίως ἀστρονομίας γραφαίς. διὸ καὶ ἀναγραφάκι τας στήλας εκεί τῶν συναφών καὶ ἀστρονόμων δογμάτων. That is, "He (Endymion) is said to have slept perpetually, because he applied himself in solitude to the study of astronomy. Hence, too, he is said to have been beloved by the Moon. And the same things are reported of Ptolemy, who gave himself wholly to the study of astronomy for forty years, in that place which is called the Pteroi of Canobus. On which account he inscribed on the pillars contained in that place, the astronomical dogmata which he invented." I only add, that the Grecian architects by the word στέκα, or wings, signified the roofs of their temples, as may be seen from the Greek Scholiast on this verse of Aristophanes:

τὰς γαρ ομοίως εἰκας ἐγράφαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν.

i. e.

"We shall cover your houses towards the north."

For the Scholiast observes, that Aristophanes uses these words on account of the roofs of temples, which were like the wings of a flying eagle. See likewise Suidas, and Eustathius on the
NOTES ON THE

last book of the Iliad. Ptolemy, therefore, from consuming most probably a great part of every day and night on the roof of the temple of Canopus, in the open air, for the space of forty years, is very properly compared by Olympiodorus to Endymion.

Page 9. *They ought to consult the Delphic Apollo, about the means of being freed from the evils, &c.*] The prodigious advantages which mankind derived from prophecy, are beautifully shown by Plato in the following passage from his Phaedrus:

"Indeed, in the greatest diseases and labours, to which certain persons are sometimes subject, through the indignation of the gods, in consequence of guilt; fury, when it takes place, predicting what they stand in need of, discovers a liberation of such evils, by flying to prayer and the worship of the gods. Hence, obtaining by this means purifications, and the advantages of initiation, it renders such a one free from disasters, both for the present and future time, by discovering to him a solution of his present evil, through the means of one who is properly furious and divinely inspired."


Page 17. *The golden race.* The different ages of mankind, which are celebrated by Hesiod in his *Works and Days*, signify the different lives which the individuals of the human species pass through; and, as Proclus on Hesiod beautifully observes, they may be comprehended in this triad, the *golden*, the *silver*, and the *brass* age. But by the *golden* age an intellectual life is implied. For such a life is pure, impassive, and free from sorrow; and of this impassivity and purity gold is an image, through its never being subject to rust or putrefaction. Such a life, too, is very properly said to be under Saturn, because Saturn, as we have before shown, is an *intellectual* god. By the *silver* age a rustic and natural life is implied, in which the attention of the rational soul is entirely directed to the care of the body, but without proceeding to the extremity of vice. And by the *brass* age, a dire, tyrannic, and cruel life is implied, which is entirely passive, and proceeds to the very extremity of vice. The order of these metals, as Proclus observes, harmonizes with that of these lives. "For (says he) *gold* is *solar-
form, because the sun is solely immaterial light. But silver is lunar-form, because the moon partakes of shadow, just as silver does of rust. And brass is earthly, so far as, not having a nature similar to a lucid body, it is replete with abundance of corruption."

Page 17. Curetes.] The Curetes are gods of an unpolluted guardian characteristic, and first subsist in that order of gods which is called by the Chaldaean theologists νοσοτης, intellectual. The Corybantes, who form the guardian triad of supermundane gods, are analogous to these.

Page 18. In consequence of having dethroned Saturn.] By Jupiter dethroning Saturn, nothing more is meant, than that Jupiter is the medium, through which the prolific powers and intellectual illuminations of Saturn proceed, and are participated by the sensible world.

Page 26. The Stymphalian birds, and the Nemean lion.] By the Stymphalian birds which were driven away by Hercules, and were so large that they obstructed the light of the sun, the objects of phantasy are signified, which prevent the light of truth from shining in the soul: and the Nemean lion signifies anger.

Page 28. Homer in the Iliad.] The verses alluded to by Pausanias are these:

Heaven's gates spontaneous open to the powers,
Heaven's sounding gates kept by the winged Hours.

Iliad 8, v. 393.

Page 28. That the goddess is drawn by a mule.] The moon may with great propriety be represented drawn by a mule, because, as Proclus on Hesiod, p. 174, observes, she resembles the mixed nature of this animal; "becoming dark through her participation of earth, and deriving her proper light from the sun." γης μεν εκουσα το σκοτεινατο, ηλιου δε το οικειον ειληκχεινα φως. ταυτη μεν ουν οικειολας προς αυθην η ημιωγος.

Page 35. Homer.] Iliad. lib. xiii. v. 389, in Mr. Pope's translation, lin. 493, and Iliad xvi. v. 482, in Pope's Homer, v. 592. The Greek Scholiast on these verses informs us that
NOTES ON THE

Hercules was crowned with the leaves of the poplar tree, for having vanquished Cerberus.

Page 36. Pindar.] In his first Olympic ode. The Scholiast on this passage observes, that Diana was loved by Alpheus, and that, on this account, one altar was raised to both in Olympia. Hence Diana was called Alpheia.

Page 37. Opportunity.] Proclus, in MS. Comment. in Alcibiadem, informs us, that the Pythagoreans called the first cause, from which all things are supplied with good, Opportunity; because it is to this that all things owe the perfection of their nature.

Page 39. It is evident, therefore, that this is an appellation of Jupiter.] It appears to me, however, that by the leader of the Parcae we must understand Venus. For in the Orphic hymn to that goddess, it is expressly said of her, that "she rules over the Parcae:

και περαντι στραπον μοι.

Page 48. Of Muses gracefully around him stand.] The following account of the Muses is from the Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus: "The whole world is bound in indissoluble bonds from Apollo and the Muses, and is both one and all-perfect, through the communications of these divinities; possessing the former through the Apolloniacal monad*, but its all-perfect subsistence through the number of the Muses. For the number nine, which is generated from the first perfect number, (that is, three) is, through similitude and sameness, accommodated to the multiform causes of the mundane order and harmony; all these causes at the same time being collected into one summit for the purpose of producing one consummate perfection; for the Muses generate the variety of reasons with which the world is replete; but Apollo comprehends in union all the multitude of these. And the Muses give subsistence to the harmony of soul; but Apollo is the leader of intellectual and indivisible harmony. The Muses distribute the phenomena according to

* By a monad in divine natures, is meant that which contains distinct, but at the same time profoundly-united multitude, and which produces a multitude exquisitely attuned to itself.
harmonical reasons: but Apollo comprehends unapparent and separate harmony. And though both give subsistence to the same things, yet the Muses effect this according to number, but Apollo according to union. And the Muses, indeed, distribute the unity of Apollo; but Apollo unites harmonic multitude, converting and comprehending it; for the multitude of the Muses proceeds from the essence of Musagetes, which is both separate, and subsists according to the nature of the one."

Page 51. And they are employed agreeable to Homer's description of them.] The passage alluded to by Pausanias is in the tenth book of the Odyssey, v. 348, &c. and is thus translated by Mr. Pope:

Ministrant to their queen with busy care,  
Four faithful handmaids these soft rites prepare; 
Nymphs sprung from fountains, or from shady woods, 
Or the fair offspring of the sacred floods. 
One o'er the couches painted carpets threw, 
Whose purple lustre glow'd against the view; 
White linen lay beneath. Another placed 
The silver stands with golden flasksets graced; 
With dulcet bev'rage this the beaker crown'd 
Fair in the midst, with gilded cups around; 
That in the triped o'er the kindled pile 
The water pours; the bubbling waters boil: 
An ample vase receives the smoking wave; 
And in the bath prepared my limbs I love.

But in order to understand who the Homeric Circe is, it is necessary to observe, that the ancient theologians, when they represent divine natures, as employed in the exercise of certain arts, meant to insinuate by such arts producing, prolific, intellectual, and perfective powers, which proceed from the gods into the universe; all the parts of which are nothing more than illuminations of these powers. This being premised, "Circe (says Proclus in his Scholia on the Cratylus) is that divine power which weaves all the life contained in the four elements, and at the same time by her song harmonizes the whole sublunary world. But the shuttle with which she weaves, is represented by theologians as golden, because her essence is intellectual,
pure, immaterial, and unmingled with generation; all which is
signified by the shuttle being golden. And her employment
consists in separating* things stable from such as are in motion,
according to divine diversity." I only add, that Homer with
great propriety represents Circe, who presides over the sub-
lunar world, or the realms of generation, as waited on by
Nymphs sprung from fountains: for Nymphs, says Hermias
(Comment. MS. in Plat. Phædrum), are goddesses presiding
over regeneration, and are the attendants of Bacchus the son
of Semele. On this account they are present with water; that
is, they ascend as it were into, and rule over generation. But
this Dionysius or Bacchus supplies the regeneration of every
sensible nature. Νυμφαι δὲ εἰσὶν εὑροὶ διὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίας
ἐποιηθοί του ε κακαλής Διονυσίου, διὸ καὶ πάρα τῷ υδαί τις, τοὺς
ἐστὶ τῇ γένεσι συμβολασίοις. οὐδὲ δὲ ο Διονύσιος τῆς παλιγγενεσίας
συμβελτεί πάντος τοῦ οἰνόβιου.

Page 52. For a key belongs to Pluto.] Pluto is a deity of a
guardian characteristic; and of this a key is a very proper
symbol. But the following beautiful account of this divinity,
from the Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus, will, I doubt not,
be highly acceptable to the truly liberal reader: "Pluto is an
intellectual demiurgic god, who frees souls from generation.
For our whole period receiving a triple division, into a life under
the dominion of Jupiter, which is prior to generation, into a life
under the dominion of Neptune, and which is in generation, and
into a life posterior to generation, and which is under Pluto; hence
Pluto, who is characterized according to intellect, with great
propriety converts ends to beginnings, forming a circle without
a beginning or an end, not only in souls, but in bodies. Thus
for instance, he eternally evolves the circulations of the stars,
the motions of things in generation, and the like. But some
erroneously analyse the name of Pluto into wealth from the earth;
through fruits and metals; and of Aides† into the obscure, dark,
and terrible. These are now censured by Socrates, who assigns
the same meaning to these two names; referring Pluto, as in-

* For the shuttle is a symbol of separating power.
† One of Pluto's names.
SECOND VOLUME.

tellect, to the wealth of prudence, and Aides to an intellect which knows all things. For this god is a sophist*, who purifies souls after death, and frees them from generation. For Aides, or, the obscure, is not, as some erroneously interpret it, evil; since neither is death an evil, though Aides appears to some to be full of perturbation. But every thing intelligible is obscure; and in this sense Aides is better than every visible nature. The lovers of body, however, who viciously refer the passions of the animated part to themselves, consider death as something terrible, and as the cause of corruption: but in reality it is much better for a man to die, and live in Hades according to nature, than to live with body contrary to nature, and prevented from energizing intellectually. Hence, it is necessary to strip ourselves of the flesh† with which we are invested, as Ulysses did of his torn garments, and not, together with the indigence of body, clothe ourselves with that which resembles the vestment of a mendicant. "For (as the Oracle says) things divine cannot be obtained by those whose intellectual eye is directed to body; but those only can arrive at the possession of them, who, stript of their garments, hasten to the summit."

Page 55. You will see elegies inscribed on the rest.] Pausanias frequently uses the word σλεγματις, in the same sense as ἔπιγραμμα, an epigram or inscription. It appears, therefore, that this word has a more extended sense than it is generally known to have. Hence, in conformity to the original, I have here and elsewhere used the word elegies as synonymous with inscriptions. Whether or not this sense of the word has been noticed by any lexicographer, I am not certain: it is not noticed by either Suidas or Hesychius.

Page 61. And its right hand thunder.] As Jupiter is the Demiurgus, or artificer of the universe, his statue very properly holds thunder in one of its hands: for thunder, as we learn from Proclus, is a symbol of fabrication, proceeding through and vivifying all things, without injuring the purity of its nature.

* The reader must be careful to consider the word Sophist in this place in its primary sense, viz. one wise and learned.
† i. e. We must purify ourselves from a tendency to body.
NOTES ON THE

Page 64. Jupiter Lacetas.] i.e. The god of the people.

Page 65. Homer, indeed, relates, &c.] The passages of Homer, alluded to by Pausanias, are in Iliad 20, ver. 233, and Iliad 5, ver. 268, &c. The former of these passages may be thus translated:

Fairer of mortals, Ganymede divine,
Who for his beauty by the gods was snatch'd
From earth to heaven, that he might bear the cup
Of Jove, and with the best immortals dwell.

The latter is thus translated by Mr. Pope:

Swift to Æneas' empty seat proceed,
And seize the course of ethereal breed:
The race of those, which once the thundering god
For ravish'd Ganymede on Tros bestow'd,
The best that e'er on earth's broad surface run,
Beneath the rising or the setting sun.

But Ganymedes is the image of a man who leads an immaterial and intellectual life, instead of one wholly conversant with body and sense. Hence he is said to be the cup-bearer of Jupiter, because such a man co-operates in a ministrant degree with the immutable providential energies of that deity. For nectar, which is the drink of the gods, signifies the exertion of immutable providence, and its procession to the extremity of things. The truth of this is beautifully though obscurely signified by Homer in the following lines, which form the beginning of the fourth book of the Iliad:

Oi ἐν θεοὶ πάρ ξυπνῖσκαν ἴπποι
Χρυσῶν ἔν δεσπότη τοῦ ὠραίῳ βασιλείᾳ
Νεκάρα προαγή τοι ἐν χρυσαίων ἰππαρίσιοι
Διεθαμένων αἰθήμων, Τρωαῖος τόλμη εἰσφορᾶς.

i.e.

"Now with each other on the golden floor
Seated near Jove, the gods converse, to whom
The venerable Hebe nectar bears
In golden goblets, and as these flow round
Th' immortals turn their careful eyes on Troy."
SECOND VOLUME.

For here their possession of immutable providence is signified by their drinking nectar; the exertion of this providence, by their beholding Troy; and their communicating with each other in providential energies, by receiving the goblets from each other.


Page 68. Hippias.] The reader who wishes to see the arrogence of this sophist humbled in the most masterly manner, will find his wishes amply gratified, if he possesses any taste, by reading the Greater Hippias of Plato, of which there is an excellent translation by Mr. Sydenham.

Page 69. They say that this bird is sacred to the sun.] "There are many solar animals, such as lions and cocks, which participate of a certain solar divinity, according to their nature; from whence it is wonderful to see how much inferiors in the same order yield to such as are superior, though they do not yield to them in magnitude and strength. Hence they say that a cock is very much feared, and as it were reverenced by a lion; the reason of which we can never assign from matter or sense, but from the contemplation alone of a supernal order. For from hence we shall learn, that the properties of the sun are more abundantly received by the cock than the lion. And the truth of this is evinced from hence, that the cock celebrates, and as it were invokes the rising sun, by his crowing, as if with certain hymns, when that luminary bends his course from the antipodes to us; and that sometimes solar angels appear in forms of this kind; and though they are in themselves without form, yet they appear with it, to us who are connected with figure. Sometimes, too, solar demons are seen with a leonine front, who suddenly disappear when a cock is placed before them. The reason of this is, because, in the same order, inferiors always reverence their superiors; just as the greater part of those that behold the images of divine men, are by the very aspect of these images terrified from perpetrating any thing base."—Proclus De Magia.


Page 73. For the Lydians who are called Persic.] Kuhnius
NOTES ON THE

observes that the Persic Lydians were denominated from the Persic sacred rites pertaining to Mithras, which rites principally flourished in the Lydian cities Hierocesarea and Hymepa.

Page 73. *A magician entering into this cell, &c.* The following curious account of magical incantation, from a very rare Greek MS. of Psellus, *On Demons, according to the Dogmata of the Greeks*, will, I doubt not, be acceptable to the reader, as it elucidates the passage of Pausanias before us, and shows that magic is not an empty name, but possesses a real power, though at present this art seems to be totally lost. η γνώσις δι οσι τεχνη της περι των ενυλως και χαρίων δαμωνας φαναι εκπονεσα τας επισημας των τουλων ειδωλια. καὶ τους μεν ωστερ δι αθανουσαν, τους δε ωφοθεν καλιγουσαν, και τουλως κακουσκους. και ειδωλια άυτα υφηισης φαναιμαλα των καθως των τουλων και τους μεν ραμαλα της εκειθεν κυμανοιλια επαφησε τως δε δεσμως ανεσις και τιμολογια εκανας επαγγελλοντα. επαγγελλο τω τοιαυταις δυναμεις και ασμαις και επαφησεις. η δε γε μαγεια πολυδυναμα τη χρημα τως Ελλησιν ιδογε. μεριδα γου ειναι ταιην φαινεν εκανας της ιεραλης επισημης. αναχαινουσα γαρ των υπο την συλλην και δωρους την τη ευθυς ταις και φοιις και δυναμεις και τιμολογια. λεγον δε σοιχειων και των τουλων μεριδων, ζωων, παλιδοσιν φυλων και των ενευθεν κασιν, λεων, ζωλυων και αισιους ειποιν, ταιων πραγμαλοις, υποστασιν τε και δυναμεις. ενευθεν ορα τα εικαις εργαζομεν αγαλματης τε υφηισης υγιας περιστηνηκα, και σχηματα τωναν παλιδοσαν και νοσοιαν δημιουργηματα ειφα. και ασιος μεν και δρακοντα, βιωσημοι αιολος προς υγιαιν υποστεις, αιωνοις δε και καυνις και κορακις αγαλματικης συμπολα. κηρος δε και τυλος εις τας των μοριων συμπαλαιοις παραλαλειοι. φαναιας δε τοις και πυρος ωφοθεν ευθυς εις ταιων αγαλματα τυρι δε αιωνα μαλειας αναπαλει. That is, "Goethe's, or witchcraft, is a certain art respecting material and terrestrial demons, whose images it causes to become visible to the spectators of this art. And some of these demons it leads up, as it were, from Hades; but others it draws down from on high; and these, too, such as are of an evil species. *This art, therefore, causes certain fantastic images to appear before the spectators.* And
before the eyes of some, indeed, it pours exuberant streams: but to others it promises freedom from bonds, delicacies, and favours. They draw down, too, powers of this kind by songs and incantations. But Magic, according to the Greeks, is a thing of a very powerful nature. *For they say that this forms the last part of the sacerdotal science.* Magic, indeed, investigates the nature, power, and quality of every thing sublunary; viz. of the elements and their parts, of animals, all-various plants and their fruits, of stones, and herbs: and in short it explores the essence and power of every thing. From hence, therefore, it produces its effects. And it forms statues which procure health, makes all-various figures, and things which become the instruments of disease. It asserts, too, that eagles and dragons contribute to health; but that cats, dogs, and crows are symbols of vigilance, to which therefore they contribute. But for the fashioning of certain parts, wax and clay are used. Often, too, celestial fire is made to appear through magic: and then statues laugh, and lamps are spontaneously enkindled."

This curious passage throws light on the following from the first book of the Metamorphoses of Apuleius: "Magico suffrargine, amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum colligari, ventos inanimes expirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri." That is, "By magical incantation, rapid rivers may be made to run back to their fountains, the sea be congealed, winds become destitute of spirit, the sun be held back in his course, the moon be forced to purge away her foam, the stars be torn from their orbits, the day be taken away, and the night be detained." For it may be inferred from Psellus, that witches formerly were able to cause the appearance of all this to take place. I only add, that this MS. of Psellus *On Daemons* forms no part of his treatise *On the Energy of Daemons*, published by Gaulminus; for it never was published.

Page 79. *Pindar.*] In his 6th Olympic ode, where Iamus is said to have been the son of Apollo and Euadne.

Page 89. *Homer.*] The passage of Homer, alluded to by
NOTES ON THE

Pausanias, is Iliad 6, v. 407, in which Andromache says to Hector,

“O man divine, thy strength will be thy bane.”

Page 120. *Then follows Gorgias the Leontine.*] Of this Gorgias Plato thus speaks in the Phædrus: “But shall we suffer Lysias and Gorgias to sleep, who placed probabilities before realities; and, through the strength of their discourse, caused small things to appear large, and the large small; likewise old things new, and the new old; and who besides this discovered a concise method of speaking, and again an infinite prolixity of words?”

Page 126. *Elaphias.*] The reader is desired to read Elaphiot. This word signifies March.

Page 127. *The child became a dragon.*] This dragon must have been one of those dæmons κατὰ σχῆσιν, or according to habitude, of whom we have made mention in a former note: for these are capable of assuming a variety of shapes, whereas essential dæmons retain the same shape immutably.

Page 130. *Wild beasts followed Orpheus, and stones came to Amphion.*] Nothing more perhaps is meant by this fable, than that Orpheus and Amphion by their great wisdom civilized men of a stubborn, intractable, and rustic disposition, and accomplished this by persuading them to build cities, and pay obedience to equitable laws. For philosophy, or the whole of human wisdom, is, as Plato beautifully observes in the Phædo, the greatest music.

Page 135. *Homer.*] Iliad 5, ver. 545.

Page 136. *With which she was accustomed to be present.*] In my Dissertation on the Eleusinian Mysteries, I have demonstratively shown that the most sublime part of συντήρησις, or inspection, in these mysteries consisted in beholding the gods themselves invested with a resplendent light. It appears from the present passage, that in the mysteries of Diana that goddess was rendered visible to the eyes of the initiated; and in the following passage from Proclus (in Plat. Repub. p. 380) we learn that the gods were seen in all mysteries. *ἐν αὐτοῖς ταῖς τελεταῖς*
SECOND VOLUME.

καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, οἱ ίδιοι πολλάς μεν εαυτῶν προτεινον μορφᾶς,
pollla de σχήματα εξαλλακτόντες φαινονται. και τοῦτο μεν ανποιών
αυτῶν προτείληται φας, τοτε de εις ανθρωπείων μορφήν εσχήματισ-
ültov, τοτε de εις ἀλλων των προβολήθως. ἴ. ε. "In all mystic
sacrifices and mysteries, the gods exhibit many forms of them-
selves, and appear in a variety of shapes: and sometimes, in-
deed, an unfigured light of themselves is held forth to the view;
sometimes this light is figured according to a human form, and
sometimes it proceeds into a different shape.” The beginning,
too, of Callimachus’s hymn to Apollo plainly shows that Apollo
was beheld in his mysteries:

Oros δ’ των 'πολλών τε ευαιστα δαφνίων αρπης;
Oros δ’ των τε μελανθρω. εικας, εικας ουτις αλητρις.
Kai da tou τα θερητα καιρω ποιε θους προαριη.
Onx ephes; επιεικης o δæ ποιες τε τηρε καιρον αειδει.
Διπλω τινα κατηγχει ιππαλλεονει πολλων,
Διπλω τινα καιρεις το θανατιον τη ροις
Oδ ’ πολλων ου παντει φαινοντας, αλλα' το, της ιπσις.
Oυς μει αις, μεγας αυτος, ος εικι αις, λιτος εκλινος.
Ομηρος εικαριης, και ευσιμως αποδε λυειν
Μεντι παλαιον καιρεις, μενε' αφορον ειχες
Του Φθηνου των παιδων εχειν επιδεικνυσαις.

These lines are thus elegantly translated by Dr. Dodd:

See, how the laurel’s hallow’d branches wave!
Hark! sounds tumultuous shake the trembling cave!
Far, ye profane! far off!—With beauteous feet
Bright Phoebus comes, and thunders at the gate;
See! the glad sign the Delian palm hath given;
Sudden it bends: and, hovering in the heaven,
Soft sings the swan with melody divine:
Burst ope, ye bars! ye gates, your heads decline!
Decline your heads! ye sacred doors, expand!
He comes! the god of light! the god’s at hand!
Begin the song; and tread the sacred ground
In mystic dance symphonious to the sound.
Begin, young men! Apollo’s eyes endure
None but the good, the perfect, and the pure.
NOTES ON THE

Who view the god are great: but object they
From whom he turns his favouring eyes away:
All-piercing god! in every place confess’d,
We will prepare, behold thee, and be bless’d;
He comes, young men! nor silent should ye stand
With harp or feet, when Phoebus is at hand.

So likewise Virgil, in his 4th Aeneid, describes this εἰσιν εἰς, or advent of Apollo:

As when from Lycia, bound in wintry frost,
Where Xanthus’ streams enrich the smiling coast,
The beauteous Phoebus in high pomp retires,
And hears in Delos the triumphant choirs,
The Cretan crowds and Dryopes advance,
And painted Scythians round his altars dance;
Fair wreaths of vivid rays his head infold,
His locks bound backward, and adorn’d with gold:
The god majestic moves o’er Cynthia’s brows,
His golden quiver rattling as he goes.

The adytum, too, of temples was the place in which the divinities appeared to the eyes of such as were properly prepared for so transcendent a vision, as the following passage from Plotinus evinces (Ennead. 9, lib. ix. p. 770.) — ἢν τε ἵνα τις εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αἰενίῳ εἰκονά, ἀνειλθοῦν, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ αἰενίῳ γίνεται πρῶτα μετὰ τὸ εἰναν θεάμα, καὶ τὴν ἐνα κυνοῦσιν, πρὸς οὐκ αἰενίῳ, ὕπειρα εἰκόνα, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ. i. e.

"Just as one who having entered into the most interior parts of the adytum of a temple, leaves all the statues in the temple behind him (which on his departure from the adytum will first present themselves to his view after the inward spectacle), and then associates not with a statue or an image, but with the thing itself; viz. with a divine nature."

From all which the truth of what Psellus asserts, in the passage already cited from his book On Dæmons, "that magic formed the last part of the sacerdotal office among the Greeks," is, I presume, perfectly apparent.

Page 141. That of the moon has horns on its head.] These horns were doubtless those of a bull. For the moon, in the
Orphic hymn to her, is called *bull-horned*; and Porphyry De Antro Nymph. informs us, that the ancient priests of Ceresa called the moon, who is the queen of generation, *a bull*.

Page 142. *Homer.*] Iliad 5, ver. 395. It is remarkable that not one of the translators of Homer has noticed the manner in which the Eleans understood the *νυξ* in one of these lines. For by the Latin translators it is rendered ad portam inferorum, *i.e.* at the gate of the infernal regions; and the English have followed the Latin translators. However, as the ancients must be supposed to have understood the meaning of particular words in Homer better than the moderns, there can be no doubt but that the Eleans were right when they considered *νυξ* as signifying *in Pylos*.

Page 143. *Corybas.*] We are informed by the emperor Julian in his Oration to the Mother of the Gods, that *Corybas is the Sun*.

Page 144. *There is a cock on the helmet of the goddess.*] The true reason, perhaps why Phidias placed a cock on the helmet of Minerva is, because this goddess, as we have shown in a former note, was called by the ancients *Health*; and a cock is sacred to Æsculapius, who is *the god of health*.

Page 144. *Homer.*] Iliad 15, ver. 528.

Page 145. *Is an erect penis on a basis.*] The reason why Mercury was represented by the ancients in this manner, is, as it appears to me, because this deity unfolds truth and intellectual light, from its occult subsistence in the essence of the gods; just as that prolific power which is latent in seed is unfolded by the penis.


Page 157. *Homer.*] Lib. xviii. near the end, in the description of the shield of Achilles.

Page 159. *It is an accurate representation of an Egyptian statue.*] We are informed by Porphyry de Antro Nymph. that the Egyptians placed all *damos*, not connected with any thing solid or stable, but raised on a sailing vessel. By this they doubtless intended to signify the connexion of these powers with
the flowing realms of generation. And hence we may infer that
the statue mentioned in this place by Pausanias was an image
of a demoniacal Minerva.

Page 177. A fire there is than other fires more fierce.] Kuh-
nius observes, that this proverb is mentioned by Plutarch, in his
Life of Demetrius; by Homer, Odyssey 19, and by Aristophanes
in Equot.

Page 190. When he says, &c.] Plato speaks to this effect
in the 5th book of his Republic.

Page 191. The mother Dindymene and Attis.] Dindymene
signifies Cybele, or the mother of the gods. But the fable re-
specting this goddess and Attis, or rather Attis (for so it is
written by Harpocration, Suidas, the emperor Julian, and the
philosopher Sallust), is beautifully unfolded by Sallust in his
golden treatise On the Gods and the World, chap. 4, as follows:

"It is said that the mother of the gods, perceiving Attis by the
river Gallus, became in love with him: and having placed on
him a starry hat, lived afterwards with him in intimate fami-
larity: but Attis falling in love with a nymph, deserted the
mother of the gods, and entered into association with the nymph.
Through this the mother of the gods caused Attis to become
insane, who, cutting off his genital parts, left them with the
nymph, and then returned again to his pristine connexion with
the goddess.

"The mother of the gods, then, is the vivific goddess, and
on this account is called mother; but Attis is the demiurgus of:
natures conversant with generation and corruption; and hence
he is said to have been found by the river Gallus, for Gallus
denotes the Galaxy, or milky circle, from which a passive body
descends to the earth. But since primary gods perfect such as
are secondary, the mother of the gods falling in love with Attis
imparts to him celestial powers; for this is the meaning of the
starry hat. But Attis loves a nymph, and nymphs preside over
generation; for every thing in generation flows. But because
it is necessary that the flowing nature of generation should be
stopped, lest something worse than things last should be pro-
SECOND VOLUME.

duced; in order to accomplish this, the demiurgus of generable and corruptible natures, sending prolific powers into the realms of generation, is again conjoined with the gods.

"But these things, indeed, never took place at any particular time, because they have a perpetuity of subsistence: and intellect contemplates all things as subsisting together; but discourse considers this thing as first, and that as second, in the order of existence." For a further explanation of this fable, which being of the mixed species, belongs, as we are informed by Sallust, to mystic sacrifices, see my translation of the emperor Julian's Oration to the Mother of the Gods.

Page 200. Homer.] Iliad 21, ver. 446. The reader must carefully observe, that the Neptune and Apollo mentioned in these verses were heroes, and not gods. With respect to the statue of Apollo standing on the skull of an ox, the meaning of this will be apparent from considering, that as the moon (as we have already shown from Porphyry) is the queen of generation, Apollo, or the sun, who is paternally all that the moon is maternally, must be the king of generation, of which a bull or an ox is a symbol. Hence his treading on the head of an ox signifies his dominion over the realms of generation, and particularly over its summit, aether.

Page 202. The Oracle in Dodona.] Jupiter's oracle at Dodona was the most ancient of all the oracles of Greece prior to the Flood, and was restored by Deucalion after it. The Scholiast upon the 16th Iliad, v. 233, &c. informs us from a very ancient author, Thrasylus, that Deucalion, after the Flood, which happened in his time, having got safe upon the firm land of Epirus, prophesied in an oak; and by the admonition of an oracular dove having gathered together such as were saved from the flood, caused them to dwell together in a certain place, or country, which from Jupiter, and Dodona, one of the Oceanides, they called Dodona. At Dodona, there were brazen kettles, which it is said were so artificially placed about the temple, that by striking one of them the sound was communicated to all the rest. According to Menander, if a man touched them but once they would continue ringing the whole day.
But it appears to me, that the reason why brass was dedicated in particular to Dodonean Jupiter, is because this deity subsists according to a terrestrial characteristic; and brass, as we learn from Proclus, is a symbol of a resisting solid, or of earth. For earth receives the illuminations of all the gods. "And hence (says Proclus in Tim. p. 282) there are a terrestrial Ceres, Vesta, and Isis, as likewise a terrestrial Jupiter and a terrestrial Hermes, established about the one divinity of the earth; just as a multitude of celestial gods proceeds about the one divinity of the heavens. For there are progressions of all the celestial gods into the earth; and earth contains all things in an earthly manner, which heaven comprehends celestially. Hence we speak of a terrestrial Bacchus and a terrestrial Apollo, who bestows the all-various streams of water with which the earth abounds, and openings prophetic of futurity." Brass, indeed, was employed by the ancients, as we learn from the Scholiast on Theocritus (Eidyl. 2), in all consecrations and expiations, because they considered it as something pure, and ended with a power of expelling pollutions. And Eustathius upon this line in the 18th book of the Iliad,

\[\text{εκ πυρικου Σωρους λιμνα και νεκρος χαλαρ}-\]

\[\text{i. e.}\]

Forth from the deep with line and vocal brass—

observes, "that Homer makes use of the word νωτα, that is ενωτα, which signifies vocal, because brass is the only inanimate substance which seems to have a voice. And the Pythagoreans say, that brass accords with every diviner spirit; and hence a tripod formed from this metal is dedicated to Apollo. Often, too, when the air is perfectly tranquil, and every thing else is still, hollow kettles will appear to be as it were shaken.—νωτα λαγη τον ενωτα, ο εστι εμφανος, μονος γαρ των αυτων δοκει φωνην εχειν. και οι Πυθαγορικοι βασιν των χαλκον παντι συνηχειν Φαστεροι βυναματο διο και των Απολλωνι πρωτου τουτους ανακειναι. και ενη ηπεμα δεο Πλακυς των αλλων απερμηνευτων, στιομενοις σοικα τα κοιλα χαλκωματα. But Hermias the philosopher, in his MS: Commentary on the Phaedrus of Plato, gives us the following
satisfactory information respecting the oracle in Dodona. The reader who is desirous of seeing the original of this passage, may find it in page 11 of the Collection of Oracles by Oppo-
oneus. "Different accounts are given of the Dodonean oracle; for it is the most ancient of the Grecian oracles. According to some, an oak prophesied in Dodona; but according to others, doves. The truth, however, is, that priestesses whose heads were crowned with oak prophesied; and these women were called by some *peleiades*, or doves. Perhaps, therefore, certain persons being deceived by the name, suspected that doves prophesied in Dodona; and as the heads of these women were crowned with oak, perhaps from this circumstance they said that an oak prophesied. But this oracle belongs to Jupiter, and that in Delphos to Apollo. With great propriety, therefore, are these oracles considered as allied to each other. For Apollo is said to be the assistant of Jupiter in the administration of things: and often when the Dodonean oracle appeared to be obscure, the oracle in Delphos has been consulted, in order to know the meaning of that of Jupiter. Often, too, Apollo has interpreted many of the Dodonean oracles. Priestesses, therefore, when in an enthusiastic and prophetic condition, have greatly benefited mankind by predicting and previously correcting future events; but when in a prudent state, they were similar to other women."


Page 208. *One of the nymphs belonging to the sea fell in love with him.*] We have shown in a former note, that the last order of powers that are the perpetual attendants of the gods, and the proximate guardians of mortal natures, has a great sympathy with the objects of its care. It is not at all improbable, therefore, that a nymph of the sea was connected with Selemus, who, when he died, attracted to himself, through intemperate desire, a vehicle perfectly humid, by which he became bound as it were to a certain stream, and was therefore said to have been changed into a river by Venus.

Page 209. *He cut off the genitals of his father Heaven.*] The authors of fables invented images of divine concerns in imitation
of Nature, who shadows forth by parts things destitute of all parts, by temporal eternal natures, by dimensions things void of quantity, by sensibles intelligibles, and so on. For these divine men, by preternatural concerns adumbrated the transcendent nature of the gods; by such as are irrational, a power more divine than all reason; and by things apparently base, incorporeal beauty. Hence, in the fable alluded to in this place by Pausanias, we must consider the genital parts as symbols of prolific power; and the castration of these parts, as signifying the progression of this power into a subject order. So that the fable means, that the prolific powers of Heaven are called forth into progression by Saturn, who is a deity of an inferior order. The utility arising from fables of this kind, to such as properly understand them, is very great. For they call forth our unperturbed conceptions of divine natures, give a greater perfection to the divine part of our soul, through its sympathy with mystic concerns, heal the maladies of our phantasy, and elevate it in conjunction with our rational part to supernal light.

Page 218. Earthquakes.] Earthquakes, war, pestilence, famine, and other contingencies, are employed by divinity as the lesser means of purifying parts of the earth: the greater means are deluges and conflagrations.


Page 221. Homer.] Iliad 2, ver. 574.

Page 227. For at that time, men were guests of the gods.] That is, they led a divine and intellectual life, as belonging to the golden race.

Page 230. Homer.] Odys. 5; ver. 272.

Page 231. For the Arcadians call their Naiades, Dryades and Ephimeliodes. Servius, on the first Æneid, distributes Nymphs into these classes: Nymphs belonging to mountains are called Oreades; to woods, Dryades; those that are born with woods, Hamadryades; those that belong to fountains, Nisus; or Naiades; and those that belong to the sea, Nereides. The Naiades are mentioned by Homer, Odys. 13, ver. 104. For an account of these prefects of fountains, I refer the reader to my translation of Porphyry's treatise On the Cave of the Nymphs.
SECOND VOLUME.

Page 237. *Venus Melanis, or, the Black.* There can be no doubt but that *Celestial Venus* is signified by this epithet, and that she was thus denominated because she proceeds from the goddess *Night*. For she proceeds, as we have shown in a former note, from the containing power of Heaven, which according to the Orphic theology is profoundly united with Night. *Hence,* Night in the Orphic hymn to her is called *Kumpis, Cypris*, i.e., *Venus*.

Page 240. *But the goddess told Saturn that she had brought forth a colt, &c.* The secret meaning of these two divine fables respecting Jupiter and Neptune appears to me to be as follows: Saturn, who is an intellectual god, as we have before observed, establishes in himself the cause of motive vigour; and through this *Neptune* acquires the perfection of his nature. For a horse, as we have shown in a former note, is an image of motive vigour; and *Neptune* is a deity who evokes things into progression. And this is the meaning of Saturn swallowing a colt, while Neptune was privately taken away in order to be reared. In like manner, while Saturn establishes in himself the cause of an abiding energy, Jupiter advances to perfection; because Jupiter subsists according to a vitally-abiding characteristic. Hence Homer represents Jupiter established in himself, while the multitude of gods that proceed from him, at one time abide with their parent, and at another proceed into the universe, and providentially energize about mundane affairs. And this appears to be the meaning of the other fable. *Pausanias,* therefore, is very right in conjecturing that these fables respecting Saturn contain something of the wisdom of the Greeks; for they are indeed replete with the sublimest wisdom, as the intelligent reader will easily perceive.


Page 268. *Hesiod, indeed, in his Theogony, makes mention of Styx.* The lines alluded to in the *Theogony* are 389, &c. It appears to me that *Styx*, considered according to its first subsistence, is the cause by which divine natures retain an immutable sameness of essence. It is somewhat strange that *Pausanias*
should be dubious whether Hesiod composed the Theogony, when it is cited as the production of Hesiod by Plato and Aristotle.

Page 263. *Homer.*] The passage respecting the oath of Juno is Iliad 15, v. 36; concerning Titaresius, Iliad 2, v. 755; and concerning the preservation of Hercules by Minerva, Iliad 4, v. 366.

Page 267. *Homer.*] Homer, in the eleventh Iliad, uses the word Ειλισθεναι, i.e. Lucinae.

Page 268. *That she is the same with Pepromene, or Fate.*] Pindar, in his seventh Nemean Ode, says that Lucina is the assessor of the Fates: and this is agreeable to the doctrine in the Orphic hymns. For the moon, or Diana, is according to these hymns the same with Lucina: and in the hymn to Nature, which, as we have before shown, principally flourishes in the moon, that goddess is expressly called Pepromene.


By the two vessels placed by the throne of Jupiter, out of which he distributes good and evil to mankind, we must understand the two primary causes of good and evil to souls, which subsist in the intellect of Jupiter. I only add, that a truly worthy man may be truly happy in the present life; and for a demonstration of this important truth, I refer the reader to my translation of Plotinus on Felicity.

Page 278. *From the Iliad.*] Lib. xxiii. v. 346.

Nothing can be more absurd than the fable which these verses allude to, if it is considered according to its literal meaning, at the same time that it is extremely beautiful when properly understood. In order, therefore, to understand its secret meaning, it is necessary to remind the reader of what I have before observed, that the processions of a divine nature to the extremity of things, according to different orders and degrees, were symbolically called by ancient theologists mutations. Hence, by Neptune and Ceres changing themselves, the former into a horse, and the latter into a mare, and from connexion with each other begetting the horse Arion, nothing more is meant than that a
daemoniacal Neptune and a daemoniacal Ceres co-operated with the natural causes by which this animal was produced, in be-getting him.

Page 278. Antimachus.] This Greek poet was a Colophonian. He wrote on the age and country of Homer; and, according to Plutarch, contended that Homer was his countryman.


Page 287. Minerva in the form of Melas.] By Minerva here, we must understand a daemoniacal power, belonging to the goddess Minerva, but of the lowest order.

Page 288. The battle between the giants and the gods, &c.] By giants in the fable alluded to here by Pausanius, ancient theologists occultly signified the last order of daemoniacal powers, who, on account of their proximity to the natures over which they preside, and adhering to matter, contract contrariety, and an all-various division; who, besides this, partially preside over material affairs, and diminish and disperse those separate powers which subsist uniformly and indivisibly in their primitive causes. Hence, as the gods operate uniformly, indivisibly, and with perfect impassivity, but these daemoniacal powers, multifariously, divisibly, and with passivity, this opposition between gods and daemons was beautifully called by the ancient authors of fables, a battle. See this interesting particular more fully unfolded from Proclus, p. 157, &c. of my Translation of the Orphic Hymns.

Page 288. Homer in the Odyssey.] Book x. ver. 120. The speech of the Phæacian king is in Odyssey 7, ver. 204. We have before observed, that the Odyssey is an allegorical poem: and if this be the case, there can be no doubt but that the Phæacians, Cyclops, and the race of giants, mentioned in the seventh book, are all beings superior to the human species.

Page 302. If, indeed, the gods are the sources of good to mankind.] The gods must necessarily be the sources of good, because goodness constitutes their very essence; so that every thing proceeding from them (and all things are their offspring) is naturally indued with the form of good. I only add, that Jupiter is not the supreme god, though Pausanius seems to
think he is, as the reader may be convinced by perusing my Notes on the Cratylus of Plato.

Page 305. *The verses about them are in the oath of Juno.*] i. e. in Iliad 14, ver. 278. The Titans are the ultimate artificers of things; and their monad is Bacchus.

Page 313. *Homer.* Iliad 1, ver. 314.

Page 314. *Homer.* Iliad 18, ver. 398, &c. In these lines, Eurynome is called the daughter of Ocean. And the Scholiast on the Cassandra of Lycophron says that Ophion and Eurynome the daughter of Ocean reigned among the gods called Titans, prior to Saturn and Rhea; but that Saturn and Rhea vanquished in wrestling Ophion and Eurynome, and having hurled them into Tartarus, invaded their kingdom. Boethius, too, upon Porphyry, (lib. 3) thus writes: "Quantum ad veteres theologos, refertur Jupiter ad Saturnum, Saturnus ad Coelum, Coelus ad antiquissimum Ophionem, cujus nullum est principium." That is, "According to ancient theologists, Jupiter is referred to Saturn, Saturn to Heaven, and Heaven to the most ancient *Ophion*, of whom there is no original." The Scholiast on the Prometheus of Æschylus says nearly the same. This most ancient god *Ophion* is therefore, as it appears to me, the same with the Orphic *dragon*, the original of all things: for *Ophion* is doubtless derived from οphis, *a serpent*. But of this dragon, Damascius, in his treatise *περὶ αἰτῆς,* *On Principles,* gives the following account: "I likewise find in the Orphic rhapsodies, that the theology neglecting the two first principles (*viz.* æther and chaos) together with the one principle who is delivered in silence (i. e. the first cause) establishes the third principle posterior to the two as the original; because this first of all possesses something effable and commensurate to human discourse. For in the former hypothesis, the highly reverenced and undecaying *Time,* the father of æther and chaos, was the principle: but in this *Time* is neglected, and the principle becomes a *dragon.*" See more from Damascius, on the most interesting of all subjects, in my Introduction to the Parmenides of Plato. I only add, that the Ophion with whom Eurynome is co-ordinate in the same manner as Rhea is with Saturn, must
be considered as a procession from the Ophion who is the same with the Orphic dragon.

Page 327. Homer.] Odyss. 6, v. 162, &c. These lines are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

Thus seems the palm with stately honours crown'd
By Phoebus' altars; thus o'erlooks the ground;
The pride of Delos.

Page 341. Homer.] Odyss. lib. xi.

Page 341. They say that Pan met Philippides.] The Pan that met this Philippides was one of those demons καλα σχεσιν, of whom we have given an account in a former note. Respecting this Pan, Proclus observes as follows in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum: Ὁι ἐνι καὶ πάνες τραγοσκελεῖς, οἱ οὖν τις τοις τὴς μεριμ κρομφιλίσαι, το παρθενιαν διαμείωσιν οροσ. καὶ ᾿Αθηναίας ὑψιστὸν σχηματίσοι κρασιναί, καὶ προέκχεις ὑπὲρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ανδραυταίς νολισμόμεναι ἵνα τις ᾿Αθηναίας τῷ Ὀδυσσεί καὶ τῷ Τηλέμαχῳ θανεία. οἱ δὲ πάνες δαιμόνες καὶ οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, καὶ τολπα πλεον αὐτοὶ οἱ ἔς ἐπαναχθης τῆς τοιαύτης ποικιλίας εξήγησιν. That is, "There are Pans with the legs of goats, such as was the Pan who, gently running along, appeared to Philippides as he was passing over the mountain Parthenius; and souls belonging to Minerva, who change themselves into various forms, and proximately rule over mankind; such as was the Minerva who appeared to Ulysses and Telemachus. But Panic demons, demons belonging to Minerva, and much more the gods themselves, are exempt from all such variety."
NOTES
ON THE
THIRD VOLUME.

Page 4. *That Actaeon might be torn to pieces by his dogs.*] We have before shown, that a dog was considered by the ancients as the image of the discriminating and at the same time reproving power of the soul. And as Diana, or the moon, is the image of Nature, she signifies: in this fable the natural life, which is divided about the bodies of all animals, and which is the cause to all bodies of augmentation, nutrition, and generation. As a stag, too, is a most lascivious animal, it must be considered as the image of a lascivious life. The meaning of the fable, therefore, appears to be this. Actaeon beholds Diana naked; *i. e.* his rational soul converts itself to the natural life which is suspended from its essence, and which subsists in Actaeon according to a lascivious habit. Hence, by a conversion of this kind, the soul becomes wholly changed into a lascivious life: and this is the meaning of Actaeon being changed into a stag. But when this is the case, the rational soul becomes distributed by its discriminating power, considered according to its divisible subsistence in the senses; for the soul of such a one is wholly engrossed in sensible discrimination: and this is the meaning of Actaeon being torn in pieces by his dogs.

Page 9. *He married Harmony, the daughter of Venus and Mars.*] We have shown in a former note, that by Cadmus is meant the sublunary world, or rather the deity of the sublunary world; and this being the case, there is great beauty in conjoining with him *Harmonia, or Harmony,* the daughter of Venus
and Mars. For Venus is the cause of all the harmony and analogy in the universe, and beautifully illuminates the order and communion of all mundane concerns. But Mars excites the contrarieties of the universe, that the world may exist perfect and entire from all its parts. The progeny, therefore, of these two divinities must be the rerum concordia discors, the concordant discord, or harmony of the sublunary world.


Page 17. Have seven gates.] The names of these seven gates should be read as follows: Electra, Proetida, Neota, Crenae, Hypsista, Oggyia, Omoloides. Nonnus, lib. 5. Dionys. informs us, that these seven gates were raised agreeably to the number and order of the seven planets: so that the first gate was assigned to the Moon, the second to Mercury, the fourth to the Sun, under the appellation of Electra, a surname of Phaethon, the fifth to Mars, the third to Venus, the sixth to Jupiter, and the seventh to Saturn. By this is meant, that the properties of the seven planets are participated by the sublunary world. For as Cadmus is the deity of the sublunary region, the city Thebes, which he is said to have built, and in which, according to the fable, he resided, must be an image of the body of the sublunary world.

Page 24. Pipes adapted to every kind of harmony.] In one of my notes on the Cratylus of Plato, I have shown from a passage out of the MS. Commentary of Proclus on the first Alcibiades, that the ancients far excelled the moderns in the practical part of music. This passage I shall here transcribe, as a comment on the words of Pausanias before us. 

αι όρθαι 
κολλεια την αυληϊκην αποστραφησαν. ουκον ουδε το πλατω αυτην 
παραδεχεται. το δε αιλον, η τοιχια του δε του οργανου του αυλω 
λεγω, ο και την τεχνην την χρωμην αυτω απεφηθε φευχην. και 
γαρ τα παναμοια, και τη πολυχρωδια, μημηθη των αυλων σοτιν. 
εκατον γαρ τρυσμη των αυλων τριφσουσ ας βασι του ελαχιστη 
αφιερων ει δε και τα παραλματαια των αυλων ανοιχθη, πλεως, 
i.e. "Well-instituted politics reject the melody of the pipe; and on this account Plato does not admit it in his Republic. But the reason of this is the variety of this instrument, the pipe,
which evinces that the art employing it ought to be avoided. For *instruments producing every kind of harmony*, and that instrument which consists of many chords, are imitations of pipes; for every hole of the pipe emits (as they say) three sounds at least; but if the cavity above the holes of the pipe should be opened, then each hole would send forth more than three sounds."

Olympiodorus, too, in MS. Comment. in Phaedonem, observes as follows concerning this pipe. οἱ τοιχῖς τῶν αἰλων διάνεσθαι τῶν τριών, οὐδέποτε δὲ τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς ἐπιποδίων γὰρ γίνεται οὐ μόνον τὸν διαλέγοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν άκουον, καὶ άψιλος παντὸς λογικὴν ἀνεργείαν ὑψύχης. διὸ καὶ η Ἀθηνὴ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιοχοί τῶν διαλέγοντας μόνον εἰσιταμένων απεργήσει τῶν αἰλων. i.e. "The poet (Homer) gives pipes to the Trojans, but by no means to the Greeks. For the pipe is not only a hindrance to discourse, but to hearing, and in short to every rational energy of the soul. Hence Minerva*, who is the guardian deity of the Athenians, who alone know how to argue, threw away the pipes."

Page 33. Homer.] The verses alluded to are in Iliad 2, ver. 478, 479, and may be thus translated:

His eyes and head resembling thundering Jove,
Like Neptune was his breast, like Mars his zone.

Page 39. Homer.] Odys. 1, ver. 52, &c. Proclus on Hesiod, page 90, beautifully observes, concerning the pillars of Atlas, that they signify his being allotted powers which in an undeviating manner separate the heaven from the earth; so that the former revolves perpetually in an exempt manner about the latter; but earth being stably fixed in the middle, brings forth every thing maternally, which the heavens generate paternally."

These pillars, therefore, are images of determining, and at the same time connecting powers, which by their efficacious vigour eternally prevents things on high from being confused with things below. Hence Atlas, who contains these powers,

* Alluding to the story of Marsyas and Apollo.
and who is one of the Tartarean gods about Bacchus, energises not only according to a separating power, which is the characteristic of the Titans, but likewise according to a connecting power, which is the characteristic of Jupiter.


Page 49. Cabiri.] It appears to me, that the celestial twins are no other than the Curetes, according to their mundane subsistence. For the first subsistence of the Curetes is, as we learn from Proclus, in that order of gods which is denominated by the Chaldæan theologists ἀνεψ ἐννοιαλαλοικαλ, and of which Saturn is the summit. Their next subsistence is among the supermundane gods, in which order they are called the Corybantes. And their third subsistence is doubtless that of the twins. For the Curetes in the Orphic hymns are celebrated as the twins. If this be the case, and the Cabiri are, according to the Scholias upon Apollonius Rhodius, Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto, and Mercury, they cannot be the same with either the Curetes, Corybantes, or Dioscuri. For the Curetes, according to Proclus, are the guardian triad of the intellectual triad, Saturn, Rhea, and Jupiter, and he informs us that one of these Curetes is Minerva. The Corybantes, as we learn from the same author, are the guardians of the Coric triad, Diana, Proserpine, and Minerva. And as to the Dioscuri, or the twins, they are evidently different from the Cabiri mentioned by the Scholiast.

Page 51. The Sphinx.] The Sphinx, according to Lasus Hermionaeus, was the daughter of Echidna and Typhon; and according to Clearchus, she had the head and hands of a virgin, the body of a dog, a human voice, the tail of a dragon, the claws of a lion, and the wings of a bird. But it appears to me that the ancients, by the Sphinx, designed to represent to us the nature of the phantasy. In order to be convinced of which, it is necessary to observe, that the rational soul, or the true man, consists of intellect, ratiocination (διανοια), and opinion; but the fictitious man, or the irrational soul, commences from the phantasy, under which desire and anger subsist. Hence the basis of the rational life is opinion, but the summit of the irrational life is the phantasy. But the phantasy, as Jamblichu
NOTES ON THE

beautifully observes, grows upon, as it were, and fashions all
the powers of the soul; exciting in opinion the illuminations
from the senses, and fixing in that life which is extended with
body the impressions which descend from intellect. Hence,
says Proclus, it folds itself about the indivisibility of true intel-
lect, conforms itself to all formless species, and becomes per-
factly every thing, from which ratiocination and our indivisible
reason consist.

This being the case, as the phantasy is all things passively
which intellect is impassively (on which account Aristotle calls
the phantasy passive intellect), hence the head of the Sphinx is
human, but at the same time of the feminine sex; this sex
being the image from its passivity of irrational life. By the
Sphinx having the body of a dog, the discriminating power of
the phantasy is implied: for a dog, as we have shown before, is
the image of the discriminating power of the soul (ὲν διάκρίνων
σοφής ψυχής). By her having the tail of a dragon, and the claws
of a lion, the communication of the phantasy with desire and
anger is signified. And her wings are images of the elevating
powers which the phantasy naturally possesses; for it is re-
elevated, in conjunction with the returning soul, to the region
every way resplendent with light. But the riddles of the Sphinx
are images of the obscure and intricate nature of the phantasy.
He, therefore, who is unable to solve the riddles of the Sphinx,
i.e. who cannot comprehend the dark and perplexed nature
of the phantasy, will be drawn into her embraces and torn in
pieces; i.e. the phantasy in such a one will subject to its power
the rational life, cause its indivisible energies to become divi-
sible, and thus destroy as much as possible its very essence.
But he who, like OEdipus, is able to solve the enigmas of the
Sphinx, or, in other words, to comprehend the dark essence of
his phantasy, will, by illuminating its obscurity with the light
of intellect, cause it, by becoming lucid throughout, to be no
longer what it was before.

Hence we may see the propriety of the Egyptians placing
a Sphinx in the vestibule of the temple of Isis, who is the same
with Minerva. For what the phantasy is in the microcosm
man, that æther is in the universe. But opinion may be called the vestibule of the rational soul, and the rational soul is as it were the temple of that intellectual illumination which proceeds from Minerva. In this vestibule, therefore, the phantasy is seated. And in a similar manner æther is seated in the vestibule of that divine soul, which is suspended from the deity of Minerva, and which may be called her temple. So that æther is the Sphinx of the universe.

Page 53. Pamphus.] Pamphus was an Athenian poet, contemporary with Linus, and is said to have composed poems and hymns prior to Homer.

Page 53. That Chaos was first generated.] In my Introduction to the Parmenides of Plato, I have shown that, in the opinion of all antiquity, γενέσθαι, in the verse of Hesiod alluded to by Pausanias, was considered as meaning was generated, though in all the editions of Hesiod this word is translated fuit, as if the poet had said, that Chaos was the first of all things. I shall only add at present from Simplicius De Coelo, p. 147, "that Hesiod, when he sings,

Chaos of all things was the first produced,

insinuates that there was something prior to Chaos, from which Chaos was produced. For it is always necessary that every thing which is generated should be generated from something. But this likewise is insinuated by Hesiod, that the first cause is above all knowledge and every appellation."

Page 57. Mimnermus.] Mimnermus was an elegiac poet of Colophon, and, according to Suidas, was the son of Ligyriades; but according to others he was a Smyrnean. He flourished about the time of Solon, and besides elegies wrote on amatorial subjects, as we learn from Propertius and Horace. At present, however, nothing more than fragments of the works of this poet remain.

Page 57. Linus.] Linus, according to Suidas, was a poet of Chalcis, and the first that brought the knowledge of letters from Phœnicia to Greece. He taught Hercules letters, and is
NOTES ON THE

said to have ranked as the prince of lyric poets. Two fragments are all the remains of his works at present.

Page 60. *That Orpheus was the son of the Muse Calliope.* How this is to be understood the reader may learn by consulting the note on p. 43 of Vol. I. of this work. For an account of Orpheus, see the Dissertation prefixed to my Translation of the Orphic Hymns.

Page 62. *With respect to the hymns of Orpheus, &c.* Fabricius and others are of opinion, that the Orphic hymns which are now extant are the very hymns mentioned in this place by Pausanias. But surely if this were the case, Pausanias would not say, *that the whole of the hymns of Orpheus does not amount to any considerable number*; for how can eighty-six, the number of the Orphic hymns now extant, be called an inconsiderable number?

Page 64. *They say that Narcissus behold himself in this fountain, &c.* The fable of Narcissus beautifully represents to us the condition of a soul converting itself to the phantasy (for this is the meaning of Narcissus hanging over the limpid stream), and in consequence of this becoming enamoured with a corporeal life; or that life which subsists in body, and which is nothing more than the delusive image of the true man, i.e. of the rational and immortal soul. Hence by an immoderate attachment to this unsubstantial mockery and gliding semblance of the real soul, such a one becomes at length wholly changed, as far as is possible to his nature, into a plantal condition of being, into a beautiful but transient flower; that is, into a corporeal life, or a life totally consisting in the mere energies of nature. So that Narcissus is the image of a soul converting herself to phantasy, and through this becoming drawn under the dominion of sense.

But it is here necessary to observe, that the death of Narcissus is related by Plotinus and the anonymous author De Incredibilibus in Gale's Opuscula, in a manner different from that of Ovid. For, according to them, Narcissus merged himself into the stream, through endeavouring to embrace his shadow,
and disappeared. The fable, however, is extremely beautiful, whether we consider Narcissus as changed into a flower or suffocated in the stream: "For (says Plotinus, Ennead. 1, lib. 6), as he in the fable, who by catching at his shadow merged himself in the stream and disappeared, so he who is captivated by beautiful bodies, and does not depart from their embrace, is precipitated, not with his body, but with his soul, into a darkness profound and horrid to intellect, through which becoming blind both here and in Hades, he converses with nothing but shadows."

Page 65. *As she was playing and gathering flowers.*] For the meaning of this part of the fable respecting Proserpine, see my *Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.*

Page 68. *Tiresias.*] What are we to understand by Tiresias becoming blind, through beholding Minerva? Certainly, that by a profound conversion of the eye of his soul to *divine wisdom* he became abstracted from corporeal vision; and thus, by leading a life separate from sensible inspection, was fabled to be corporeally blind. Hence Tiresias is said by Homer, Odys. 10, ver. 493, &c. to be the only wise person in Hades, and to possess intellect though dead, through Proserpine, while the other inhabitants of Hades are nothing more than flying shadows. For it may be truly asserted of such a one, both in the present life and hereafter, that he alone is wise and endued with intellect, when contrasted with the multitude of mankind, who from being merged in the darkness of matter lose all reality of essence, and may not only be called flying shadows, but the *dreams of shadows*.

Page 72. *One of the seasons.*] The names of the seasons, according to the Orphic hymns, are *Eunomia or Equity, Dice or Justice,* and *Eirene or Peace,* concerning which three divinities I find the following beautiful passage in the Commentaries of Proclus on the Timæus, p. 275. *os òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òs òσεις ὡς αἰτίαν. ΠΙΝΔΆΡ."
NOTES ON THE

Theologists place Eunomia over the inerratic sphere, who separates the multitude which it contains, and perpetually preserves everything in its proper order: and hence celebrating Vulcan as the fabricator of the heavens, they conjoin with him Aglaia, because she gives splendour to every part of the heavens, through the variety of the stars. And again, they place Justice, one of the seasons, over the planetary spheres; because this deity gives assistance to the inequality of their motions, and causes them through proportion to conspire into equality and consent: but of the Graces they conjoin with this divinity Thalia, because she gives perfection to the ever-flourishing lives which they contain.

But they place Peace over the sublunar region, because this divinity appeases the war of the elements: but of the Graces they associate with this divinity Euphrosyne, because she confers a facility of natural energy on each of the elements.

Agreeably to this information, Neptune in the Orphic hymn to that deity is called κυμοδαλής, or flourishing in water, and χαρωτός, or having a graceful aspect. Law is called celestial, and the founder of the stars: and Justice is said to connect dissimilar things from the equality of truth.

Page 73. Onomacritus.] This poet was an Athenian, and according to Clemens Alex. lived about the fiftieth Olympiad. Many of the poems ascribed to Orpheus are said to have been written by this poet.

Page 73. Homer.] Iliad 18, ver. 382. But the verses cited from Homer in the same page are Iliad 14, ver. 275.

Page 75. Homer.] Iliad 13, ver. 301.

Page 77. Trophonius and Agamedes.] Cicero gives a different account of the death of these brothers: for, according
to him, when they desired of Apollo that they might have that 
reward for building his temple at Delphos which he judged to 
be best for man, they were three days after found dead in their 
beds.

Page 80. Homer.] Iliad 5, ver. 709, and Iliad 9, ver. 381.
Page 86. Homer.] Iliad 2, and Odys. 4, ver. 581.
Page 87. The sceptre which Homer says Vulcan made for 
Jupiter.] The verses alluded to here by Pausanias are in the 
second book of the Iliad, and are thus translated by Mr Pope:

The king of kings his awful figure raised;
High in his hand the golden sceptre blazed:
The golden sceptre, of celestial frame,
By Vulcan form'd, from Jove to Hermes came:
To Pelops he th' immortal gift resign'd:
Th' immortal gift great Pelops left behind
In Atreus' hand, which not with Atreus ends,
To rich Thyestes next the prize descends;
And now, the mark of Agamemnon's reign,
Subjects all Argos, and controls the main.

We have observed in a preceding note, that certain statues 
were said by the ancients to have descended from heaven, be- 
cause they were fabricated by a certain occult art. In a similar 
manner, perhaps, this sceptre was said to have been made by 
Vulcan. But the Jupiter and Hermes that first possessed it 
must be considered as terrestrial heroes; and this construction 
being admitted, the apparent absurdity in the history of this 
sceptre vanishes.

Page 89. Homer in the Odyssey.] Lib. xi. ver. 326; and 
lib. xv. ver. 459; and lib. xviii. ver. 294.

Page 97. Homer.] The first passage respecting Panopeus 
is Odys. 11, ver. 580:

Through Panope delighting in the dance,
To Pytho journeying.

The latter is Iliad 17, ver. 306, and is thus translated by Mr. 
Pope:
NOTES ON THE

Once more at Ajax Hector's javelin flies:
The Grecian marking as it cut the skies,
Shunn'd the descending death; which, hissing on,
Stretch'd in the dust the great Iphitus' son,
Schedius the brave, of all the Phocian kind
The boldest warrior, and the noblest mind:
In little Panope, for strength renown'd,
He held his seat, and ruled the realms around.

The verses respecting Tityus are Odys. 11, ver. 580. The translator is Mr. Pope. In a preceding note we explained from Olympiodorus the meaning of the fable of Tityus. I only add, that the great earthliness of the prudence of Tityus seems to be implied by his being extended over nine acres of ground.

Page 101.  *Became divinely inspired from the vapour of the earth, and prophesied through the influence of Apollo.*] The following beautiful explanation of divination by oracles, from Jamblichus De Mysteriis, p. 72, &c. will, I doubt not, be highly acceptable to the liberal reader; as it not only unfolds the manner in which the Delphic prophetess predicted future events, but the manner in which this was accomplished by the prophetesses in Colophon and Branchide; and satisfactorily shows us how the gods communicate prophecy to mankind.

"It is acknowledged by all men, that the oracle in Colophon gives its answers through the medium of water: for there is a fountain in a subterranean dwelling, from which the prophetess drinks; and on certain established nights, after many sacred rites have been previously performed, and she has drunk of the fountain, she delivers oracles, but is not visible to those that are present. That this water, therefore, is prophetic, is from hence manifest. But how it becomes so, this (according to the proverb) is not for every man to know. For it appears as if a certain prophetic spirit pervaded through the water. This is not, however, in reality the case. For a divine nature does not pervade through its participants in this manner, according to interval and division, but comprehends as it were externally, and illuminates the fountain, and fills it from itself with a pro-
Third Volume.

Phetic power. For the inspiration which the water affords is not the whole of that which proceeds from a divine power, but the water itself only prepares us, and purifies our luciform spirit, so that we may be able to receive the divinity; while in the meantime there is a presence of divinity prior to this, and illuminating from on high. And this, indeed, is not absent from any one, who through aptitude is capable of being conjoined with it. But this divine illumination is immediately present, and uses the prophetess as an instrument; she neither being any longer mistress of herself, nor capable of attending to what she says, nor perceiving where she is. Hence after prediction she is scarcely able to recover herself. And before she drinks the water, she abstains from food for a whole day and night; and retiring to certain sacred places, inaccessible to the multitude, begins to receive in them the enthusiastic energy. Through her departure, therefore, and separation from human concerns, she renders herself pure, and by this means adapted to the reception of divinity: and from hence she possesses the inspiration of the god shining into the pure seat of her soul, becomes full of an unrestrained afflatus, and receives the divine presence in a perfect manner, and without any impediment.

"But the prophetess in Delphos, whether she gives oracles to mankind through an attenuated and fiery spirit, bursting from the mouth of the cavern, or whether being seated in the adytum upon a brazen tripod, or on a stool with four feet, she becomes sacred to the god;—whichever of these is the case, she entirely gives herself up to a divine spirit, and is illuminated with a ray of divine fire. And when, indeed, fire ascending from the mouth of the cavern circularly invests her in collected abundance, she becomes filled from it with a divine splendour. But when she places herself on the seat of the god, she becomes accommodated to his stable prophetic power; and from both these preparatory operations, she becomes wholly possessed by the god. And then, indeed, he is present with and illuminates her in a separate manner, and is different from the fire, the spirit, the proper seat, and in short from all the apparent apparatus of the place, whether physical or sacred."
NOTES ON THE

"The prophetic woman, too, in Branchidae, whether she holds
in her hand a wand, which was at first received from some god,
becomes filled with a divine splendour; or whether seated on an
axis, she predicts future events, or dips her feet or the border
of her garment in the water, or receives the god by imbibing
the vapour of the water, by all these she becomes adapted to
partake externally* of the god.

"But the multitude of sacrifices, the institution of the whole
sanctimony, and such other things as are performed in a divine
manner, prior to the prophetic inspiration, viz. the baths of the
prophetess, her fasting for three whole days, her retiring into
the adyta, and there receiving a divine light, and rejoicing for
a considerable time—all these evince that the god is entreated
by prayer to approach, that he becomes externally present, and
that the prophetess, before she comes to her accustomed place,
is inspired in a wonderful manner, and that in the spirit which
rises from the fountain another more ancient god who is separate
from the place appears, and who is the cause of the place, of
the country, and of the whole of divination."

Page 102. In imitation of what Homer says respecting the
Sirens.] The description of the Sirens is in the twelfth book of
the Odyssey, near the beginning; and is thus elegantly para-
phrased by Mr. Pope:

Next where the Sirens dwell you plough the seas;
Their song is death, and makes destruction please.
Unblest’d the man whom music wins to stay
Nigh the curb shore, and listen to the lay:
No more that wretch shall view the joys of life,
His blooming offspring, or his beauteous wife!
In verdant meads they sport, and wide around
Lie human bones, and whiten all the ground;
The ground polluted floats with human gore,
And human carnage taints the dreadful shore.
Fly swift the dang’rous coast; let ev’ry ear
Be stopp’d against the song; ’tis death to hear!

* That is, of an illumination which has no συνειρία, or habitude to any
thing material.
THIRD VOLUME.

Pism to the mast with chains thyself be bound,
Nor trust thy virtue to th' enchanting sound.
If mad with transport freedom thou demand,
Be ev'ry fetter strain'd, and added band to band.

Proclus, in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum, beautifully observes concerning the Sirens as follows:—"The divine Plato knew that there were three kinds of Sirens: the celestial, which is under the government of Jupiter; that which is productive of generation (γενεσιονεγον), and is under the government of Neptune; and that which is cathartic, and is under the government of Pluto. It is common to all these to incline all things through an harmonic motion to their ruling gods. Hence, when the soul is in the heavens, they are desirous of uniting it to the divine life which flourishes there. But it is proper that souls living in generation should sail beyond them, like the Homeric Ulysses, that they may not be allured by generation, of which the sea is an image. And when souls are in Hades, the Sirens are desirous of uniting them through intellectual conceptions to Pluto. So that Plato knew that in the kingdom of Hades there are gods, demons, and souls, who dance as it were round Pluto, allured by the Sirens that dwell there."

But here a doubt may very naturally arise in the mind of the reader unskilled in philosophy, how the Sirens, who are divine powers, can be said to be desirous of connecting souls with generation, which is baneful to the soul. To this I answer, that the alluring power of the Sirens benefits impure souls, by subjecting them to generation; as their latent guilt is by this means drawn forth, and they are thus prepared for that punishment, which being inflicted for the most benevolent purposes, is in such as these necessary to the acquisition of a perfect life. But these divine natures benefit pure souls by their alluring power, because through this they call forth the virtues of such souls into energy, which would otherwise remain in a dormant state.

Page 108. Minerva Pronoia.] i.e. Providential Minerva. Phurnutus informs us, that temples were raised in honour of Minerva Pronoia, because this goddess is the same with the providence which subsists in Jupiter. I only add, that provi-
NOTES ON THE

duces (σπόρυς) evidently signifies an energy prior to intellect (σπό νοο), and is therefore an energy of the gods, who are super-intellectual natures.

Page 109. Alcaeus.] Was a lyric poet, who flourished about the 44th Olympiad, and was contemporary, according to Herodotus, with Periander. His poetry was celebrated for its great resemblance to that of Homer; but at present nothing but fragments of it remain.

Page 116. The verses of Homer.] The island of Achaia, is described in the beginning of the tenth book of the Odyssey.

Page 117. The Sibyl Herophile.] Hermache the philosopher, in his MS. Commentary on the Phaedrus of Plato, has the following remarkable passage respecting this Sibyl... The reader may find the original of it in my translation of the Phaedrus, page 52. "The particulars which are reported about this Sibyl are so wonderful, that they have the appearance of fables. But, indeed, there were many Sibyls, all of whom adopted the same life, and all of them, perhaps through a certain natural cause, were called Sibyls; just as Hermes Trismegistus, who often resided in Egypt, is said to have made mention of himself, and to have been called the third time Hermes. Three Orpheuses also are said to have existed among the Thracians. Perhaps, therefore, these Sibyls chose these appellations from a certain communication and recollection; since this very Erythrean Sibyl, of whom Plato now speaks, was from the first called Herophile. But they report that she called every one by his proper name as soon as she was born, that she likewise spake in verse, and that in a short time she arrived at the perfection of the human species."

Page 126. And in a lawless, manner depopulate Asia.] It seems that the Gallic nation has been remarkable, from very early periods, for acting in defiance of law.


Page 141. Nor performing any of the sacred ceremonies of his own country.] Here, too, we see that the Gauls were at an early period remarkable for their impiety; and the same gigantic spirit rules in the breasts of their descendants of the present
day. Indeed the French seem at present to have greatly surpassed their ancestors in impiety; for it is nowhere asserted that the ancient Gauls were professedly a nation of atheists, though they acted in an irreverential manner. However, these effeminate, volatile, superficial, and lawless people, who, after throwing off the barbaric yoke of the pontifical piety of the Catholics, have abandoned all religion, would do well to consider the following passage from the Commentaries of Simplicius on Epictetus, p. 200, and return, at least, to the belief of a Supreme Cause, ere they become a dreadful example to surrounding nations of that severe though necessary punishment with which atheism is inevitably attended. πάντες ανθρώποι, καὶ βαρβάροι καὶ Ελληνες, καὶ κατά τὸν προτέρου αιείναυ καὶ τού, καὶ ἀλλοι καὶ ἀλλαὶ αποικεῖς, νομίζουσιν εἶναι Θεοῦ, ἐπὶ Ακροθοίτων, ὡς ἐστιν Θεοφραστος αὐθεντος γινόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐθεντος κατακυβηναι καὶ εἰ δὲ τίς αὐτὸς εἰς Ἡ δύο κατὰ παντα τὸν προτερον αἰωνα ἱστορηταὶ. i. e. “All men, both Barbarians and Greeks, as well in the infinite series of past ages as now, though according to different conceptions, have believed that there is a god, the Acrotheite excepted—who, as Theophrastus informs us, in consequence of becoming atheists, were entirely absorbed by the earth; and perhaps one or two other nations, which may be recorded in history during the infinity of past time.”

Page 150. Know thyself.] The soul that truly knows herself, knows that she possesses a knowledge which is situated between the universal perception of intellect, and the partial perception of sense. She must therefore be well acquainted with all the natures both prior and posterior to her own essence. And hence in self-knowledge all knowledge is comprehended. If this be the case, the number of mankind that possess this self-knowledge must be exceeding small. For there are five habits of the soul with respect to all knowledge; viz. twofold ignorance, simple ignorance, desire, search, and invention: and the multitude are under the dominion of the first two of these habits, as they are either even ignorant of their ignorance, or at most are sensible of it without any desire to become wise.
NOTES ON THE

Page 152.  Homer, in the abusive speech of Melancho to Ulysses.] This speech is in Odys. 18, ver. 327, &c.

Page 153.  Homer, indeed.] The verses respecting the pilot Phrontis are in Odyssey 3, ver. 277, and are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

Meantime from flaming Troy we cut the way,
With Menelaus thru' the curling sea:
But when to Sunium's sacred point we came,
Crown'd with the temple of th' Athenian dame;
Atrides' pilot, Phrontis, there expired
(Phrontis, of all the sons of men admired,
To steer the bounding bark with steady toil,
When the storm thickens, and the billows boil);
While yet he exercised the steersman's art,
Apollo touch'd him with his gentle dart;
Ev'n with the rudder in his hand he fell.

Page 157.  Homer.] In the 17th book of the Iliad, ver. 309, Homer says of Ajax that he broke the cavity of the coat of mail of Phorcys:


Page 162.  This Bacchus, too, is my opinion, &c.] The Bacchus who first led an army to the Indies, must have been a hero who descended from the god Bacchus; and who knowing this, called himself by the name of his leading divinity.

Page 163.  Homer.] The verses respecting Theseus and Pirithous are in Odyssey 11, and Iliad 1, ver. 260.

Page 164.  The daughters of Pandaros.] The verses alluded to by Pausanias respecting the daughters of Pandaros are in Odyssey 20, ver. 66; and are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

So, Pandarus, thy hopes, three orphans fair,
Were doom'd to wander through the devious air;
Thyself, untimely, and thy consort, died,
But four celestials both your cares supplied.
Venus in tender delicacy rears,
With honey, milk, and wine, their infant years;
Imperial Juno to their youth assign'd
A form majestic, and sagacious mind:
With shapely growth Diana graced their bloom;
And Pallas taught the texture of the loom.
But whilst to learn their lots in nuptial love,
Bright Cytherea sought the bower of Jove
(The god supreme, to whose eternal eye
The registers of fate expanded lie);
Wing'd harpies snatch'd th' unguarded charge away,
And to the furies bore a grateful prey.

Page 165. *As Homer represents it*.] The verses alluded to by Pausanias respecting the grove of Proserpine are in *Odyssey* 10, ver. 510, and may be thus translated:

> The groves of Proserpine, where poplars tall
> And barren willows tremble o'er the deep.

Page 166. *His whole figure is that of a humble abject man.*] It is well said by Aristotle, in his *Nicomachian Ethics*, that all humble men are flatterers, and that all flatterers are humble. This base habit of the soul is confounded by most of the present day with modesty; though it is in reality as different from it as the whining cant of some contemptible sectary from the magnanimous speeches of Achilles in the *Iliad*.

Page 169. *Pouring out the remains of the water into the perforated vessel, &c.*] Plato in the *Gorgias* observes that the most wretched of those in Hades are the uninitiated, and that the employment of such consists in pouring water out of one perforated vessel into another. Pausanias, therefore, is right in conjecturing that these persons in the picture despised the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. For Proclus in *Plat. Polit.* p. 369, observes, "that the mysteries led back the soul from a material and mortal life, and conjoined it with the gods; that by intellectual illuminations they removed all the perturbation introduced by the irrational life, and exterminated whatever was dark and indefinite in the initiated, through the light proceeding from the gods." Not, indeed, that this was the case with all the initiated, for none but true philosophers could receive these advantages from the mysteries; but they purified in a
certain degree all that were properly initiated in them, and on this account they were called medicines by Heraclitus. He, therefore, that despised the mysteries despised the means of becoming internally pure, and in consequence of this both here and hereafter might be said to live in Hades, and to be employed in pouring water out of one perforated vessel into another. For such a one lived in obscurity, through being in a state of servitude to the body; and was continually busy in endeavouring to satisfy the indignity of desires with the flowing nature of a corporeal life, which glides away as fast as it is received into the soul from one desire to another, and leaves nothing behind but the ruinous clefts through which it passed.

Page 174. The tears of Isis cause the Nile to increase.] In a preceding note we have observed from Proclus that there is a terrestrial Isis about the divinity of the earth. I shall now further observe, from the same incomparable man, that tears were considered by ancient theologists as symbols of the providence of the gods about mortal natures: and hence this saying of the Egyptians signifies, that the increase of the Nile is owing to the providential energies of Isis, considered as co-operating with Vesta in the government of the earth.

Page 174. Homer, therefore, appears to speak truly, &c.] The words of Homer alluded to by Pausanias are these:

χαλασα οι Ατών φαινοσαι παραγειον

ILLiad 20, ver. 191.

Which I thus translate:

O’erpow’ring are the gods when clearly seen.

And in rendering the word χαλασα o’erpowering I am supported by the authority of Jamblichus, De Mysteriis, p. 50. και μην την γε λεπτοτης του φωτος οι μεν θεοι τοσαυτην επιλαμπουσιν, ας μη δυνασαι χωρειν αυτην τους σωματικους ωφαλμους, αλλα και αυτο πασχειν των ιχθυων, τοις απο θελερας και παχειας υγροτητος εις αερα λεπον και διαφανη αναπτυμαινοι, και γαρ οι ανθρωποι οι ζωοι του θεου τυρω αναπειν, ολυγοδραμουσιν, ας ιδειν ραινονται, και του συμφωνου πνευματος αποκλινονται. i. e. “The gods, when they appear, diffuse a light of so subtle a nature, that the cor-
poreal eyes are not able to bear it; but are affected in the same manner as fishes when they are drawn out of turbid and thick water into attenuated and diaphanous air. For men who behold a divine fire, as soon as they perceive it are scarcely able to breathe, and their connate spirit becomes enclosed in the fire." This passage may be considered as a comment on the above words of Homer; and at the same time shows that Pausanias is mistaken in his interpretation of them.


Page 177. Herodotus.] In Herodotus, p. 299, this city is called Amphicæa.

Page 188. Homer.] Iliad 2, ver. 517.
ADDITIONAL NOTES.

The following information respecting Saturn, Minerva, and Diana, in addition to what the reader will find in Vol. III. p. 196, 212, and 250, is a translation from the Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus of Plato; which admirable work was published from manuscripts, by the very learned Professor Boissonade, Lipsiae, 1820, 12mo. *

In p. 58, therefore, Proclus says of Saturn as follows:

"Why does Socrates apprehend the name of king Saturn to be ὕπερτιμος, insolent, and looking to what does he assert this? We reply that, according to the poets satiety (χορός) is the cause of insolence; for they thus denominate immoderation and repletion; and they say that Satiety brought forth Insolence (ὑπερ' ἐφούν τικλεῖ χορός). He, therefore, who looks without attention to the name of Saturn, will consider it as signifying insolence. For to him who suddenly hears it, it manifests satiety and repletion. Why, therefore, since a name of this kind is expressive of insolence, do we not pass it over in silence, as not being auspicious and adapted to the gods? May we not say that the royal series † of the gods, beginning from Phanes and ending in Bacchus, and producing the same sceptre supernally, as far as to the last kingdom, Saturn being allotted the fourth

* The Professor, in this work, not only frequently mentions me, but in p. 23, does me the honour to call me, "Vir in Platonicorum philosophia veritatisimus."
† This royal series consists of Phanes, Night, Heaven, Saturn, Jupiter, Bacchus. "Ancient theologists (says Syrianus, in his Commentary on the 14th book of Aristotle’s Metaphysics) assert that Night and Heaven reigned; and
royal order, appears, according to the fabulous pretence, differently from the other kings, to have received the sceptre insolently from Heaven, and to have given it to Jupiter. For Night receives the sceptre from Phanes; Heaven derives from Night the dominion over wholes; and Bacchus, who is the last king of the gods, receives the kingdom from Jupiter. For the father (Jupiter) establishes him in the royal throne, puts into his hand the sceptre, and makes him the king of all the mundane gods. "Hear me, ye gods, I place over you a king."

σταυρι τοι, κεν ου νηώμιν εύτυχης τι Ετυμ.

says Jupiter to the junior gods. But Saturn alone perfectly deprives Heaven of the kingdom, and concedes dominion to Jupiter, cutting and being cut-off as the fable says. Plato, therefore, seeing this succession, which in Saturn is called by theologists insolent (εξερητοτης), thought it worth while to mention the appearance of insolence in the name; that from this he might evince the name is adapted to the god, and that it bears an image of the insolence which is ascribed to him in fables. At the same time he teaches us to refer mythical devices to the truth concerning the gods, and the apparent absurdity which they contain, to scientific conceptions.

"But why does Plato now call Saturn διανοα, the dianoetic part of the soul? May we not say, that it is because he looks to the multitude of intellectual conceptions in him, the orders of intelligibles, and the evolution of forms which he contains? since also in the Timaeus, he represents the demiurgic intellect as reasoning, and making the world by dianoetically energizing; and this in consequence of looking to his partible and divided

prior to these, the mighty father of Night and Heaven, who distributed the world to gods and mortals, and who first possessed royal authority, the illustrious Ericapaus.

τον ελαδυ διηθινε γενεσ, Σινωρον ει κοσμον
ον αρχων βασιλειν περιμελεις ηρωκελον

Night succeeded Ericapaus, in the hands of whom she has a sceptre.

αναφθεν εξουσι εις κορασην ηρωκελον.
intelleciones, according to which he fabricates not only wholes but parts. When Saturn, however, is called intellect, Jupiter has the order of the diazoeic part: and when again, Saturn is called the diazoeic part, we must say that he is so called according to analogy, with reference to a certain other intellect of a higher order. Whether, therefore, you are willing to speak of intelligible and occult intellect, or of that which unfolds into light (επιστοφενος νους), or of that which connectedly contains (ευνιδος νους), or of that which imports perfection* (τελειουργος νους), Saturn will be as the diazoeic part to all these. For he produces united intellection into resplendence, and fills himself wholly with existed intelligibles. Whence also, he is said to be the leader of the Titanic race, and the source of all various separation and diversifying power. And, perhaps, Plato here primarily delivers twofold interpretations of the name of the Titans, which Jamblichus and Amelius afterwards adopted. For the one interprets this name from the Titans extending their powers to all things; but the other from something insectile (εξαετιον η αρημον), because the division and separation of wholes into parts receives its beginning from the Titans. Socrates, therefore, now indicates both these interpretations, by asserting of the king of the Titans that he is a certain great diazoeic power. For the term great is a symbol of power pervading to all things; but the term a certain, of power proceeding to the most partial natures.

* Again, the name Saturn is now triply analysed; of which the first, asserting this god to be the plenitude of intellectual good, and to be the satiety of a divine intellect, from its conveying an image of the satiety and repletion which are reproached by the many, is ejected as insolent. The second, also, which exhibits the imperfect and the puerile, is in like manner rejected. But the third, which celebrates this god as full of purity, and as the leader of undefiled intelligence, and an un-
deviating life, is approved. For king Saturn is intellect, and
the supplier of all intellectual life; but he is an intellect exempt
from co-ordination with sensibles, immaterial and separate, and
converted to himself. He likewise converts his progeny; and
after producing them into light, again embosoms and firmly
establishes them in himself. For the demiurgus of the universe,
though he is a divine intellect, yet he orderly arranges sensi-
bles, and provides for subordinate natures. But the mighty
Saturn is essentialized in separate intelllections, and which
transcend wholes. " For the fire which is beyond the first
(says the Chaldean oracle), does not incline its power down-
wards." But the demiurgus is suspended and proceeds from
Saturn, being himself an intellect subsisting about an immaterial
intellect, energizing about it as the intelligible, and producing
that which is occult in it, into the apparent. For the maker of
the world is an intellect of intellect. And it appears to me,
that as Saturn is the summit of those gods that are properly
called intellectual, he is intellect, as with reference to the in-
telligible genus of gods. For all the intellectual adhere to the
intelligible genus of gods, and are conjoined with them through
intelllections. "Ye who understand the supermundane paternal
profundity," says the hymn to them. But Saturn is intelligible,
with reference to all the intellectual gods. Purity, therefore,
indicates this impartible and imparticiable transcendency of
Saturn. For the not coming into contact with matter, the
impartible, and an exemption from habitude, are signified by
purity. Such, indeed, is the transcendency of this god; with
respect to all co-ordination with things subordinate, and such
his undefiled union with the intelligible, that he does not re-
quire a Curetic guard, like Rhea, Jupiter, and Proserpine.
For all these, through their progressions into secondary natures,
require the immutable defence of the Curetes. But Saturn,
being firmly established in himself, and hastily withdrawing
himself from all subordinate natures, is established above the
guardianship of the Curetes. He contains, however, the cause
of these uniformly in himself. For this purity, and the unde-
filed which he possesses, give subsistence to all the progressions
ADDITIONAL NOTES.

of the Curetes. Hence in the Oracles, he is said to comprehend the first fountain of the Amilicti, and to ride on all the others. 'The intellect of the father riding on attenuated rulers, they become refugent with the furrows of inflexible and implacable fire.'

Νοις πατρός οραμας εισώρισθαι Συπατηρίν
Ακαβαλούσε αραπίσουσα Αμιλικτον πυρος ολην.

"He is therefore pure intellect, as giving subsistence to the undefiled order, and as being the leader of the whole intellectual series.

Αυτός γὰς πηθροσκεχθείς Αμιλικτον τι κρατούς,
Καὶ πρωτονόφησι κολοκτι παρισφεγγίας ολῆς
Παγγέμενας Εκκορος και ευπροσμάς πυρος αυτῆς,
Ηδὲ προκαιμεν επεμελεί παθον εύρομεν εκεῖνωσ.

i.e. 'From him leap forth the implacable thunders, and the prester-capacious bosoms of the all-splendid strength of the father-begotten Hecate, together with the environed flower of fire, and the strong spirit which is beyond the fiery poles.'

"For he convolves all the hebdomad of the fountains,* gives subsistence to it, from his unical and intelligible summit. For he is, as the Oracle says, αριστεράλληλος, uncut into fragments, uniform and undistributed, and connectedly contains all the fountains, converting and uniting all of them to himself, and being separate from all things with immaculate purity. Hence he is κατογνος, as an immaterial and pure intellect, and as establishing himself in the paternal silence. He is also celebrated as the father of fathers. Saturn, therefore, is a father and intelligible, as with reference to the intellectual gods.

"Moreover, every intellect is either permanent, and is then intelligible, as being better than motion; or it is moved, and is then intellectual; or it is both, and is then intelligible, and at the same time intellectual. The first of these is Phanes (the exemplar of the universe); the second, which is alone moved,

* That is of the whole intellectual order, which consists of Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, the three Curetes, and the separating monad Ocean.
is Saturn; and the third, which is both moved and permanent, is Heaven.

"Again, Saturn, from his impartible, simple, paternal, and beneficent subsistence in the intellectual orders, has been considered by some as the same with the one cause of all things. He is, however, analogous to this cause, just as Orpheus calls the first cause Time (Χρόνος), nearly homonymously with Saturn (Κόσμος). But the Oracles of the Gods (i.e. the Chaldean oracles) characterise this deity by the epithet of the once (τόπος ἀκατάστατος) calling him once beyond (ἀκατάστατος εὐκατεύρη). For the once is allied to the one."

In p. 117, he observes respecting Minerva:—"Again, theologists especially celebrate two powers of our sovereign mistress Minerva, the defensive, and the perfective; the former preserving the order of wholes undefiled and unvanquished by matter, and the latter filling all things with intellectual light, and converting them to their cause. And on this account, Plato also, in the Timeus, analogously celebrates Minerva as philopolemic and philosophic. But three orders of this goddess are delivered by theologists; the one fontal and intellectual, according to which she establishes herself in her father Jupiter, and subsists in unproceeding union with him; but the second ranks among the supermundane gods, according to which she is present with Core, and bounds and converts all the progression of that goddess to herself. And the third is liberated, according to which she perfects and guards the whole world, and circularly invests it with her powers, as with a veil; binding together all the mundane summits, and giving subsistence to all the allotments in the heavens, and to those which proceed into the sublunary region. Now, therefore, Socrates celebrates her guardian power, through the name of Pallas; but her perfective power through that of Minerva. She is the cause, therefore, of orderly and measured motion, which she first imparts to the Curetic order, and afterwards to the other gods. For Minerva, according to this power, is the leader of the Curetes, as Orpheus says, whence also, as well as those divinities, she is adorned with empyrean arms, through which she represses
all disorder, preserves the demiurgic series immovable, and unfolds dancing through rhythmic motion. She also guards reason as it proceeds from intellect, through this power vanishing matter. "For the visible region (says Timeus) is mingled from intellect and necessity, the latter being obedient to the former, and all material causes being in subjection to the will of the father." It is this goddess, therefore, who arranges necessity under the productions of intellect, raises the universe to the participation of Jupiter, excites and establishes it in the port of its father, and eternally guards and defends it. Hence, if the universe is said to be indissoluble, it is this goddess who supplies its permanency; and if it moves in measured motion, through the whole of time, according to one reason and order, she is the source of this supply. She watchfully surveys, therefore, all the fabrication of her father, and connects and converts it to him; and vanquishes all material indefiniteness."

And, in the last place, of Diana he says as follows, p. 111:—

"With respect to our sovereign mistress Diana, Plato delivers three peculiarities of her: the undecilled, the mundane, and the aragogic or elevating. And through the first of these, indeed, the goddess is said to be a lover of virginity; but through the second, according to which she is perfective of works (τέλεια ἀρμοδία), she is said to be the inspective guardian of virtue; and through the third, she is said to hate the impulse arising from generation. Of these three likewise, the first is especially adapted to the progression of the goddess; according to which she is allotted a subsistence in the vivific triad of the supernatural gods; whether we call this deity Hecate, as theurgists say, or Diana with Orpheus. For there being established, she is filled with undecilled powers from the gods called Amalicti*. But she looks to the fountain of virtue, and embraces its virginity. For the virginity which is there does not proceed forth, as the [Chaldean] Oracle says, but abiding gives subsistence to Diana, and to supernatural virtue; and is exempt from all communion, conjunction, and progression; according

* That is, the Corybantes.
to generation. Hence Core also, according to the Diana and Minerva which she contains, is said to remain a virgin; but, according to the prolific power of Proserpine, she is said to proceed forth, and to be conjoined with the third demiurgus, and to bring forth, as Orpheus says, 'Nine azure-eyed, flower-producing daughters;'

since the Diana and the Minerva which she contains preserve their virginity always the same. For the former of these is characterised according to her stability, but the latter according to her convertive energy. But that which is generative is allotted in her a middle order. They say, too, that she aspires after virginity, since the form of her is comprehended in the vivific fountain; and she understands fontal virtue, gives subsistence to supremundane and anagogic virtue, and despises all material sexual connexion, though she inspects the fruits arising from it.

"She appears also to be averse to the generations and progressions of things, but to introduce perfections to them. And she gives perfection, indeed, to souls through a life according to virtue; but to mortal animals she imparts a restitution to form. But that there is a great union between Diana, the mundane Hecate, and Core, is evident to those that are in the least degree conversant with the writings of Orpheus; from which it appears that Latona is comprehended in Ceres, and, together with Jupiter, gives subsistence to Core and the mundane Hecate. To which we may also add, that Orpheus* calls Diana Hecate. So that it is nothing wonderful, if we should elsewhere call the Diana contained in Core Hecate."

* Ἡ δ' ας Ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς μέλαν αὐθίς λατοῦσι
Ἀντώνιος ἐπιλεξαμένος καὶ προετοιμάσας Ὀλυμπία.
INDEX.

A.

Aene., the city, ii. 181.
Abantis, the region, ii. 60.
Abaris, i. 267.
Abartus, ii. 155.
Abas, the city, iii. 95.
——, the son of Lyceus, iii. 181.
Abasa, the island, ii. 146.
Abia, a city in Messene, i. 390.
Abia, the nurse of Hyllus, i. 390.
Abrus, the city, ii. 173.
Acacus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
Acamas, the son of Theseus, a picture of, iii. 156.
Acarnan, the son of Alcmseon, ii. 275.
Acarnanes, the particulars of an engagement between them and the Messenians, i. 377.
Acatus, ii. 46. 130.
Acestium, wife of Themistocles, i. 101.
Acestor, the statuary, ii. 119.
Achaeus, the son of Xuthus, ii. 147.
Achaia, formerly called Ægiali, ii. 147.
Achaiaus, particulars of their warlike affairs, ii. 162.
Achaiaus and Lacedemonians, transactions of the, ii. 169, 170, 171.
Achaiaus injured through prodigality, ii. 172.
——, vanquish the Lacedemonians, ii. 180.
——, imprison the Lacedemonians in Corinth, ii. 182.
——, the army of the, routed by Mommus, ii. 186.
Achaeic war, when finished, ii. 189.
Achaleon, the name of the assembly of the Achaiaus, ii. 164.
Achelous, the river, ii. 309.
Acheron, the banks of, produce the white poplar, ii. 35.

VOL. III.

Acheron, a picture of, iii. 159.
Acherusian marsh, i. 43.
Achilleus, the port, i. 306.
Achivus of Ægiali, i. 293.
Achichorus, the Gallic general, iii. 136.
Acidas, the river, ii. 12.
Acras, the promontory, i. 220.
Acras, i. 168.
Acrasphiun, the city, iii. 45.
Acratus, a Bacchic demon, i. 6.
Acris, i. 295.
Acris, ii. 133.
Aeirius, ii. 282.
Acrisius made a brazen bedchamber for his daughter, iii. 102.
Acrorinthus, the summit of a Corinthian mountain, i. 156.
Acratus, the son of Cleomenes, i. 245.
Aeculana, the Olympic puglist, ii. 93.
Aecon, i. 122.
——, the stone of, iii. 4.
——, the spectre of, iii. 79.
——, a picture of, iii. 165.
——, the fable of, explained, i. 342.
Ateus, the first Attic king, i. 6.
Aelium, the promontory, ii. 194.
Actor, the son of Phoebus, ii. 4.
Adlarantius, i. 356.
Admetus, ii. 46.
——, a picture of, iii. 158.
Aenaeus, i. 141.
——, the statue of, i. 178.
——, the house of, i. 186.
——, a brazen statue of, ii. 163.
——, gave the horse Arion to Hercules, ii. 279.
Adrian the emperor, a statue of, i. 7.
INDEX.

Adrian, a most religious cultivator of divinity, i. 14.
———, dedicated the statue of Olympian Jupiter in Attica, i. 46.
———, statues of, i. 46.
———, a statue of, ii. 31.
——— greatly enlarged the road Sciron, l. 122.
——— raised baths for the Corinthians, i. 132.
——— dedicated a peacock of gold and splendid stones, i. 170.
——— dedicated a temple to Apollo, in Abis, iii. 182.
——— raised a temple near the walls of Mantinea, ii. 245.
——— brought water from Stymphalus into the city of the Corinthians, ii. 269.
Adrian, a gymnatorium so called, i. 47.
Adyton, a recess so called, l. 128.
Æceum, an inclosure, in Ægés, l. 204.
Æcidae, all of that name and family died like Pyrrhus, i. 35.
Æacus, i. 108. 202.
Æchidna, the symbolic maiden of, unfolded, iii. 260.
Ægea, formerly an Achaian city, ii. 260.
Ægeus, i. 57.
Ægeus and Theseus, story of, i. 73.
Ægina, a Lacedaemonian town, l. 294.
Ægialea, the city, i. 139.
Ægialeus, the son of Adrastus, iii. 12.
———, an account of the posterity of, that reigned in Sicyon, i. 139.
———, the statue of, l. 178. iii. 114.
Ægila, a place so called in Sparta, l. 355.
Ægin, the daughter of Asopus, i. 202.
Ægina, the daughter of Asopus, what we are to understand by the relation concerning, in which it was said that she was ravished by Jupiter, iii. 259.
Ægina, the most difficult of access by sea of all the Grecian islands, l. 204.
Æginetea, the kingdom of, subverted by the Athenians, i. 204.
——— migrated to Thyrrea in Argolis, ib.
——— reverence Hecate above all the divinities, i. 206.
Æginetas, the son of Pompus, ii. 235.
Ægira, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 219.
Ægistra, the town, i. 121.
Ægium, ii. 209.
Ægyptus, the son of Nileus, ii. 152.
Ægys, a city bordering on the Lacedaemonians, i. 235.
Æneas, a brazen statue of, i. 180.
Æneasidmus, ii. 61.
Ænetus, the statue of, i. 284.
Æolus, ii. 133.
Æpyrtus, l. 319.
———, the son of Elatus, ii. 232.
———, the son of Hippothus, ii. 234.
Æschylus, l. 4.
——— wrote a poem on the battle of Marathon, l. 38.
———, statue and picture of, i. 53.
———, 76. 190. ii. 238. iii. 44.
———, why said to be the first that represented the Furies with snakes in their hair, iii. 215. 220.
Æcyymes, a victor in the Olympic quinternium, ii. 113.
Æculeplus, called by the Phocenses, Archagetas, iii. 172.
Æthlius, i. 4.
———, a famous statue of, i. 187.
———, a bath of, i. 199.
———, was born in Epidaurus, i. 196.
Æsimides, the Athenian Archon, i. 325.
Æsymnetes, the god, ii. 199.
Æyprus, a victor in the Olympic games, with the vaulting horse, ii. 80.
Æthidas, a statue of, i. 296.
Æthlius, the son of Jupiter and Protonetia, the daughter of Deucalion, ii. 2.
Æthra, the mother of Theseus, a picture of, iii. 154.
———, i. 216.
Æthus, the daughter of Neptune, iii. 39.
Ælius, the son of Anthus, i. 208. 213.
Æolus, the son of Endymion, ii. 2. 3.
Æolus, the son of Orylus, ii. 9.
Æneas, the son of Prometheus, iii. 49.
Agamedes, the architect, iii. 21.
Agamedes, the son of Stymphalus, ii. 232.
Agamemnon, l. 142.
———, revere theed by the Clazomeni, ii. 161.
———, a picture of, iii. 164.
Agamemnon, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 100.
Aganippe, the fountain, iii. 57.
Agapenor, the son of Aeneas, led the Arcadians to the Trojan war, ii. 233.
Agapta, an Eleean porch, ii. 39.
Agasicles, the son of Archidamus, and king of Sparta, l. 249.
Agasthenes, ii. 179.
INDEX.

Agathocles, the Athenian Archon, iii. 93.
Agave, the symbolical signification of, iii. 250.
Agis, a place in Attica, i. 49.
Agis, ii. 36.
Ajax, the race of, obscure, i. 208.
 Ajax, Salaminian, a picture of, iii. 166.
Ajax, the son of Oileus, a picture of, iii. 156.
Ajax, games so called, ii. 326.
Alabamæa, the village, iii. 69.
Alalcomenias, the fountain, ii. 952.
Alalcomenes, the nurse of Minerva, iii. 69.
Alagonia, a Spartan town, i. 311.
Alcamen, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 95.
Alce, the, a wild beast, particulars of; iii. 41.
Alcmenes, the statuary, i. 3. 20. 206.
Alcmeo, the son of Teleclus, i. 236.
Alcmenes, the son of Teleclus, i. 236.
Alcmon, the poet, i. 112. 308.
Alcmene, the son of Sillus, i. 173.
Alcmene, the son of Amphiaras, the statue of, i. 178.
Alcmena, the hero, ii. 251.
Alcinoe, the Nymph, ii. 396.
Alcyone, the bed-chamber of, iii. 21.
Alcaeus, the poet, ii. 119. iii. 109.
Achilles, ii. 46.
Achilles, iii. 33.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the hero, ii. 251.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
Achilles, the son of Sius, i. 173.
INDEX.

Alexander, the son of Philip, conquer-
ed in that Olympic course, called the
Hemerodromos, ii. 117.
—, the first European prince
that possessed elephants, i. 31.
Alexander, the son of Alexander the
Great, iii. 15.
Alexandria, the Trojan city, iii. 118.
Alexander Pleuronius, i. 185.
Alexanor, the son of Machaon, i. 155.
Alexius, a victor in the Olympic quin-
querium, ii. 119.
Aleximinus, a victorious wrestler in the
Olympic games, ii. 120.
Aliphernus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 281.
Aliphius, ii. 230.
Alytheres, the son of Ancus, ii. 156.
—, a statue of, iii. 114.
Alotis, games so called, ii. 326.
Alphes, the river, ii. 15.
—, particulars of, ii.
381.
—, a representation
of, ii. 25.
Alphesion, ii. 274.
Alphius, a picture of, iii. 153.
Alpho, i. 282.
Altar of all the gods in common, ii. 38.
—, Alcemenes and Iolaus, i. 48.
—, Alpheus and Diana, ii. 36.
—, Ammon, iii. 31.
—, Amphitaurus distributed into five
parts, i. 94.
—, Andegens, the son of Minos,
i. 3.
—, Anteros, ii. 138.
—, Apollo, ii. 39, iii. 178.
—, Apollo Acritas, i. 265.
—, Apollo and Mercury, ii. 87.
—, Apollo Dionysodotus, i. 87.
—, Apollo, foreseeing, i. 88.
—, Apollo, Pythian, ii. 39.
—, Apollo Thermias, ii. 39.
—, Bacchus, ii. 39.
—, Bacchus and the Graces, ii.
38.
—, florid, i. 87.
—, Sota, ii. 211.
—, called Themidius, i.
211.
—, Boreas, ii. 303.
—, Ceres, ii. 305.
—, Aresidos, i. 87.
—, and Proserpine, ii. 138.
—, Chalcis, i. 281.
—, children of Theseus and Pha-
lerus, i. 3.
—, Concord, ii. 47.
—, coarse tiles in Altis, ii. 128.
Altar of the Curetes, ii. 37.
—, Despotes, ii. 39, 304.
—, Diana, ii. 35, 39.
—, rural Diana, ii. 40.
—, Diana Coccus, ii. 40.
—, Diana Foremost, ii. 38.
—, Protothronos, iii. 190.
—, splendour-bearing, i. 87.
—, Dictyes and Clymenus, i. 170.
—, the Dioscuri, i. 39.
—, under the appela-
tion of the Ambuli, i. 268.
—, Earth, i. 87, ii. 239.
—, Epimedes, Ida, Pausanias, and
Jasus, ii. 37.
—, Ergane, ii. 36.
—, Good Fortune, ii. 39.
—, Gods, the unknown, ii. 37.
—, Goddesses, the severe, i. 87.
—, Hercules, ii. 85.
—, and Hebe, i. 48.
—, Parastates, ii. 37.
—, the Idaean Hercules, ii. 137.
—, Heroes, i. 3.
—, Hours, the, ii. 38.
—, Juno, ii. 243.
—, equestrian, ii. 39.
—, Olympia, ii. 37.
—, Samian, ii. 34.
—, Jupiter Ambulus, ii. 268.
—, Catebata, ii. 37.
—, Ceres, ii. 37.
—, Eleutherus, iii. 5.
—, Pausanias, ii. 39.
—, Hassicus, ii. 37.
—, Hareman, ii. 356.
Lacetis and Neptune
Lacetis, ii. 64.
—, Lechateis, ii. 281.
—, Lycean, ii. 308, 381.
—, the Mild, i. 109.
—, the Most High, ii. 39.
—, Olympics, ii. 34, 35.
—, the Perfect, ii. 393.
—, Puxius, i. 199.
—, Pluvius, ii. 88, 176.
—, the Purifier, ii. 37.
—, Semele, i. 88.
—, terrestrial, ii. 37.
—, Altars dedicated to Jupiter, ii. 140.
Altar of Iodania, iii. 70.
—, Iomades, the nymphs, i. 87.
—, Lathria and Alexandria, i. 277.
—, Love, i. 84, ii. 187.
—, Lucina, ii. 126.
—, Mars, ii. 295.
—, equestrian, ii. 39.
—, Melicerta, i. 126.
INDEX.

Alyssos, an Arcadian fountain, ii. 263.
Amaryneus, ii. 4.
Amatheus, the city, iii. 88.
Amazons, ii. 115. 215. ii. 151.
Ambyssus, the city, iii. 95. 184.
— the hero, iii. 184.
Amelichios, the river, ii. 197.
Amertas, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 96.
Amilias, the city, ii. 254.
Aminius, the river, ii. 289.
Amphi, a small Messenian city, i. 324.
Amphilochus, a picture of, iii. 113.
Amphilochus, the city, called by Herodotus Ophite, iii. 177.
Amphiclus, the great grandfather of Hector, ii. 158.
Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, raised the first Grecian Sunedriion, iii. 107.
Amphictyons, the musical games of the, iii. 105.
— the particulars of, iii. 107.
Amphidamus, the son of Aeles, ii. 232.
Amphilochoerus, i. 94. ii. 45.
— the statue of, i. 191.
— the son of Amphiaras, l. 178.
Amphimachus, ii. 6.
Amphion, l. 10.
— the meaning of his drawing stones together by the harmony of his lyre, iii. 294.
— the statue of, iii. 81.
Amphissa, the daughter of Macareus, iii. 190.
— the city, l. 189.
Amphihemus, i. 265.
Amphius, the river, i. 399.
Amphio, the son of Alcmeon, ii. 275.
Ampyx, the son of Pelius, ii. 194.
Amys, the village, l. 287.
Amys, l. 281. ii. 194.
Amynclus, the son of Hercules, the throne of, its ornaments described, i. 284—287.
Amymone, the river, i. 227.
Amynatas the pancretiast, ii. 36.
Amymon, the son of Cretheus, restored the Olympic games, ii. 19.
Amacharsis, i. 58.
Anacreon, i. 4. 65.
Anaxerion, the gods called, various opinions of, i. 190.
Anapost, verses so called, i. 331.
INDEX.

Anaphylatus, the son of Trazen, i. 209.
Anaxarchus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 112.
Anaxarchus, the Elean pugilist, ii. 116.
Anax, the son of Earth, i. 98.
—, a king of the Milesians, ii. 150.
Anaxagoras, the son of Argeus, i. 171.
Anaxander, a victor in the Olympic chariot-race, ii. 77.
—, king of the Spartans, i. 352.
—, the son of Euryocrates, i. 237.
Anaxandrides, the son of Leon, i. 239.
Anaxandrus, the son of Euryocrates, and king of the Spartans, i. 350.
Anaxias, i. 285.
Anaxibia, i. 203.
Anaxidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, and king of the Spartans, i. 249. 350.
Anaxilas, i. 374.
Anaximenes, the sophist, a statue of, ii. 192.
Anaxippos Mendeus, ii. 68.
Anaxirhoe, the daughter of Coronus, ii. 2.
Ancreus, the son of Neptune, ii. 156.
—, the son of Lycurgus, ii. 238.
Ankaxios, the architect, iii. 21.
Anchialus, a picture of, iii. 156.
Anchialis the Lacedaemonian, i. 270.
Ancient, a Spartan town so called, i. 297.
Andamia, a Messenian city, i. 312.
—, the ruins of, i. 399.
Andreamon, ii. 7.
—, the son of Codrus, ii. 154.
Andreas, the statuary, ii. 117.
Andreas, the city, iii. 74.
Andreas, a statue of, iii. 121.
—, the son of the river Peneus, iii. 71.
Andricus, the son of Perseus, ii. 180.
Androcles, iii. 83.
Androcles, i. 323. 347. 558.
Androcles, i. 256.
Androcles, the son of Codrus, the transactions of, ii. 151.
Andromache, a picture of, iii. 155.
Andropompus, iii. 18.
Androsthenes, the pancratist, ii. 90.
Androtion, the Attic historian, iii. 107.
Angelion, the statuary, i. 214. iii. 73.
Angelus, the son of Neptune, ii. 159.
Anger of the gods, what it signifies, iii. 279.
Anigres, the town, i. 229.
Anigrus, the river, ii. 11. 12.
Anochus, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 112.
INDEX.

Ammianus, a senator; the works of, i. 199.
Anyte, a woman renowned for composing verses, ii. 192.
Asopus, one of the Titans, ii. 305.
Aonoe, the, iii. 9.
Aoris, the son of Aras, i. 158.
Apolles, ii. 77, iii. 74.
Aphareus, the son of Perieris, l. 232.
Apheta, a road in Sparta, why so called, l. 283.
Aphrodisias, the statue of, i. 268.
Aphrodias, the son of Arca, ii. 231.
Aphrodiasia, the city, i. 298, ii. 253.
Aphrodizium, ii. 321.
Aphiqis, a town in Pallen, l. 283.
Apolatomi, or the landing-place, i. 299.
Apocles colonized the Iones, ii. 154.
Apollo Agyrieus, a statue of, l. 176, ii. 286.

— a brazen statue of, ii. 290.
— why called Alexiaecrus, iii. 198.
— Amycleus, i. 947.
— Boudranius, a statue of, iii. 33.
— Carneus, i. 267.
— Carynus, the pyramid, i. 121.
— Clarus, a statue of, l. 134.
— Dionysodotus, iii. 227.
— Diocletius, the statue of, i. 188.
— Espleurios, ii. 309.
— Isemnios, iii. 19.
— Maleatas, i. 265.
— Patroclus, picture of, i. 8.
— Alexiaecrus, picture of, i. 8.
— Polios, iii. 23.
— Pythian, a statue of, i. 259.
— Amycleus, a statue of, i. 259.
— why called Tuctelaris, iii. 251.
— what is meant by his once having laid his harp on a stone, iii. 249.
— why represented treading on the head of an ox, iii. 259.
Apollo thus the grammarian, his remarkable account of large bodies, iii. 241.
— an Alexandrian puzzlist, ii. 57.
— the Olympic puzzlist, ii. 58.
— Rhodius, lines of, i. 158.
Apollonies the Arcadian, i. 196.
Appius Claudius, the Roman, ii. 170.
Apuleius, extract from the Metamorphoses of, iii. 258.
Arabian Nights' Entertainments, one of the stories in the, taken with some alteration out of Pausanias, iii. 278.
Arathyse, the daughter of Aras, i. 158.
Arainus, a place so called in Sparta, i. 304.
Arantinus, a hill so called, i. 158.
Aras, the first native of Phialias, i. 157.
Aratus the Sicilian, memorable transactions of, l. 146, 147.
— the general of the Sicilians, ii. 247.
— the son of Clinias, image of, i. 144.
— a statue of, ii. 106.
— the son of Æsculapius, i. 152.
— Solensis, i. 5.
Araxes, the promontory, ii. 146.
Arcadia, the topography of, ii. 225.
Arcadians, the, justly punished for deserting the Greeks, ii. 185.
— particulars of the kingdom of the, to the destruction of the empire, ii. 233—236.
— transactions of, in different wars, ii. 236—237.
— migrated into Megalopolis on account of its strength, ii. 281.
Arcas, the son of Callisto, ii. 230.
— Samolas, the statutory, iii. 111.
Arcesilaus, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 78.
— the painter, i. 2.
Archaeus, the city, i. 158.
Archander, the son of Achaeus, ii. 148.
Archgetes, a statue so called, i. 116.
Archelaus, the son of Agesilaus, i. 235.
Archias, the son of Aristechmus, i. 196.
Archidamus the son of Anaxidamus, and king of Sparta, i. 249.
— and king of Sparta, very much injured the country of the Athenians, i. 250.
— the transactions of, i. 258—259.
— a statue of, ii. 87.
— the son of Agesilaus, a statue of, ii. 115.
— the son of Theopompos, i. 249.
— a wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 76.
Archidius, i. 379.
Archilochus the poet, ii. 173, iii. 160.
Archimandros, the daughter of Philius, ii. 252.
INDEX.

Archimedes, the Athenian archon; i. 375.
Archippus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 115.
Archiriho, ii. 293.
Architeles, ii. 148.
Archon Eponymus, the meaning of, iii. 274.
Ardalus, the son of Vulcan, the architect, according to the Troezennians, invented the pipe, i. 210.
Ardea, the son of Gyges, i. 274.
Areas, ii. 2.
Arene, the fountain, ii. 12.
Areopagus, i. 76.
Arethusa, ii. 16.
Ares, king of the Spartans, a statue of, ii. 115.
———, the father of Agenor, ii. 194.
———, the son of Acrotus, i. 246.
———, a statue of, ii. 106.
———, the poet, i. 269.
Argalus, the son of Amyclas, i. 232.
Argaeus, i. 201.
Argius, ii. 46.
Argives, the only Grecians who were divided into three kingdoms, i. 171.
———, the, from the earliest period were advocates for liberty and laws of their own making, i. 174.
———, historians, not ignorant that some of their relations are false, i. 186.
Argives subverted the kingdom of the Thyrntians, i. 193.
Argos, a plain in Arcadia, ii. 238.
Argyra, ii. 22.
Aria, a part of Asia, once so called, i. 193.
Ariadne, a picture of, iii. 162.
Arideus, ii. 239.
Arius, i. 155.
Arinmaspi, the, i. 64. iii. 226.
Arinnes, a statue of, iii. 8.
Arinna, king of the Etrucai, a throne of, ii. 31.
Arius, the harper, a statue of, i. 307. iii. 59.
———, the horse, ii. 278.
Aris, the river, i. 398.
Aristes, the son of Apollo, iii. 129.
Aristander the Persian, the statuary, i. 294.
Aristarea, an Arcadian porch, ii. 292.
Aristarchus, the Olympic historian, ii. 58.
Aristas, ii. 978.
Aristes, the Proconnesian poet, ii. 18.
———, the victor in the Olympic pancratium, and in wrestling, ii. 57.
Aristera, the island, i. 120.
Aristides, a victor in the Olympic armed race, ii. 116.
Ariston, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 108.
Aristo, the son of Agelaides, i. 249.
Aristocles Cydoniates, the statuary, ii. 65. 69.
Aristocrates, the son of Hektoris, ii. 235.
———, king of the Arcadians, corrupted by the Lacedaemonians, i. 356.
———, shameful conduct of, i. 357.
———, stoned to death by the Arcadians for his treachery, i. 570.
Aristodamas, the mother of Aratus, i. 152.
Aristodemus, king of the Messenians, i. 232.
———, hindered from sacrificing his daughter, i. 336.
———, dejected by prodigies, i. 345.
———, death of, i. 346.
———, the wrestler, ii. 81.
———, king of the Megalopolitans, ii. 284.
Aristogiton, i. 59.
———, the statuary, iii. 114.
Aristomache, a picture of, iii. 155.
Aristomachus, ii. 133.
Aristomedes, the statuary, iii. 56.
Aristomedon, the statuary, iii. 92.
Aristomelidas, ii. 327.
Aristomenes, the Rhodian victor in the Olympic pancratium, and in wrestling, ii. 57.
———, the Messenian, i. 325.
———, was honoured by the Messenians as a hero, i. 340.
———, instigates the better sort of Messenians to revolt, i. 340.
———, the涂抹ios of in the battle at Dera, i. 550.
———, in the battle near the tomb of Ceres, is surrounded by eighty chosen Messenians of the same age with himself, i. 562.
———, puts the Lacedaemonians to flight, i. 353.
INDEX.

Aristomenes is recalled from his pursuit of the Spartans, by Theocles, i. 353.

--- looses his shield, i. 353.

--- returns in triumph to Aegina, i. 353.

--- ascends into the aedylum of Trophonius, and finds his shield, i. 354.

--- marches to Pharos, which he sacks, i. 354.

--- overthrows the Lacedaemonians, and pursues their king Anaxander, i. 354.

--- is wounded in his thigh, i. 354.

--- is deterred from marching into Sparta, by seeing the spectres of Helen and the Dioscuri, i. 354.

--- attacks in open day the Caryan virgins, i. 355.

--- is taken prisoner by the women of Eghia, i. 355.

--- is rescued by Archidames, i. 355.

--- retreats to the mountain Ida, i. 356.

--- plunder the Lacedaemonians, i. 356.

--- is struck to the ground, and taken prisoner by the Lacedaemonians, i. 359.

--- is thrown into the Cudas, a deep cavern, but is miraculously preserved, i. 359.

--- afterwards attacks and slays many of the forces of the Corinthians, i. 361.

--- offers a sacrifice called Hestia, to Jupiter Hithomas, i. 361.

--- is taken prisoner by seven Cretan archers, but is released by a virgin, in consequence of a dream, i. 361.

--- buries Ithome something belonging to arcane mysteries, i. 368.

--- forces a passage through the Spartans, and escapes, i. 363.

--- stratagem of, i. 369.

--- appoints Gorgus and Manticus to be leaders of the Messenians at Cyclene, i. 371.

--- dies in Rhodes, i. 374.

Aristomachidas, i. 254.

Ariston, the seventh grandson of Theopompus, i. 350.

Aristomatus, a harrow of the Pelasgius, i. 157.

Aristonous, the statuary, ii. 60.

Aristophanes, ii. 11.

---, the poet, a citation from the Scholiast on, iii. 283.

Aristophon, a victorious pantodiscus in the Olympic games, ii. 110.

Aristotimus, the son of Damaretus, reigned in Eleusis, ii. 10.

Aristotle the Stagirite, a statue of, ii. 86.

Armour, to put on, called by the ancients begirdling, iii. 83.

Army, the first that left Greece, led by Cnesus, the son of Lycaon, i. 280.

Aronius, the river, ii. 267.

Areus, a statue of Bacchus so called, ii. 202.

Arpinas, the daughter of Asopus, ii. 51.

Arrhochion the pantodiscus, a statue of, ii. 312.

Arrhon, the son of Clymenus, iii. 76.

Arriphon, said to have instituted the Lernian mysteries, i. 227.

Arse, the river, ii. 276.

Arshinoites, an Egyptian tribe so called, i. 58.

Artediplus Trallianus, a victor in the Olympic panathenium, ii. 110.

Artemisia, a statue of, i. 261.

Artontes, the son of Mardonius, iii. 4.

Asamon, a victorious pantodiscus in the Olympic games, ii. 117.

Asse, the city, 229.

Ascalaphus, the son of Mars, iii. 78.

Ascarus, the statuary, ii. 64.

Asclepius Trallianus, the eponym of the city of, from his MSS. Schol. on the arithmetic of Nicomachus, iii. 215.

Asse, i. 229.

Athenai, the, i. 347. 437.

Asine, an Argive town, besieged and taken by the Lacedaemonians, i. 226.

Astus, the poet, i. 141. 203. 331. ii. 45. 156. iii. 46.

---, verses of, ii. 225.

Asopus, a king of the Phalanes, iii. 1.

---, the river, i. 187.

---, daughters of, i. 137.

---, the banks of, produce large bullrushes, ii. 36.

---, the city, i. 296.

Aspledon, the city, iii. 86.
INDEX.

Ampelus, the son of Neptune, iii. 80.
Asterion, the river, i. 169.
---------, the statuary, ii. 81.
---------, the son of Cometes, ii. 46.
---------, the son of Anax, ii. 150.
---------, the son of Minos, slain by Thesus, i. 210.
Asterius, the island, i. 98.
Asteria, the wife of Endymion, ii. 2.
Athena, the Athenian Archon, i. 213.
---------, ii. 3.
Astra, i. 144.
Astarte, the son of Cyaxares, ii. 24.
Astylius, a victor in the Olympic repeated course, ii. 107.
Astrynous, a picture of, iii. 156.
Astypalae, the daughter of Phoenix, ii. 156.
Atalante, i. 302. ii. 49.
---------, the curricula of, ii. 301.
Athamas, the son of Omophion, ii. 158.
---------, iii. 71.
Athamanion, the plain, iii. 46.
Athens, a Boeotian city, iii. 47.
Atheneum, ii. 321.
Atheneus, iii. 199.
---------, the Ephesian pugilist, ii. 85.
Atheneus, the town, i. 230.
 Athenian islands, an account of, i. 96.
---------, ii. 97.
Athenians surpassed other nations in piety to the gods, i. 42.
Athens, i. 229.
Athletics, the inhabitants of, in Olympia, ii. 131.
Athmoneans, palace of, i. 39.
Aulis, the Roman general, ii. 166.
Atlas, the great height of, successfully employed by Proclus as an argument for the truth of the Platonic theory of the earth, iii. 235.
---------, the magnitude of, according to the Euphrates historians, iii. 236.
Atreus, the sons of, a picture of, iii. 156.
Attajius, the Theban, ii. 172.
Attalus, greatest exploit of, i. 19.
---------, and Ptolemy, the transactions of, i. 14-17.
---------, king of Pergamus, iii. 126.
Attes, the history of, according to the Gauls, ii. 191.
Athias, i. 6.
Attes and Dindymene, the sable of, explained, iii. 298.
Augus, the daughter of Aleus, ii. 232.
---------, a picture of, iii. 161.
Augusta, the son of Eleus, ii. 3.
Augustus, in the Greek tongue, signifies venerable, i. 261.
---------, Caesar, i. 310. 312. 390.-392.
---------, statue of, ii. 31.
---------, laid waste Calydon and the other parts of Eetolia, ii. 194.
---------, caused Patro to be re-inhabited, ii. 194.
---------, subverted the country of the Aetolians, in order to people Nicopolis, iii. 189.
Aulis, the city, iii. 38.
Autesion, the son of Tisamenus, iii. 13.
Autolycus, the pantholast, iii. 67.
---------, the son of Mercury, ii. 232.
Automate, the daughter of Danaus, ii. 148.
Autonoe, i. 129.
---------, the symbohcal signification of, iii. 250.
Autosthenes, the Athenian archon, i. 372.
Auzesia, i. 207.
Auzo, one of the Graces, according to the Athenians, iii. 72.
Axeus, the son of Clymenus, iii. 76.
Axion, a picture of, iii. 183.
---------, the son of Phegeus, ii. 275.
Azan, the son of Arcas, ii. 231.

B.

Bacchae, statues of, i. 144.
Bacchus, a statue so called, i. 130.144.
Bacchides, Corinthian kings so called, i. 135.
Bacchus, the son of Prunus, i. 135.
Bacchus Cephallen, a brazen image of the head of, iii. 135.
---------, Daryllian, i. 119.
---------, why represented holding a torch, iii. 194.
---------, why called Melpomenes, iii. 194.
---------, the Saviour, a wooden statue of, i. 227.
---------, the meaning of the sable of, in which he is said to have led back Vulcan to heaven, iii. 206.
---------, why called Nyctellus, iii. 247.
---------, why called Pala, or wings, iii. 278.
---------, the, who first led an army to
INDEX.

Bolet, the, heaps of chosen stones so called, i. 295.
Bolgius, the Gallic general, iii. 136.
Bolina, the city, ii. 208.
Bolusnaus, the river, ii. 208.
Booonets, a place in Sparta so called, i. 264.
Boreas, ii. 49.
Bouleuterion, the Arcadian, i. 292.
Branchylides, a Boeotian chief, iii. 26.
Braxia, a city of the Eleutheraeones, i. 295.
Brass, why dedicated in particular to Dodonaean Jupiter, iii. 300.

—— why called vocal by Homer, iii. 300.

—— according to the Pythagoreans, accords with every diviner spirit, iii. 300.
Brauron, the town, i. 91.
Brennus, the Gallic general, iii. 196.
Brenthe, the city, ruins of, ii. 237.
Brentheates, the river, ii. 18.
Brigantians, the, in Britannia, ii. 319.
Brinas, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Bria, the town, i. 290.
Briesis, a picture of, iii. 155.
Britomartis, the offspring of Jupiter and Carne, the daughter of Eubulus, i. 207.

—— what a compound of, iii. 275.
Broteas, the son of Tantalus, the sty-
tuary, i. 297
Bryas, the, the hero, the son of Japhetus
and Thorka, ii. 286.

Bryaxias, the, the son of Libye, iii. 373.
Bucella, the promontory, i. 290.
Bucolion, the son of Leas, ii. 234.
Bulis, the city, iii. 187.
Bulla, Paeonian, iii. 41.
Bunus, the son of Mercury, i. 137.
Bopalus, the architect and sty-
tuary, i. 392. ii. 74.
Buphaghus, the river, ii. 286.
Buphagus, the, i. 16.

—— the, the, the son of Amphion, and
Boea, the poetess, verses of, iii. 101.
Boeostus, the son of Itonus, iii. 1.
Boethus, the sty-

Boeon, one of the sons of Hercules, i. 299.

Bocotis, the son of Itonus, iii. 1.
Boethus, the sty-

Boeon, one of the sons of Hercules, i. 299.
INDEX.

C.

Camar, the, the same with the Curetes, according to their mundane subsistence, iii. 311.
Cabin Ceres and Proserpine, a grove of, iii. 49.
Cechales, the river, ili. 172.
Cadmea, the city, ili. 9.
Cadmus, i. 293.
———, the symbolical signification of, ili. 950.
———, the meaning of the marriage of, with Harmonia, ili. 308.
Caneopolis, the town of, 259. 307.
Cagaco, the fountain, i. 304.
Caicus, the river, ii. 232.
Caio, the Roman emperor, ili. 53.
Calame, the village, i. 393.
Calamis, the statuary, i. 152. ii. 68.
Calais, the island, ii. 216. ili. 100.
Calchas, ili. 155.
Calias, the son of Lysimachides, ili. 192.
———, the Olympic pæstatiast, ii. 22.
Callicles, the statuary, ii. 93.
Callicrates caused the Achaioi, through prodification, so become subject to the Romans, ili. 173.
———, a victor in the armed course in the Olympic games, ili. 121.
Calligus, ili. 291.
Callimachus, the statuary, i. 70. ili. 5.
———, extract from the hymn of, to Apollo, ili. 295.
Callipatra, ili. 15.
Calliphas, the Nymph, ili. 136.
Calliphon, the painter, ili. 157.
Callippus, the historian, ili. 56.
Callirhoe, the fountain, ii. 202.
———, the daughter of Achemus, ii. 275.
Callis, the pæstatiast, ili. 90.
Callisteophon, the name of a wild olive tree in Olympia, ili. 38.
Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, ii. 65. ili. 230.
———, a picture of, ili. 168.
Callistratonicus, the statuary, ili. 31.
Callistideas, the statuary, ii. 74.
———, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Callon Aginaeia, the statuary, i. 214.
———, a picture of, ili. 68. 74.

Callon, a victorious pæstatiast in the Olympic games, ii. 106.
Calysthous, the statuary, ili. 192.
Calyphon, the painter, ii. 49.
Camberas, the Gallic general, ili. 135.
Cameis, Indian, ili. 41.
Camiro, the daughter of Pasander, a picture of, ili. 164.
Canthus, the statuary, i. 152. ii. 106.
———, ili. 20. 112.
Caneophonus, virgins so called, i. 71.
———, why so called, ili. 290.
Cantilus, the statuary, ii. 32.
Capani, the son of Hipponous, ili. 18.
Capetus, ii. 133.
Caphys, the city, ii. 254.
Caprificus, i. 104.
Caprus, the wrestler and pancratist, ili. 114. 115.
Car, the son of Phoroneus, i. 108.
Carnus, the king of Macedonia, ili. 87.
Cardamyle, i. 310.
Cardan Hieronynus, i. 34. 36.
Cares, the, ili. 151.
Cari, the tower, ili. 111.
Carnal, the city, ili. 131.
Carnesium, a town of the Messenians, ili. 999.
Carnus, the grove, ii. 399.
Carneus, i. 267.
Carnation, the river, ii. 289.
Carnius, a grove of Apollo, near Pharsae, ili. 392.
Carpeis, a city of Iberia, ili. 123.
Carpus, a name of one of the seasons, ili. 72.
Caryc, i. 259.
Cassander, i. 67.
———, rebuilt Thebes, through his hatred of Alexander, ili. 15.
———, deservedly punished for his guilty conduct, ili. 15.
Cassandra, ii. 50.
———, a picture of, ili. 156.
Cassotis, the fountain, ili. 152.
Castalia, the water of, ili. 109.
Castalius, ili. 103.
Castorides, gates so called in Sparta, i. 296.
Catalogue of women, the, a poem, said to be written by Hesiod, i. 206.
Catheus, ii. 389.
Caucon, the son of Calanus, ili. 313.
Cavern under the Athenian tower, and its contents, i. 54.
INDEX.

Caxioius Protogenes, the painter, i. 9.
Cayster, the river, ii. 151.
Cecrops, i. 6. ii. 227.
Cecryna, an Achaian city, i. 162.
Cedrus, the river, ii. 309.
Celeae, the town, i. 158.
Celeidens, according to some the founder
of Tritis, ii. 206.
Celeus, a place among the Phliasians, in
which the mysteries of Ceres are cele-
brated, i. 162.
Celenderis, the town, i. 215.
Celeus, a statue so called by Ulysses,  
i. 256.
Cenchres, i. 129. 190.
Cenchres, i. 129.
Cenchrius, the river, ii. 161.
Cephalonia, i. 108.
Cephalus the harper, iii. 105.
Cephalus, i. 102. 256.
Cepheus, the son of Aleus, ii. 232.
Cepheus, the general of the Ath-
ian horse, ii. 245.
Cepheisodotus, the statuary, ii. 292. iii.
31. 59.
Cepheisodotus, the Bconian commander,
ii. 139.
Cepheus the lake, iii. 46. 80.
Cephaenus, the river, i. 105. iii. 46.
Ceramicus, i. 5.
Cerberus, what is signified by Hercules
dragging him up from Hades, iii.
277.
Cercyon, i. 107.
Ceres, why called Aneisidora, iii. 228.
Ceres, a beautiful account of, from the
MSS. Scholia of Plocitis on the
Crayusa, iii. 228.
Ceres, black, a statue of, ii. 285.
Ceres, a sacred cavern of, ii. 315.
Cerdaeis, an effigy of, ii. 258.
Cethon, called Chthonus, ii. 272.
Cerisy, called Erinyes by the Thelphus,
ii. 278.
Cerisy, called Louis by the Arcadiens, ii.
278.
Cerisy, why called Themophoros, iii.
226.
Ceresseus, the town, iii. 28.
Cerethrius, the Gallic general, i. 196.
Ceryneus, the town, ii. 216.
Ceryneus, i. 200.
Cerynyes, the river, ii. 216.
Ceyx, i. 90.
Chares, the Sicyonian pupilist, ii. 81.
Chalactis, a place so called in Erythrae,
ii. 161.
Chalcedon, ii. 183.
Chaldaeans and Magi, the first that as-
serted the soul of man was immortal,
i. 397.
Chang, why said by Hesiod to be the
first thing that was generated, iii.
315.
Charcom, a place so called in Sparta,
ii. 298.
Charadna, the city, iii. 95. 176.
Charadus, the torrent, i. 191. 399. ii.
207. iii. 176.
Charilaus, i. 235.
Charillus, the son of Polydeuces, i.
248.
Charillus, led an army against the Te-
gestes, ii. 235.
Charisim, the son of Euthys, i.
236.
Charinus, a victor in the Olympic
games, ii. 114.
Chasipia, the city, ii. 229.
Charisius, ii. 229.
Charon, the ferryman of Hades, a pic-
ture of, iii. 160.
Charon, the son of Pytheus, iii. 191.
Charisias, the statuary, ii. 65.
Chersonesus, ii. 65.
Chersonissus the poet, verses of, iii. 80.
Chester in the temple of Juno, description
of the, ii. 44.
Chil, the particulars of, according to the
poet Ion, ii. 157.
Children, how justly punished for the
crimes of their parents, iii. 266.
Chilon, ii. 10.
Chiron, the wrestler, ii. 86.
Chiron, the Spartan, ii. 150.
Chimarrus, the river, i. 226.
Chione, i. 104.
Chionis, Laco, i. 404.
Chionis, a victor in the Olympic games,
ii. 372.
Chios, a city of the Ionians, ii. 158.
Chrisophus, the statuary, ii. 380.
Chiron the centaur, of what the emblem,
ii. 276.
Chius composes a hymn to Opportunity,
ii. 37.
Cloricia, the statue of, i. 182.
Cloricia, a picture of, iii. 167.
Chorillus, the statuary, ii. 119.
Chorius, the grove, ii. 390.
Chryses, the daughter of Halmus, iii.
74.
Chryses, the son of Neptune, i. 95.
Chryses, the priest of Juno, i. 178.
Chrysogone, the daughter of Halmus, ii. 74. 75.
Chrysorhoea, the river, i. 218.
Chrysothemis, the statuary, ii. 101.
—, the son of Carmanor, iii. 105.
Cicero, iii. 274.
Cillas, ii. 26.
Cimon, the son of Miltiades, found the bones of Theseus, i. 288.
—, an invention of, ii. 241.
Cimon, the poet, iii. 338.
—, the Lacedaemonian, who genealogized in verse, i. 134.
Circe, ii. 51.
—, an account of, from the MSS. Schol. of Proclus on the Cratylus, iii. 287.
Circe, a haven of the Delphi, iii. 90. 109. 187.
—, the nymph, iii. 188.
Cissa, the fountain, ii. 252.
Cissae, a wooden statue of Minerva so called, i. 202.
Cissaeus, iii. 87.
Cisus, i. 194. 200.
Citheron, a king of the Plateenses, iii. 1. 5.
—, the mountain, i. 103.
Citheronius, a lion so called, i. 112.
Cities, the names of the, that fought against Mardonius and the Medes at Platea, ii. 61.
—, the names of, which were persuaded by the Arcadians to choose for themselves new habitations, ii. 282.
—, that have been irreparably injured through the baseness of their inhabitants, instances of, iii. 175.
Cladeus, the river, a representation of, ii. 24.
Clazomenae, the city, i. 155.
Clearomachus, the statuary, ii. 85.
Clareostus, a victor in the Olympic quinquennium, ii. 118.
Cleobis and Biton, statues of, i. 177.
Cleobis, a picture of, iii. 160.
Cleobulus, the Lindian, iii. 150.
Cleodice, a picture of, iii. 156.
Cleon, the statuary, i. 63.
—, the first that framed the barriers for the Olympic games, ii. 129.
Cleoghenes, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 77.
Cleolaus, ii. 59.
Cleolaus, ii. 282.
Cleobrotus, king of the Lacedaemonians, attacks the Boeotians at Leuctra, i. 245.
Cleomedes, the pugilist, ii. 99.
Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, disposition of, i. 149.
—, war about Silasia, flight and death of, i. 149.
—, the son of Anaxandrides, makes an incursion into Argolis, i. 239.
—, passes into Aegina, i. 240.
—, accused by Demaratus, i. 240.
—, dies insane, i. 240.
—, the younger son of Cleobrotus, i. 245.
Cleon, the statuary, ii. 44. 55. 77. 83. 97. 98. 102.
—, the Magnesian, iii. 98.
Cleomenes, an Arcolic city, i. 163.
Cleonnus, i. 334.
Cleonymus, the son of Cleomenes, i. 245. 385.
Cleopatra, the daughter of Ida, i. 316.
Cleopompus, iii. 103.
Cleopas, the son of Codrus, ii. 155.
Cleothenes, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 101.
Cleotratius, the destroyer of a dragon that infested the city Thebas, iii. 32.
Clepsydra, the fountain, i. 398.
Cleso, i. 117.
Cleson, i. 108.
Climax, a place in Arcadia, ii. 237.
Clinomachus, a victor in the Olympic quinquennium, ii. 114.
Clithenes, i. 150.
—, a victor in the Pythian chariot-race, iii. 106.
Clithenia, a porch so called, i. 150.
Clitodemus, the Attic historian, iii. 126.
Clitomachus, a famous victor in the Olympic games, ii. 114.
Clitor, the son of Azan, ii. 231.
—, the city, ii. 263.
Clumnus, a picture of, iii. 155. 163.
Clymenus, the son of Pheboson, iii. 76.
—, the son of Cardis, established games in Olympia, ii. 18.
Clitie, the daughter of Pandarus, a picture of, iii. 164.
Cocalus, king of Incyus, i. 157.
Cocoes, the bramble, called by the Gauls Us, iii. 184.
Cock, the, a bird sacred to the sun, iii. 291.
INDEX.

Cocks, Tanagrous, called Cossupholi, or black birds, iii. 43.
Cocytus, i. 43.
Codrus, i. 107.
——, the son of Melanthus, ii. 386.
Coerlus, the thicket, i. 312.
Colias, promontory of, i. 3.
Colonus, i. 409.
Colchis, a statue of, i. 87.
Colonides, the, i. 409.
Colonoe, a Trojan town, iii. 123.
Colonias, i. 222.
Colophonians, the, sacrifice a canine whelp to Enodian Hecate, i. 372.
——, warred on the Macedonians, ii. 154.
Colossal statue in Thebes of a very singular nature, i. 115.
Colotes, the, made a table of ivory and gold for the temple of Juno, among the Eleusins, ii. 52.
Comasthor the priestess, ii. 196.
Combatas, a commander of the Gauls, unparalleled cruelty of, ii. 144.
Cometes, the son of Tismenetus, ii. 162.
Comosandalus, the flower, i. 223.
Conchites, the stone, i. 122.
Condylea, a place in Arcadia, ii. 272.
Conon, the son of Timotheus, i. 63.
——, ii. 254, i. 337.
——, a dream of, i. 379.
Consolatrix, the goddess, a statue of, ii. 119.
Constellation, called the Goat, injurious to vines, i. 160.
Coes, the island of, i. 301.
Cope, the city, iii. 47.
Corcyra, the daughter of Asopus, ii. 61.
Corcyraex, a porch so called by the Eleusins, ii. 140.
Corisaeus, a priest of Bacchus, remarkable story of, ii. 201.
Corinna, the poetess, iii. 39.
——, vanished Pindar at Thebes, in the composing of verses, and why she did so, i. 43.
Corinthians, more ancient, an account of the, i. 125.
Corinthian kings, an account of, i. 145.
Corinthus, i. 185.
Corusbus, the son of Mygdon, a picture of, ii. 158.
Corone, the city, i. 401.
Coronis, a wooden statue of, i. 156.
Coronus, the son of Thersander, iii. 71.
Corose, the town, iii. 47.
Corybas, the same with the sun, iii. 297.
Corycia, the nymph, iii. 103.
Corycium, the cavern, iii. 103. 170.
Cosmometer, i. 144.
Costoboci, the, a band of robbers, iii. 180.
Cotys, a porch so called, i. 199.
Cranae, the island, i. 296.
Cranus, i. 6.
Craneum, a grove of cypresses so called, i. 130.
Cratemenes, the Samian, i. 373.
Crathis, the river, ii. 217.
Cratisius, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 81.
——, the statuary, ii. 98.
Cratisthenes, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 191.
Craugus, the father of Philopoemen, ii. 329.
Crauxidas, a victor with the horse in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Creon, the son of Menoeceus, iii. 12.
Cresphontes, the son of Aristomachus, i. 173, 317, 390. ii. 7. 234.
Creusa, ii. 151.
Cretan, the son of Diocles, i. 391.
Creugas, the Epidamnian puglist, particulars of, ii. 312.
Creusus, a picture of, iii. 155.
Creusus, a haven of the Thespians, iii. 65.
Criasius, a victor in the armed Olympic course, ii. 178.
Criophylus, i. 315.
Criso Himarius, victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 62.
Crisus, the son of Phoecus, i. 203.
Criterion, the, or tribunal of judgment, i. 179.
Criophon, the statuary, i. 21, ii. 81.
Critobulus, iii. 139.
Critoclus, the puglist, ii. 97.
Critoclus, i. 185.
——, persuades the Achalians to take up arms against the Romans, ii. 182
——, the flight and death of, ii. 184.
Crixus, the river, ii. 224.
——, the prophet, i. 267.
——, a king of Euboea, iii. 104.
Croesus, a Lacedaemonian village, i. 294.
Croesus, i. 103.
INDEX.

Crocoon, a victor in the Olympic games with the vaulting horse, ii. 111.
Cresus, l. 323. ii. 327.
Crom, the city, ii. 229.
Cromion, a Corinthian town, i. 126.
Cromi, the village, ii. 229.
Crommyonian boar, the meaning of the, iii. 220.
Cronus, ii. 229.
Cronus, l. 133.
Croton, l. 133.
Croton, the, i. 269.
Crotonian, report of the, concerning Helon, l. 269.
Crotopas, l. 119. 166.
Crow, the island of, in Arcadia, ii. 279.
Crytanes, the city, iii. 47.
Cretan, the son of Actor, i. 150.
Cresias, the historian, iii. 41.
Cretus, the son of Hercules, l. 278.
Cthons, an appellation of Ceres, i. 222.
Chonias, the Spartan, iii. 9.
Cuckoo, the meaning of Jupiter changing himself into a, iii. 266.
Cuma, a country belonging to the Opici, a people of Campania, ii. 206.
Curetes, the, an explanation of, iii. 265.
Cyana, the daughter of Scyllis, a statue of, iii. 134.
Cyanippus, the son of Ægialeus, i. 172. 209.
Cyathus, the boy, the wine-bearer of Æneas, l. 161.
Cyclop, the, a gate made by them, i. 167.
Cyclops, the, a gate made by them, i. 167.
———, made the wall in Thynthus, l. 167.
———, made a stone head of Medusa, l. 179.
———, built the walls of Thyns, l. 182.
Cycnus, eagles so called, which in their whiteness resembles swans, ii. 262.
Cycnus, the son of Neptune, l. 78. iii. 123.
———, the meaning of the metamorphoses of, into a swan, iii. 225.
Cydias, the Athenian, iii. 142.
Cydos, ii. 399.
Cydonia, the city, iii. 95.
Cydnon, a statue of, ii. 112.
Cylass, the son of Sthenelus, l. 172.
Cylass, gymnasia of, i. 185.
Cylax, the son of Elatus, ii. 281.
Cyline, the harbour of the Eleusis, ii. 144.
Cylo, a brazen statue of, i. 75.
Cylon, l. 256. ii. 11.
Cymon, l. 75.
Cynethanassa, ii. 59.
———, the, ii. 266.
Cynicosa, the daughter of Archidamus, i. 951. li. 81.
Cynicusa, the pugilist, ii. 87.
Cynureanae, the, were colonized by Cy-narus the son of Perseus, i. 234.
Cyphantes, the, i. 302.
Cyprian, verses, the author of the, i. 316. iii. 156.
Cypselai, chests so called by the Corinthian, ii. 45.
Cyprus, the Corinthian king, i. 136. ii. 5. 44.
Cyprus, the son of Ægyptus, ii. 234.
Cyrrhos, the island, iii. 100.
Cyrus the elder, deserved to be called the father of mankind, ii. 320.
Cytherea, l. 299.
Cythereus, the river, ii. 136.

D.

Dedalos, the greater and lesser, iii. 6.
Dedalus, l. 54. 71. 136. ii. 80. 84.
———, descended from that royal Athenian family, called Metionidae, ii. 157.
Dedalus, two of the works of, iii. 85. 111.
Demos, τὰξιν σχνιν, or according to habitue, an account of, iii. 208.
Dontos, the statury, ii. 119.
Dalmenes, the son of Tisamenus, ii. 162.
Daiphanes, iii. 92.
Daippos, the statury, ii. 106. 117.
Damagetus, king of Lysius, l. 374.
———, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 93.
Damascius, extract from the treatise of, on principles, iii. 306.
Damasius, the son of Penthius, ii. 162.
Damsichthon, the son of Cidus, ii. 153.
———, a king of the Thebans, iii. 18.
Damasistratus, iii. 100.
Damasus, ii. 154.
Dameon, ii. 130.
Damas, the statury, iii. 111.
INDEX.

Danis, chosen general of the Messenian forces, i. 346.
Damacus, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 80.
Damithales, ii. 259.
Damoecidas, ii. 26.
Damaclitus, ii. 140.
Damen, the Corinthian, i. 347.
——, the Thaurian, i. 584.
Damacon, the son of Euctemon, ii. 150.
Damonius, ii. 58.
Damonillus, iii. 26.
Damophon, the statuary, i. 393. ii. 209. 305.
Damegeidas, the pugilist, ii. 90.
Danaus, king, i. 165. 174. 263.
——, a statue of, iii. 114.
Daphne and Leucippus, the story of, ii. 266.
——, chosen by Earth priestess of the oracle of Apollo, iii. 100.
Dascylus, the village, i. 407.
Dase, the city, ii. 229.
Dasias, the Mede, iii. 160.
Daulis, the city, iii. 95.
Daulis the nymph, the daughter of Cephalus, ii. 98.
Decadarchus, the, iii. 14.
Degaemenus, ii. 8.
Deidamia, the daughter of Pyrrhus, i. 405.
Deinomoe, a picture of, iii. 156.
Deioneus, i. 102.
Deiphantes, the son of Antimachus, i. 174. 194.
Dellion, a place in the country of the Tanagraeans, iii. 59.
Delphic temple, an account of the offerings in the, iii. 110.
Delphiniwm, a tribunal in Attica, i. 78.
Delphos, the son of Apollo and Thetis, iii. 103.
——, the temple of, by whom plundered, iii. 104.
Delta, i. 180.
Demaratus, the son of Aristomenes, i. 350.
——, the first that conquered in the race with shields, in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
——, a victor in the armed course in the Olympic games, ii. 101.
——, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 112.
——, a victor in the armed Pythian course, iii. 106.
Demarchus, the pugilist, ii. 96.
Demarmenus, ii. 33.

Demetrius, the son of Philip, subjected Messene to the Macedonians, i. 387.
Demo, the prophetess, iii. 119.
Democles, the Athenian archon, iii. 150.
Democrates, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 118.
Democritus, the statuary, ii. 81.
Demoneha, the sister of Amphikelos, i. 275.
——, the daughter of Amphiarous, iii. 13.
Demophon, i. 77.
——, a picture of, iii. 154.
Demosthenes, statue of, &c. i. 20.
——, extract from the first oration of, against Aristogiton, iii. 246.
Deritis, ii. 194.
Derrhion, i. 292.
Despoina, a sacred grove of, ii. 306.
Dexamenes, king of the Olenians, ii. 6.
Dias, the Megalopolitan, circumvents the Achaia, iii. 178.
Dias, general of the Achaia, the madness of, ii. 185.
Diagon, the river, ii. 132.
Diagoras, the son of Damagetus, i. 374.
Dimeridae, the, i. 374.
Diallus, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 108.
Diana, why represented as a huntress, iii. 206.
——, accustomed to be present at the celebration of her mysteries, iii. 294.
——, why called Ariste and Calliste, iii. 222.
——, Amarysia, i. 87.
——, Codreias, a statue of, ii. 254.
——, Cugia, the particulars of, i. 283.
——, Derrhiasia, a statue of, i. 292.
——, Ephesia, a statue of, i. 130.
——, called Eurippe by Ulysses, ii. 256.
——, Isoria, i. 306.
——, Laphira, i. 394.
——, called Ephesia by all cities, i. 394.
——, Leucophryne, a brazen statue of, i. 69.
——, a statue of, i. 284.
——, Patra, a statue of, i. 150.
——, Phereza, the statue of, i. 187.
——, the Saviour, a grove of, ii. 222.
——, Taurica, a statue of, i. 61.
Dictaearchus, a city near the Tyrrhenian sea, ii. 238.

VOL. III.
INDEX.

Dios, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 83.
Didas, the Olympic puglist, ii. 58.
Didymus, the city, iii. 116.
Dilophes, a brazen statue of, i. 59.
Dindymene and Attys, the fable of, explained, iii. 298.
Din, the town, ii. 238.
Dinocrates, ii. 335.
Dinoctheus, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 77.
Diosmetes, the son of Hiero, ii. 107. 317.
Dinosithenes, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 117.
Diocles, i. 391.
Diogenes, iii. 139.
Diogenes, i. 104.
Diomed, the statue of, i. 178.
First instituted Pythian games in honour of Apollo, i. 213.
A statue of, iii. 114.
Dionysia, the fountain, i. 409.
Dionysiae, the, i. 268.
Dionysicle, the statuary, ii. 18.
Dionysius, the statuary, ii. 72.
Diophanes, the son of Diomus, i. 291.
Diobanthus, the Athenian archon, ii. 312.
Diores, the son of Amaranthus, ii. 7.
Dios, the city, iii. 61.
Dioscuri, the remarkable story of, i. 277.
, brazen statues of, i. 308.
, said by the Messenians to be born in their city, i. 394.
A grove of, ii. 296.
Dipenos, the statuary, i. 164. 185. 214. ii. 44. 126.
Dioe, the wife of Lycurus, iii. 94.
The river, iii. 48.
Disponentes, the son of Oenomaus, ii. 155.
Divination by oracles, beautiful explanation of, from Jamblichus De Mysteriis, iii. 318.
Dios, ii. 8.
Dodd, Dr. extract from his elegant translation of Callimachus' hymn to Apollo, iii. 295.
Dodona, an account of the oracle of, iii. 301.
Dontas, the statuary, ii. 126.
Donus, the city, ii. 221.
Doridas, i. 185.
Doricenses, the return of the, into Peloponnesus, ii. 288.
Dorius, the son of Asaundrides, i. 239.

Darius, a victor in the Olympic pantaleum, ii. 93.
Darius, the city, ruins of, i. 400.
Dorcylei, exiles so called, i. 111.
Doryclidas, the statuary, ii. 44.
Doryssus, i. 235.
Dotadas, the son of Isthmus, i. 319.
Draeco, the Athenian lawyer, iii. 76.
Dragons, sacred to Asclepius, ii. 265.
Dragons, why sacred to Asclepius, iii. 264.
Dragou, the meaning of a child being changed into one, iii. 294.
Drepanon, the promontory, ii. 209.
Dromen, a victor in the Olympic chariot-race, ii. 95.
A place so called in Sparta, i. 270.
Dropson, the son of Dion, iii. 120.
Drymias, the city, iii. 93. 178.
Dryopis, the, i. 331.
Duranteus, the horse, the head of, a picture of, iii. 156.
Duris, a victorious puglist in the Olympic games, ii. 108.
Durus, a brazen horse so called, i. 61.
The horse, ii. 112.
Dyme, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 190.
Dymas, the son of Erimius, ii. 190.
Dysaulus, the brother of Celenus, i. 162.
Dyscinthos, the Athenian archon, i. 384.

E.

Earth, an opening of, into which the water ran after the deluge of Deucalion, i. 46.
why called a mighty goddess, iii. 227.
The summit of, according to Homer and Plato, ethereal, iii. 227.
Earthquakes, previous signals of, given by divinity, and what these signals are, ii. 212.
Ebon, account of, from a Cyprian botanist, i. 116.
Echelates, iii. 128.
Echedamia, the city, iii. 95.
Echobrotus, the piper, iii. 105.
Echimous, the son of Eileopon, i. 112.
ii. 283.
Echephron, the son of Hercules, ii. 273.
Echepolis, the son of Alcaeus, i. 116.
Echestratus, the son of Agis, i. 234.
Echeclus, the hero, i. 89.
Echonas, a picture of, iii. 153.
INDEX.

Echus, a porch so called among the 
Hermionenses, i. 224.
Ecdelus, the disciple of Arsesius, and 
preceptor of Philopomen, ii. 329.
Echidna, the island, ii. 275.
Echion, iii. 9.
Ectene the, the first inhabitants of 
Thebes, iii. 9.
Edifice in Athens, an account of the 
pictures it contains, i. 57.
Egyptians, why all the statues of their 
demons were raised on sailing ves-
sels, iii. 297.
Eionene, a picture of, iii. 158.
Elaphus, the river, ii. 303.
Elasus, a picture of, iii. 156.
Elatae, the city, iii. 179.
Elatus, the son of Ares, ii. 231.
Eleana, the accused by the Lacede-
monians of various crimes, i. 251.
----------, particulars of the anti-
quity of, ii. 2.
----------, partook of the Trojan 
war, ii. 10.
----------, unwillingly warred on 
the Athenians, ii. 10.
----------, opposed the Spartans, ii. 
10.
----------, united with the Macedo-
nians, ii. 10.
----------, assisted Philip, ii. 10.
----------, warred on the Macedo-
nians, ii. 10.
----------, instituted games for boys, 
ii. 20.
Eleatas, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
Eleatra, l. 233.
----------, the town, i. 400.
----------, a picture of, iii. 153.
Electryon, the father of Alcmena, i. 
193.
Elegies and funeral dirges accommo-
dated to the melody of pipes, iii. 106.
Elegg, the word, used by Pausanias as 
synonymous with epigram, iii. 299.
Elephant, prominences from the mouth 
of horns and not teeth, ii. 29.
Eleus, the son of Eurycyda, reigned 
over the Epeans, ii. 3.
Eleus, king of Elis, ii. 7.
Eleusis, the hero, i. 105.
----------, a Boeotian city, iii. 47.
Eleusinian mysteries, the, Pausanias 
restrained by a dream from divul-
ging, i. 37.
----------, disclosed by 
the latter Platonists, iii. 200.
Eleuther, the son of Apollo, iii. 39.
----------, a Pythian victor, iii. 105.
Eleutheremon, a river in Mycenae, i. 168.
Elis, a statue of, ii. 116.
Elison, the river, i. 157.
Emathion, a victor in the Olympic sta-
dium, ii. 119.
Embos, a place so called in Altis, ii. 
39.
Emilus, the stauraty, ii. 44.
Emperamus the Spartan, a servant of, 
by committing adultery with the wife 
of a Messenian, causes Ira to be taken, 
i. 364.
Enceladus, the giant, ii. 325.
Endius, the stauraty, ii. 160. 325.
Endymion, the adytum of, ii. 2.
----------, the son of Excelius, ii. 18.
----------, the fable of, explained, iii. 
283.
Enneacronus, a fountain in Attica, i. 
36.
Ennus, the poet, iii. 155.
Enope, the city, i. 310.
Eunus, the son of Anceus, ii. 156.
Euryalleus in fetters, an ancient statue of, 
i. 274.
Euen the great, verses so called, i. 129.
167. 194. 314. iii. 167.
----------, verses from, iii. 76. 86.
Elpenor, a picture of, iii. 163.
Elpyros, the city, iii. 127.
Epaminondas, a remarkable vision of, 
in a dream, i. 380.
----------, sacrifices to Bacchus and 
Ismenian Apollo, i. 563.
----------, builds Messene, i. 353.
----------, particulars of, ii. 249.
----------, restored Greece to some 
degree of vigour, ii. 337.
----------, a statue of, iii. 24.
----------, the transactions of, iii. 
25—31.
----------, slain by an Athenian 
at Mantines, iii. 59.
Epeolus, the prophet, i. 335.
Eperatus, the prophet, a victor in the 
amed Olympic course, ii. 119.
Epeus made the wooden horse, accord-
ing to Homer, i. 203.
----------, a picture of, iii. 156.
Ephebeum, a place so called in Sparta, 
i. 272.
Ephesus, ii. 151.
Ephialtes, iii. 56.
Ephori, the Spartan, i. 260.
Ephyes, the daughter of Ocean, i. 125.
Epicnadius, a victorious pugilist in the 
Olympic games, ii. 102.
Epicrates, i. 256.
Epidaurus, i. 193.
INDEX.

Epidaurian kings, an account of, i. 194.

Epidaurians, a theatre of the, i. 198.

Epidauros Periphetes, the son of Vulcan, i. 126.

—, the son of Pelops, i. 194.

—, a city of the Eleutherolaecones, i. 295.

— called Limer, i. 301.

Epidothe, the name of a demon venerated by the Spartans, i. 282.

Epigonoi, the, wareed on Thesee, iii. 19.

Epigrans on the tomb of Phytalus, i. 101.

Epimelides, i. 402.

Epimenides, i. 287. ii. 286.

Epimetheus, a definition of, iii. 212.

Epimides, one of the Curetes, ii. 17.

Epiops, a statue of, i. 199. 202.

Epipyrgidia, a statue of Hecate so called, with three bodies joined in one, i. 206.

Epiteles, the son of Aeschynis, remarkable dream of, i. 380.

Epithersis, a victor in the Olympic and Pythian games, ii. 115.

Epochus, the son of Lycurgus, ii. 233.

Eponymous, the Spartan, i. 260.

Epopeus, war of, against the Thebans, i. 140.

Erasinus, the river, i. 226. ii. 269.

—, derives its origin from the Stythllus of Arcadia, i. 190.

Erasus, the son of Triphylus, iii. 111.

Eraton, the nymph, ii. 307.

Erechetes, statue of, i. 72.

Eræus, the town, i. 122.

Eresus, a picture of, iii. 158.

Eretria, enslaved through prodition, ii. 172.

Ergatia, gods so called, the statues of, ii. 296.

Erginias, a king of the Orchemenians, and eldest son of Clymenus, iii. 33. 77.

Ergoteles, a victor in the Olympic dolichos, ii. 87.

Erichthonius, the faile of, explained, iii. 197.

Eridanus, the banks of, produce the black poplar, ii. 36.

Erigone, the daughter of Agisthus, i. 172.

Eriphyle, ii. 45. 275.

—, the necklace of, iii. 88.

—, a picture of, iii. 163.

Brochus, the city, iii. 95.

Erxileides, the Athenian archon, iii. 102.

Erymanthus, the river, ii. 16. 132. 273.

Erythrae, the daughter of Geryon, iii. 130.

Erythrae, the city, ruins of, iii. 3.

Erythrai, they, refer their origin to Erythrae, the son of Rhadamantus, ii. 154.

Erythrae, the son of Leucon, ii. 134.

Eryx, i. 277. 408.

Eteocles, iii. 12.

— the first that sacrificed to the Graces, i. 72.

Eteocles, ii. 84. iii. 67.

Eris, the city, i. 289.

Eunuch, the daughter of Hylus, i. 314.

Eunomia, the Spartan, i. 321.

Evagoras, i. 203.

—, Zanchus, i. 69.

Eucia, a victorious puglist in the Olympic games, ii. 117.

Euamerion, sacrificed to as to a god, i. 156.

Evander, the son of Mercury, ii. 319.

Evanorides, the wrestler, ii. 96.

Euanthes, the puglist, i. 87.

Euanthes, the son of Oenopion, i. 158.

Evibus, the statuary, iii. 22.

Evubesa, i. 168.

Eubotus, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 96.

Eubulus, the son of Carmanor, i. 206.

Euchirus, the statuary, ii. 85.

Eucleus, a victor in the Olympic contest of boxing with men, ii. 90. 93.

Eulides, the statuary, ii. 217.

Eulas, the prophet, iii. 120.

Euergetidas, a noble Messenian, i. 366.

—, migrates to the mountain Lyceas, i. 371.

Euesperites, the, a people of Libya, i. 379.

Euippus, the daughter of Leucon, iii. 72.

Euippus, i. 112.

Euonomus, his account of two large skeletons, iii. 242.

Eumelis, i. 319.

Eumelus, the author of a history of Corinth, i. 125.

—, verses of, iii. 398.

— the architect, ii. 51.

— the first king of Patras, ii. 193.

Eumolpia, a Grecian piece, of poetical composition, ii. 100.

Eumolpus, statue of, i. 72.
INDEX.

Eumomus, the son of Prytanis, i. 248.
Euphaes, the son of Antiocbus, i. 324.
— — —, his speech to the Messenians, i. 327.
— — — —, his speech to the Messenian army, i. 330.
— — — —, and Theopompus fight with each other, i. 333.
Eupheme, the nurse of the Muses, iii. 57.
Euphemus, ii. 46.
Euphronios, the son of Alcimachus, ii. 172.
Euphorion Chalcidensis, i. 178. iii. 157.
Eupolemus, the architect, i. 169.
— — —, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 82.
Eupolus, the Thessalian, ii. 55.
Euripides, sepulchre of, i. 4.
— — —, a statue of, i. 53.
Euripus, i. 103.
Europas, the architect, i. 275.
Europe, the daughter of Phoenix, ii. 156.
Erotas, the son of Myles, i. 231.
— — —, the river, i. 293. iii. 321.
Euryalus, ii. 133.
— — —, a statue of, i. 178. iii. 114.
— — —, a picture of, iii. 154.
Eurybates, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
— — —, a picture of, iii. 153.
Eurycles made a bath for the Corinthians, i. 132.
Euryclides, the orator, i. 149.
Euryocrates, the son of Polydorus, i. 238.
Euryclyde, ii. 2.
Eurydamus, a statue of, iii. 127.
Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedaemon, i. 268.
— — —, the wife of Philip, ii. 44.
Euryganea, the daughter of Hyperphas, iii. 11.
Euryleon, i. 334.
Euryleontia, a statue of, i. 281.
Eurylochus, a picture of, iii. 161.
Eurymachus, a picture of, iii. 159.
Eury nondus, the daemnon, a picture of, iii. 161.
Eurypon, the son of Soos, through his renown, caused the Proclides to be called Eurypontides, i. 248.
Euryppylus, the son of Euenon, particulars of, ii. 198.
— — — —, the son of Telephus, i. 310. iii. 13.
Eurythemenes, the son of Aristodemus, i. 233.

Eurytheus, i. 408.
Eurytion, the centaur, ii. 198
Eurytium, a desolate place in Messene, i. 315.
Eurytus, the son of Melaneus, i. 319.
Eustathius on Homer, a citation from, iii. 300.
Eutelidas, victor over boys in the Olympic quoitnerium, ii. 21.
Eutelidas, the statuary, ii. 101.
Euthymenes, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 97.
Euthymus, the Olympic victor in boxing, i. 91.
Eurychides, the statuary, ii. 79. 82.
Excectides, a victor in the Pythian contest with the two-yoked car, iii. 106.

F.

FABLES of the ancients, a specimen of the manner in which they are to be understood, iii. 195. 196.
Fear, a statue of, i. 133.
Flakes, marine, found in the greatest abundance in the river Acherus, i. 400.
Flamininus, the Roman general, connects the Achaia and Romans in a warlike league, ii. 166.
— — — earnestly endeavours to take Hannibal alive, ii. 251.
Flax, fine, within Elea, ii. 11.
Fortifications, the, a place so called in Sparta, i. 265.
Fortune, instances of, the mutations she causes in cities, ii. 296.
— — — beautiful account of, from Simplicius, iii. 279.
Forum, Spartan, the contents of the, i. 262.
Fountain, built by Thengenes, i. 109.
Fountains of Megaris, L 114.

G.

GABALES, a people so called, i. 128.
Gades, i. 98.
Galate, the, i. 385.
Gallus, the Roman senator, separates many cities from the Achaean council, ii. 175.
Ganymodes, of what the image, iii. 290.
Garapammon, the Olympic pugilist, ii. 58.
Garates, the river, ii. 341.
Gate, sacred, i. 153.
INDEX.

Gasteas, the river, ii. 299.

Gauls, the, an account of their irruption into Greece, i. 9—12. iii. 135—150.

Gedep, remarkable from very early periods for acting in defiance of law and religion, iii. 322.

Gelinor, the son of Sthenela, i. 174.

Genetyllides, the, statues of, i. 3.

Gennes, probably the two.

Venus, the supermundane and mundane, iii. 194.

Geranthre, the town, i. 235.

Geras, a city in Sicily, ii. 63.

Gerens, i. 295. 310.

Geras conducted the Boeotian colony, ii. 154.

Geronthre, i. 295. 297.

Geryon, i. 98. 408.

Gigalas, the statuary, composed Doric songs, and a hymn to Minerva, i. 280. 284.

Glaucus, ii. 71.

Glaucis, the fountain of, i. 133.

Glaucis, the nymph, ii. 326.

Glaucis, the statuary, ii. 99. 104.

Glaucias, a victor in the Olympic games, iii. 105.

Glaucia, a victor in the Olympic perfect chariot-race, ii. 118.

Glaucus, the son of Aegyptus, i. 319.

Glaucus, the statuary, ii. 70.

Glaucus, the river, ii. 193.

Glaucus, the Spartan, ii. 239.

Glaucus, the son of Sisyphus, ii. 130.

Glaucus, a picture of, iii. 159.

Glaucus, a demon of the sea, iii. 44.

Glaucus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 100.

Glaucus, the Chian, first discovered the art of soldering iron, iii. 127.

Glisias, the ruins of, iii. 37.

Glyppis, the town, i. 292.

Gnatho, the pugilist, ii. 95.

Gnothi, the Thessalian, ii. 65.

God of the sea, iii. 44.

Gods, the, called by the ancients a golden chain, on account of their connexion with each other, and incorruptible nature, iii. 194.

God, proved from indubitable authority to have been seen in all mysteries, iii. 295.

Gordus, the meaning of, iii. 249.

Gordus, an account of those that were called by the Greeks, the twelve, iii. 246.

Golden age, the meaning of the, iii. 244.

Gonaeas, the daughter of Sicyon, H. 49.

Gonippeus, i. 381.

Gorgias, i. 391.

Gorgias, the Leontine, a statue of, ii. 126. iii. 134.

Gorgophone, the daughter of Perseus, i. 232. 315.

Gorgus, the son of Aristomenes, i. 362.

Gorgus, a victor in the Olympic quintainium, iii. 112. 115.

Gortyna, ii. 16.

Gortynia, an appellation of Aesculapius, i. 156.

Gortyn, the river, ii. 16. 286.

Gortys, the village, ii. 286.

Gorgias, the, a grove sacred to, i. 220.

Graec, according to Hesiod, the daughters of Jupiter and Eurynome, iii. 73.

Graec, names of, iii. 73.

Graec, the daughters of Aigle and the Sun according to Antimachus, iii. 73.

Graecus, the son of Echelatus, i. 234.

Graniarius, the Brazen statue of, i. 156.

Grecian cities, that opposed Xerxes at Thermopyles, an enumeration of the, iii. 136.

Greece, misfortunes of, and war against the Macedonians, i. 65—67.

Greece, a state of, ii. 116.

Greece, the extreme impolicy of, in the one hundred and sixtieth Olympiad, ii. 189.

Greeks, the shipwreck of, at Capeareus, i. 186.

Greeks, such as were formerly reckoned wise, concealed their wisdom in enigmas, ii. 240.

Greeks, employ more ancient instead of more recent names in poetical compositions, ii. 191.

Greeks, i. 64.

Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, iii. 244.

Gryllus, iii. 31.

Gyges, the son of Dascylus, i. 367.

Gymnasion, called Ptolemaeum, contents of the, i. 42.

Gymnasion, in Elis, ii. 137.

Gymnasion, i. 294.
INDEX.

H.

Hemoniae, a place in Arcadia, ii. 321.

Halartus, the son of Thersander, iii. 72.

— the city, ii. 66.

Halicarnassus, i. 209.

Halice, i. 224.

Halirrhothius, i. 54.

Halitea, the fountain, ii. 161.

Haliasa, the island, i. 220.

Halirnan, the son of Siyphus, iii. 72.

Halus, a place in Arcadia, ii. 277.

Hams, the fountain, ii. 206.

Hamniball, ii. 250.

Hares, white, ii. 262.

Harmostai, the prefects, iii. 14.

Harpalus, i. 217. ii. 194.

Harpocrates, the river, ii. 133.

Harpine, the ruins of, ii. 133.

Harplea, i. 292.

Hearth of the gods, called Prodromeus, i. 114.

Hecate, i. 118.

Hecate, the Milesian, i. 307. 315. ii. 232.

Hecate, why called Eudocia, iii. 275.

Hecatus, the prophet of the Lacedaemonians, i. 352.

— a stratagem of, i. 367.

Hector, a picture of, iii. 167.

Hegesias, the son of Tyrrhenus, i. 181.

Hegemone, one of the Greeks according to the Athenians, iii. 72.

Hegesarchus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 107.

Hegesineus the poet, verses of, iii. 56.

Hegesias, the Trezenian poet, i. 4.

Helen, a bath of, i. 129.

— a picture of, iii. 158.

— the rape of, shown to be fabulous according to Stesichorus and Plato, iii. 271.

Helen, the desert island, ii. 258.

Helenus, a picture of, iii. 154.

Helias, a place of judgment among the Athenians, i. 77.

Helice, an Achaean city, ii. 162. 212.

— shaken from its foundation by an earthquake, ii. 214.

Helicon, mount, the contents of, iii. 62.

Heliasos, the son of Lycaon, ii. 299.

— the city, ii. 220.

— the river, ii. 15. 289.

Helius, the youngest son of Perseus, i. 291.

Hellanica, i. 133. 168.

Hellanodicea, or the judges of the Olympic games, ii. 23.

Hellanodica, a place so called in Elis, ii. 139.

Hellas, once a part of Thessaly, i. 291.

Hellebore, two sorts of, in Attica, iii. 185.

Hellenium, a place in Sparta so called, i. 265.

Helos, a maritime Achaean town, i. 296.

— the ruins of, i. 296.

Hemonochoe, the daughter of Creon, iii. 20.

Hera, the promomynary, i. 160.

Hercules, the village, ii. 136.

Hercules, the torrent, m. 187.

Herculane, the contend for Argos and Lacedaemon, i. 173.

— the return of, i. 317.

Herculides, ii. 58.

— governor of the Delphi, iii. 93.

Hera, the city, ii. 290.

Heraeus, the son of Lycaon, m. 290.

Hercules, i. 212.

— particular of the sacrifice to him, i. 131.

— the children of, their return, i. 159.

— a statue and trophy of, i. 259.

— an armed statue of, i. 273.

— the cause of his warring on Hippocoon and his sons, i. 273.

— is unjustly treated by Augaes, ii. 3.

— warred upon Augaes, ii. 4.

— slew the sons of Actor, ii. 4.

— took and plundered Elis, ii. 6.

— one of the Curetes, ii. 17.

— a large brazen statue of, in Olympia, ii. 68.

— a gymnasion and stadium of, iii. 23.

— one of those that are called the Idae Dactyls, iii. 38.

— Rinocoloustea, a statue of, iii. 49.

— strangling the dragons, the meaning of, i. 210.

— the hero, descended from a god of that name, iii. 262.

— the son of Alexander, ii. 15.

— a fountain so called, i. 214.

Hercyna, the river, iii. 81. 82

Hermes, i. 259.
INDEX.

Hermes, ii. 299.
Hermes Agor, a statue of, ii. 294.
Hermesianax, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 119.
—, a writer of elegies, ii. 191. 193. 251. iii. 73.
Hermias, extract from the MS. Commentary of, on the Phaedrus, iii. 298. 300.
Hermion, the son of Europus, i. 219.
Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, i. 172.

—, a statue of, iii. 127.
Hermione, the city, i. 219.
Hermionenses, their mode of sacrifice, i. 292.
Hermogenes, the statuary, i. 131.
Hermolychnus, i. 61.
Heron, the architect, ii. 125.
Herodes, the architect, i. 49. iii. 170.
—, the Athenian, i. 127. ii. 131. 200.
Herodotus, i. 92. 117. 165. 180. 207. 234. 307. iii. 171. 177. 178.
—, the Clazomenian, a statue of, ii. 118.
Heroes, the armour of, according to Homer, brazen, i. 298.
Heroes, among men, the characteristics of, iii. 203.
—, why called demigods, iii. 204.
Herophile, the Sibyl, iii. 117.
—, remarkable account of, from the MS. Commentary of Her- 

mias on the Phaedrus, iii. 322.
Hesiod, i. 5. 7. 78. 117. 141. 150. 196.
ii. 263. iii. 53. N. 105.
—, a brazen statue of, i. 54.
—, a statue of, iii. 59.
—, a catalogue of the works of,

iii. 63.
—, the meaning of an assertion of, in his Catalogue of Women, iii. 250.
Hesperian regions, the secret meaning of, the, ii. 265.
Hesperides, the meaning of the golden apples of the, ii. 265.
Hestia, the Eubcean city, i. 166.
Heterocrocles, a statue of, i. 269.
Hicetas, the son of Aristocrates, ii.

236.
Hiera, the city, iii. 116.
Hier, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 105. 317.
Hieroclesares, a Lydian city, ii. 78.
Hieronymus, ii. 282.

—, Andrius, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 113.
Hilote, the, i. 991. 339.
Himeraeus, the poet, iii. 157.
Hippogoras, ii. 61.
Hipparchus, i. 59.
Hippasus flies to Samos, i. 159.
Hippia, the goddess, ii. 325.
Hippasus, the son of Palastratus, i. 58.
—, the sophist, ii. 68. iii. 291.
—, the statuary, ii. 108.
Hippo, the daughter of Scodarus, iii.

26.
Hippocoon, i. 173. 232.
Hippocrates, the physician, iii. 94.
—, the brother of Epicides, ii. 106.
Hippocrene, the fountain, i. 212.
Hippodamium, a building in Altis, ii.

59.
Hippodamia, ii. 45. 128.
Hippodrome, the, in Olympia, particular of, ii. 130.
—, the name of the forum in

Elis, ii. 139.
Hippola, the, of Apollo, iii. 187.
Hippolytus, i. 198.
—, a grove of, i. 213.
—, according to the Trachinians, forms that constellation which is called the charioteer, i. 213.
Hippomachus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 106.
Hippomedon, foundations of the house of, i. 226.
Hippomenes, i. 347.
Hippion, the Elean pugilist, ii. 81.
Hippothenes, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Hippotes, the son of Phylus, i. 267.
Hippothoon, i. 107.
Hippothous, the son of Cercyon, ii.

234.
Hippotion, ii. 68.
Hirax, the city, i. 166.
Holomnes, the city, iii. 47.
Homer, i. 5. 43. 59. 77. 86. 104. 141.
249. 294. 305. 307. 310. 317. 386.
390. 391. 392. 396. 400. 409. ii. 7.
19. 26. 35. 51. 65. 89. 161. 212.
273. 276. 279. 286. 305. 310. 313.
38. 44. 52. 85.—87. 95. 103.—105.
161. 165. 174. 185. 188.
Homer never saw an elephant, i. 31.
INDEX.

Homer, extract from his hymn to Ceres, i. 162.

———, what he alludes to by a people unacquainted with the sea, iii. 199.

———, meaning of the infernal rivers mentioned by him, iii. 205.

———, author of the poem called the Small Iliad, iii. 278.

———, the blindness of, shown to be fabulous, and the meaning of it explained, iii. 271.

———, that the Iliad and Odyssey of, are to be considered as divine fables, iii. 270.

———, two lines of, in the Iliad, not understood by any of his translators and modern commentators, iii. 267.

———, a word of, in the fifth Iliad, how understood by the Eleans, iii. 297.

———, a verse of, i. 158. 167. 190. 288. 335. ii. 148. 217. iii. 35. 177. 294. 300.


Horse, a brazen one in Olympia, ended with the power of raising in living horses the hippocampes, ii. 72.

House, among the Phliasians, called prophetic, i. 161.

Human life, the different ages of, on the earth, correspond to the order of the universe, iii. 262.

Hyacinthus, i. 257.

Hyamia, i. 347.

Hyampolis, the city, iii. 95. 182.

Hyantes, the, iii. 9.

Hyantidae, i. 135.

Hybrididae, the Athenian archon, i. 99.

Hydra’s heads, the secret meaning of the, iii. 272.

Hydrea, the island, i. 220.

Hytettus, the city, iii. 47. 75.

Hygia, or Health, why called the daughter and wife of Esculapius, ii. 210.

Hyle, a place belonging to the Magnetae, iii. 171.

Hyllus, the son of the Earth, i. 98.

———, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 110.

———, the son of Hercules, slain by Echemus, ii. 233.

Hyllyrus, the river, i. 215.

Hypan, a Lydian city, ii. 73.

Hypatodorus, the statuary, ii. 290. iii. 114.

Hypenn Pisaenus, victor in the twofold course in the Olympic games, ii. 19.

Hyperbius, i. 76.

Hyperboreans, a people beyond the Thracians, mentioned by Callimachus in his hymn to Delos, iii. 226.

Hyperae, the city, i. 208.

Hyperenor, the Spartan, iii. 9.

Hyperetes, a king of the Trozzenians, i. 208.

Hyperion, i. 118.

Hyperippe, ii. 2.

Hypermena, the daughter of Danaus, i. 175.

———, a statue of, iii. 114.

Hyperochus, a Cunean, iii. 119.

Hypeteleuton, a place so called in Sparta, i. 298.

Hypsea, a place so called in Sparta, i. 394.

Hypsia, the city, ii. 229.

Hyrieus, ii. 77.

Hyrmnia, the daughter of Epeus, ii. 2.

———, a city in Elea, ii. 4.

Hyronhium, i. 200.

Hyrontho, i. 200.

Hyrnethus, i. 194.

Hyson, the plants, iii. 184.

Hysia, the city, ruins of, iii. 3.

Hyson, a victor in the Olympic quinternium, ii. 83.

I. and J.

Iacchus, a statue of, holding a torch, i. 5.

Ialmenus, the son of Mars, iii. 78.

Iamblchus De Mysteriis, beautiful extract from, iii. 318. 326.

Iambrasus, the river, ii. 157.

Iamides, the prophets, ii. 79.

Ianianus, i. 143.

Iasus, a picture of, iii. 165.

Iasia, the Nymph, ii. 136.

Iasius, one of the Curetes, ii. 17. 327.

Jason, i. 193. ii. 46.

Iasus, i. 165.

Ibycus, i. 141.

Icarus, the father of Penelope, i. 263. 292.

Icarus Hyperesiensis, i. 349.

Icarius, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 110.

Icus, a victor in the Olympic quinternium, ii. 101.

Ichthyoephaghi, i. 92.

Ictinus, the architect, ii. 315.
INDEX.

Ida, the Nymph, ii. 396.

—, the mother of the
Sibyl Harpface, iii. 119.
Ideeus, a victor in the Olympic stadium,
ii. 105.
Idas, the eldest son of Aphaeus, i. 316.
—, one of the Curetes, ii. 17.
Idomeneus, ii. 69.
Ili, the town, i. 219.
Iliad, the small, the author of the, i.
310.
—, iii. 164.
Illyrians, stratagem of the, towards the
Motheans, i. 406.
Imeros, the meaning of the word ac-
cording to Plato, iii. 251.
Immaradus, i. 104.
Inachus, an Argive river, ii. 238.
Incantation, curious account of, from a
very rare Greek MS. of Psellus, iii.
292.
Indus and the Nile breed crocodiles, i.
401.
Ino, oracle of, i. 308.
—, the symbolic signification of,
iii. 250.
Inopus, the river, i. 138.
Inyces, a Sicilian city, ii. 157.
Io, i. 65.
Iolaus, the son of the, brother of Hercu-
les, ii. 150.
—, the son of Iphicles, ii. 257.
—, the Gymnasium of, iii. 44.
Ion, the son of Eriechtheus, ii. 147.
—, the son of Gargettus, ii. 136.
—, the tragic poet, ii. 158.
Iones, the affairs of, ruined through
prodigion, ii. 172.
Ioniens and Achaians, the war between,
ii. 148.
—, the advent of into Attica, ii.
149.
—, expelled by the Achaians, ii.
194.
Iophon, the Gnossian, i. 95.
Jordan, the river, ii. 17.
Iphiarates, the son of Timotheus, iii.
29.
Iphidamas, the son of Antenor, i. 408.
ii. 50.
Iphimedea, a picture of, iii. 161.
Iphioae, i. 106.
Iphis, the son of Alecto, i. 172.
Iphitus established the games in Olym-
pia, ii. 9.
Iphodamion, a building so called in
Altis, ii. 127.
Ira taken by the Lacedaemonians, i.
362.

Isagoras, i. 240.
Ibachys, the son of Elistus, i. 195. ii.
331.
Ibis, an adyton sacred to, iii. 173.
—, the Paneguris of, particulars of,
iii. 173.
—, the tears of, said to cause the Nile
to irrigate the fields, iii. 174.
—, the same with Minerva, iii. 257.
Ismenius, the son of Apollo, iii. 21.
Isocrates, statue of, i. 46.
Isthmius, the son of Cales, i. 319.
Isthmus, Corinthian, topography of, i.
126.
Isthmhus, the, in Trazenia, i. 217.
Istoris, the daughter of Tiresias, iii. 32.
Ithamenes, a picture of, iii. 153.
Itonus, ii. 2.
—, the son of Amphiictyon, iii. i.
70.
Iyys, i. 63.
Juno, the nurse of, i. 168.
—, Oéophagus, i. 275.
—, the temple of, among the Eleans,
the particular of, ii. 41—55.
—, a fable of, iii. 5.
—, called Nymphothesone, by the
Platæenses, iii. 5.
—, called Teleis by the Platæenses,
iii. 5.
—, why represented holding in one of
her hands a pomegranate, iii. 265.
Jupiter, a remarkable statue of, i. 110.
—, a wooden statue of, with three
eyes, i. 189.
—, an ancient brazen statue of,
i. 189.
—, many statues of, ii. 64—66.
—, Apeantes, i. 165.
—, Apomius, ii. 35.
—, Eleutherius, statue of, i. 7.
—, Euanemos, the meaning of, iii.
274.
—, Hyemelian, statue of, i. 88.
—, Ithomatas, a statue of, i. 309.
—, Laphystius, a grove of, iii.
71.
—, Lycean, remarkable account
of a grove of, ii. 308.
—, the Machinator, the statue of,
i. 184.
—, Melilichus, shown to be the
same with the demon in the Orphic
hymns, iii. 243.
—, the statue of, i.
177.
—, Moiragetes, a statue of, ii. 304.
—, Ornikos, a statue of, ii. 66.
INDEX.

Lacedemonians, the, vanquished by the Achaeans, ii. 180.

__Lacedemonians, the__, attack Megalopolis, ii. 285.

Lachares, i. 67.

Lacida, the town, i. 101.

Lacus, the hero, grove of, i. 101.

Lacrates, the architect, ii. 195.

__Lacrates, the__, commander of the Atolians, iii. 139.

Ladas, the statue of, i. 176.

__Ladas, the__, the stadium, ii. 252.

Lade, the island, i. 97.

Ladocus, the son of Echemus, ii. 321.

Ladon, the river, ii. i. 133. 265. 272.

Laeas, the architect, i. 275.

__Laeas, the__, son of Cypselus, ii. 234.

Laima, the son of Oxylius, ii. 9.

Laidas, the victor in the Pythian panzerium, iii. 106.

Laius, the son of Labdacus, iii. 10.

Lalichmion, a place so called in the Eleian Gymnasium, i. 139.

Lamedon, transactions of, and of others that reigned in Sicily, i. 141.

Lania, i. 207.

Lamps, victor in the Olympic quinquerium, ii. 20.

Lamps, the son of Prolaus, ii. 5. 87.

__Lamps, the__, a statue of, i. 117.

Lampus, the river, iii. 64.

Lancea, the fountain, i. 294.

Laidamas, iii. 12.

Laodice, the daughter of Agapenor, ii. 233.

__Laomedon, a picture of__, iii. 158.

Laonome, the mother of Amphitryon, ii. 255.

Laphria Philiasus, the statuary, i. 151.

__Laphria Philiasus, the__, ii. 219.

Laphra, the Argive, a trophy of, i. 182.

Laphria, the brother of Castalias, ii. 195.

Lapithae, the, ii. 96.

Lapithaeum in Taygetus, i. 292.

Larissa, the tower, i. 189.

Larissaus, the river, ii. 146. 190.

Larymna, the daughter of Cynus, iii. 47.

__Larymna, the__, the city, iii. 47.

Lata, a city of the Eleutherolacones, i. 295. 303.

Latus, ii. 133.

Lastratidas, a victor in the Olympic wrestling, ii. 90.

Latona, admirable account of, from the
INDEX.

MSS. Schol. of Proclus on the Cretans, iii. 251.
Laughter, which conceals some noxious design, called by Homer, Sardonian, iii. 132.
Laurium, i. 1.
Lerna, the harlot, i. 59.
Learchus of Rhegium, the statuary, i. 281.
Lebadea, the city, iii. 81.
Lebadea, iii. 81.
Lebeus, a Cretan city, i. 196.
Lechea, i. 149.
Ledon, a Phocian city, iii. 93. 195. 175.
Letitus, iii. 81.
Leleges, the, ii. 151.
Lelex, i. 108. 312.
———, the first Laconian king, i. 231.
Leochares, the statuary, i. 63. ii. 54.
Leocydus, ii. 247. 248.
Leogorus, the son of Procles, ii. 156.
Leos, the son of Eurycrates, i. 236.
———, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 82.
Leonidium, the building, ii. 38.
Leonidas, i. 239.
———, opposes Xerxes at Thermopylae, i. 741.
———, is compelled to abdicate the kingdom, i. 947.
———, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 108. 117.
Leontiscus, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 80. 85.
Leontomenes, the son of Tisamenus, ii. 162.
Leosthenes and his children, a picture of, i. 1.
———, chosen general of the forces against the Macedonians, i. 66.
Leotychides, king of the Spartans, always victorious, i. 250.
Lepreates, the, i. 261.
———, what they relate, ii. 12.
Lepreues, a town of the Eleans, ii. 11.
Lepreus, the son of Perseus, ii. 11.
Lerna, the fountain, i. 136.
Lernian mysteries, said to have been instituted by Philammon, i. 227.
Lesche, a building in Delphi, iii. 152.
Lescheus Pyrrheus, the poet, iii. 154. 155.
Lessa, the village, i. 194.
Lethe, the water of, iii. 83.
Lettrini, a town in Elis, ii. 156.
Leucasia, the river, i. 399.
Leucipides, the, i. 268.
Leucippus, the son of Perieres, i. 309. 315.
———, the son of Ênomeus, ii. 266. 267.
Leucon, iii. 71.
Leuconia, the fountain, ii. 322.
Leuctra, i. 295. 310.
Leucynias, the river, ii. 132.
Libethris, the fountain, iii. 70.
Libon, the architect, ii. 29.
Libya alone produces terrestrial crocodiles, i. 200.
Libye, the daughter of Epaphus, i. 121.
Lictus, iii. 217.
Lichas, his interpretation of an oracle, i. 238.
Lilaea, the city, iii. 95.
———, one of the Naiades, and the daughter of Cephissus, iii. 176.
Limeria, i. 295.
Limonia, the son of Tegeates, ii. 338.
Linus, the poet, ii. 263.
———, the son of Urania, iii. 57.
———, called Oitolinos, iii. 58.
———, a song so called by the Greeks, and which was denominated by the Egyptians Maneroon, iii. 58.
Liparai, the, a colony of Gnidians, iii. 116.
Locri Hypocnemidii, the, iii. 90.
Locrus, the statuary, i. 30.
Locustus, i. 64.
Lophia, the river, iii. 69.
Lous, the river, i. 401.
Love venerated by the Thespians beyond all the gods, iii. 52.
Loxi, i. 92.
Lucian, extract from the Cataplus of, iii. 221.
Lucina, the daughter of Juno, according to the Cretans, i. 45.
———, called Eunice by Olen, ii. 268.
———, the mother of Love, according to the poet Olen, iii. 53.
Lapiss, an Italian city, between Brundisium and Hydrus, ii. 125.
Lattrophorus, the name of the priestess of Venus, i. 132.
Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus, particulars of, ii. 227.
Lycias instituted a chariot race, ii. 78.
Lycaurus, the mountain, ii. 307.
Lycesis, what he asserts in his verses, i. 175.
———, the historian, i. 188.
INDEX.

Lyceate, the city, ii. 229.
Lyceinus, a victor in the Olympic horse-
race, ii. 76. 102.
Lyceus, the statuary, the son of Myron,
ii. 60.
Lycomedes, the son of Apollo, by Par-
thenope, ii. 156.
Lycomida, i. 58.
Lycorea, the city, iii. 108
Lycornas, a victor in the Pythian con-
test with the vaulting colt, iii.
106.
Lycortas, the Megalopolitan, ii. 170.
273.
Lycorus, the son of Apollo, iii. 103.
Lycosura, an Arcadian city, the first
that the sun beheld, ii. 307.
Lycurgus, i. 234.
---, the statue of, i. 272.
---, changed the custom of sac-
crificing a man by lot, to the scour-
ging of young men with whips, i.279.
ii. 193.
---, the son of Aleus, ii. 232.
Lycuria, a place in Arcadia, ii. 266.
Lycus, the son of Pandion, i. 313.
316.
--- --- gave orac-
cles, i. 363.
Lycus, a victor with the vaulting horse
in the Olympic games, ii. 109.
---, a king of Thebes, iii. 10.
---, the prophet, iii. 120.
Lydiadas, a commander of the Mega-
lopelitians, ii. 247.
---, king of the Megalopolitans,
ii. 284.
Lydians, Persic, iii. 291.
Lygdamis, a victor in the pan克拉提
in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Lymax, the river, i. 313.
Lyceras, i. 166. 192. 316.
---, a statue of, iii. 114.
Lyrceas, i. 192.
Lycrus, a statue of, on a column, i.
192.
Lysander, transactions of, i. 242.
--- said to have seen Ammon in
a dream, i. 289.
---, a statue of, ii. 84.
---, particulars of, iii. 66—68.
Lysidice, the daughter of Peleus, ii.
255.
Lysimachus thrown into a den with a
lion, i. 22.
---, particulars of, i. 23—26.
Lysippe, the wife of Proclus, ii. 5.
Lysippus, the statuary, i. 150. 151. 118.
---, a victorious wrestler in the
Olympic games, ii. 117.
Lysius, a statue so called, i. 130.
Lyson, the painter, i. 9.
Lysus, the statuary, ii. 118.

77. 78. 86. 87. 115. 119. iii. 53.
59.
Lysippus, a victorious wrestler in the
Olympic games, ii. 117.
Lysius, a statue so called, i. 130.
Lyson, the painter, i. 9.
Lysus, the statuary, ii. 118.

M.

Macareus, the son of Aolus, iii. 190.
Lycon, ii. 229.
Macaria, the city, ii. 229.
---, the fountain, i. 90.
Macherion, ii. 249.
Machanidas, the tyrant, i. 389.
Meander, the river, i. 132. ii. 238.
275.
Melas, the city, ii. 229.
Mera, a part of the plain Argos, ii.
240.
---, the daughter of Atlas, ii. 253.
---, a picture of, iii. 165.
Mera, the town, ii. 233.
Menas, the architect, i. 275.
Magic of the ancients founded on a
theory no less sublime, than rational
and true, iii. 271.
Magician, an account of a, among the
Lydians, ii. 73.
Magnesii, the, i. 297.
Magnetides, the gates, ii. 152.
Malais, iii. 26.
Mallos, the river, ii. 299.
Malitos, the river, ii. 302.
Malthe, an enclosure in the Elean
Gymnasium, i. 138.
Man, the dream of a shadow according
to Pindar, iii. 315.
Manticus, i. 368. 373.
Mantinea, the city, ii. 229.
Mantinenses, particulars of the engage-
ment of, against the Lacedaemon-
ians, ii. 247.
---, the wars of the, ii. 241.
242.
Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, the
seat of, iii. 30.
Maratha, a place in Arcadia, ii. 226.
Marathon, the town, i. 88.
Mardonius, the son of Gobrias, a statue
of, i. 260. iii. 8.
Marion, a victor in the Olympic pan-
克拉提, and in wrestling, ii. 57.
Marios, the town, i. 296. 297.
Market-place of the Athenians, con-
tensts of the, i. 42.
Marpesia, the wife of Meleager, i.
316.
INDEX.

Marpeaus, the city of, iii. 118.
Mars Euryalius, i. 272.
—, the meaning of, iii. 275.
— Gnaikotholos, a statue of, i. 328.
— Theritas, a statue of, i. 288.
Masyas, the pipes of, i. 145.
—, the picture of, iii. 166.
Martiora, a wild beast so called by the Indians, iii. 41.
Mases, an Argive city, i. 224.
Mauri, i. 92.
Mausolus, ii. 261.
Medae, ii. 47.
Medecon, the city, iii. 95.
Medesicate, a picture of, iii. 155.
Medon, the son of Codrus, ii. 149.
Médontide, the, i. 347.
Medus, i. 134.
Medusa, golden head of, i. 54.
—, particulars of, i. 181.
—, a picture of, iii. 157.
Megacides, the architect, ii. 124.
Megalophanes, the disciple of Areteslaus, and preceptor of Philopomen, ii. 329.
Megalopolis, ii. 281.
—, when first inhabited, ii. 283.
Megapenthes, the son of Proetus, i. 165.
—, the son of Menelaus, i. 285.
Megara, the wife of Hercules, a picture of, iii. 163.
Megareus, the son of Neptune, i. 108.
Meges, a picture of, iii. 154.
Mellichos, the river, ii. 198.
Melanie, the, ii. 229.
—, the city, ii. 261.
Melaneus, the son of Lycon, ii. 261.
Melampus, the son of Amythaon, i. 172. ii. 264. 326.
Melampus and Bias, the race of, i. 172. 178.
Melen, the son of Anteus, i. 186.
—, the son of Neptune, ii. 158.
—, the river, iii. 80.
Melaneus, the daughter of Cophius, iii. 103.
Melaneus, i. 315.
Melamps, a place in Arachis, ii. 237.
Melanion, ii. 46.
Melanippus, a beautiful Ionian, had connexion with Cemetho, a priestess of Diana, in the temple of the goddess, ii. 197.
Melanippus, the son of Mars and Tri- tis, ii. 207.
Melanopus, the Cumean poet, ii. 18.
Melanthus, the son of Andropomnaus, i. 173.
Melas, the son of Antassus, ii. 49.
Meles, the promontory, i. 299.
Meleager, i. 145.
—, a picture of, iii. 167.
Meles, the river, ii. 161.
Melias, the, ii. 287.
Melicerte, iii. 71.
Melitides, gates so called, i. 61.
Memlaeus, i. 233.
Memnon, a picture of, iii. 167.
Memnones, the birds, iii. 168.
Men, why sometimes demanded as a sacrifice by oracles, iii. 275.
Menecchmus, the statuary, ii. 218.
Menelaus, a victor in the Olympic quintetrium, ii. 195.
Menalidas, inferior in peristy to Callistates, ii. 176.
—, raises a war between the Achaeans and Lacedaemonians, ii. 181.
Menander, the son of Diopithes, sepulchre of, i. 4. 53.
Mendeus, the statuary, ii. 70.
Menelaus, ii. 203.
—, a picture of, iii. 153.
Menepolemus, a victorious boy in the Olympic race, ii. 113.
Menestras, iii. 52.
Menodorus, the statuary, iii. 53:
Menopanes, i. 300.
Mentas, ii. 294.
Mercury, gymnasion of, i. 5.
— Diolios, a statue of, ii. 222.
—, the city, ii. 281.
—, the son of Menelaus, ii. 11.
—, a statue of, iii. 263.
—, why called Foreniss—why said to be the son of Male. The guardian of gymnastics, music, and disciplines, iii. 261.
—, judicial, i. 39.
—, a statue of, ii. 205.
—, dedicated by Pindar, iii. 33.
—, Polygmos, a statue of, i. 312.
— Pronai, a statue of, iii. 20.
— Propylæus, i. 59.
—, why the statues of, were of a square figure, iii. 253.
—, why a statue of, was an erect penis on a basis, iii. 297.
—, why represented—with a ram by his side, iii. 256.
Mercur, the city, i. 92.
Mesateus, a statue of Bacchus so called, ii. 202.
Messas, the city, i. 308.
Messapias, the fountain, iii. 44.
INDEX.

Messatis, the city, ii. 193.
Messaeus, the fountain, i. 290.
Messene, the daughter of Triopas, i. 312.
———, situated under Ithome, i. 313.
———, the manner in which it was taken, i. 387.
Messennians, cause of their quarrelling with the Lacedaemonians, i. 319.
———, the affairs of, in a calamitous condition, i. 334.
———, and Lacedaemonians war on each other in the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus. Particulars of this war, i. 339—342.
———, revolt from the Lacedaemonians, i. 349.
———, fight against the Lacedaemonians, at Dera, i. 350.
———, and Lacedaemonians, particulars of an engagement between them, near the monument of Carpus, i. 351—354.
———, the, vanquished by the Lacedaemonians, i. 357.
———, the particulars of an engagement between them and the Acmans, i. 377.
———, the, driven by the Lacedaemonians from Naupactus, i. 379.
———, the, expelled from the Peloponnesus for nearly three hundred years, i. 384.
———, forum of the, and its contents, i. 393.
———, the, invited by the Thebans to return to the Peloponnesus, i. 380.
———, the, warlike stratagem of, i. 386.
Messenic war, particulars of the, i. 327—334.
Metellus, the Roman general, transactions of, ii. 168, 169.
———, wats on Andiscus, ii. 180.
———, invites the Achaeans to make a league with the Romans, ii. 184.
Methana, the town, i. 217.
Methapus the Athenian, the author of mysteries, i. 314.
Methydrum, the city, ii. 299, 301.
Metroche, a picture of, ill. 156.
Micon, the painter, i. 42, 44, ii. 90, 249.
———, the statuary, ii. 106.
———, the orator, i. 149.
Midea, the city, i. 166, 193.
———, destroyed by an earthquake, ii. 214.
Midias, iii. 139.
Mileia, the, particulars of the origin of, ii. 150.
Miletus, the commander of the Cretan fleet, ii. 181.
Mito, the wrestler, particulars of, ii. 111.
Miltiades, the Athenian archon, i. 373.
———, the first that benefited Greece in common, ii. 336.
Mimmermus, the poet, iii. 57.
Minerva, the daughter of Vulcan and the lake Triton, i. 38.
———, statue of, that fell from heaven, i. 70.
———, golden lamp of, i. 70.
———, the wall of, ii. 207.
———, Paion, the statue of, i. 185.
———, Parax, a statue of, i. 292.
———, called Polias and Sthenias by the Traseniens, i. 208.
———, Pronaia, a statue of, iii. 20.
———, Sophronister, ii. 21.
———, called Sigs in the Phocianian, and Saii in the Egyptian tongue, ii. 24.
———, Zosteria, iii. 33.
———, a definition of the nature of, iii. 197.
———, rising from the head of Jupiter, the meaning of, iii. 211.
———, why called Ergane, iii. 211.
———, the meaning of the spear and shield of, iii. 211.
———, why called Phosper, the Saviour, Calliergos, a virgin, Aigisthoes, philosophic, philopolemic, Victory, and Health, iii. 214.
———, remarkable addition to the celebrated inscription on the statue of, in an Egyptian temple, from Proclus, iii. 257.
———, why Phidias placed a cock on her helmet, iii. 275.
Minoa, the promontory, i. 302.
Minoas, i. 74, 235.
———, and Rhadamantus, intellectual heroes, iii. 204.
Minotaur, the fable of the, explained, iii. 210.
Minyas, the son of Chrysus, iii. 75.
———, the treasury of, iii. 79.
———, the poem, verses from, iii. 159, 167.
Mirror, a remarkable account of one in Arcadia, ii. 306.
Mithridates, iii. 15.
INDEX.

Mneas, the Cynocephal, ii. 108.

——— the racer, ii. 121.

Menasinus, i. 285.

Menone, the water of, iii. 83.

Mnesibius, a victor in the Olympic stadium, iii. 180.

Mnesimachus, statue of, i. 101.

Mnestheus, the son of Petesus, l. 192.

Mollone, the wife of Actor, ii. 4.

——— the impre-
cations of, ii. 5.

Molossia, the, an ambush of, detected by the braying of an ass, iii. 133.

Molossus, the river, ii. 302.

Molpadia, sepulchre of, l. 4.

Molpia, the daughter of Schedesius, iii. 26.

Molpion, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 86.

Molusias, the rock, sacred to Leucothea and Palesmon, i. 123.

Monuments, heroic, of Pithous, The-
seus, Cedipus, and Adrastus, i. 86.

Moon, the, why said to be drawn by two bulls, iii. 196.

——— why represented drawn by a mule, iii. 265.

——— why represented with horns on her head, iii. 296.

Mopsus, the son of Ampyx, ii. 46.

——— the son of Rhacius, ii. 153.

Mother of the Gods, a statue of, of Parian stone, l. 393.

Mother, the rock, i. 404.

Mother, the harlot, i. 404.

——— the city, given by the Lace-
demonians to the Nauplienses, i. 374.

——— during the Trojan war called 

Penes, i. 405.

Mountain Achaeum, ii. 245.

——— Ama, i. 303.

——— Anchises, i. 88.

——— Anchisias, ii. 253.

——— Ares, i. 164.

——— Arachneus, i. 194.

——— Artemisium, i. 192.

——— Atlas, i. 92.

——— Boreum, i. 321.

——— Buportheum, i. 220.

——— Cerisyus, iii. 39.

——— Cithaeron, iii. 4.

——— Chelydore, ii. 262.

——— Ciscadicus, i. 303.

——— Ciscaulus, ii. 271.

——— Coccygius, i. 224.

——— Corycus, iii. 119.

——— Cotylion, ii. 314.

Mountain Caphis, ii. 217. 260.

——— Creles, ii. 322.

——— Cronius, ii. 55.

——— Cyllene, ii. 231.

——— abounds with white

blackbirds, ii. 262.

——— Cynthium, i. 199.

——— Elas, ii. 234.

——— Eubea, i. 168.

——— Era, i. 393.

——— Geranos, i. 120.

——— Gerontes, ii. 260. 263.

——— Helicon, the most fertile of all the mountains in Greece, iii. 55.

——— Hymettus, i. 88.

——— Is, i. 155.

——— Ithome, l. 335. 398.

Mountains, lunar, the, of an immense height, according to Ptolemy, iii. 236.

Mountain of Panellenean Jupiter, i. 206.

——— Lampsia, ii. 274.

——— Laphtis, iii. 71.

——— Lythia, i. 12.

——— Laryum, i. 296.

——— Latmus, ii. 2.

——— Libethrius, iii. 70.

——— Lycone, i. 196.

——— Marica, ii. 151.

——— Melenius, i. 303.

——— Mycale, ii. 17.

——— the Nomili, ii. 310.

——— Orenias, ii. 255.

——— Ostracina, ii. 251.

——— Pan, i. 91.

——— Parnes, i. 88.

——— Paron, i. 230.

——— Parthenicus, ii. 237.

——— Paterimus, i. 88.

——— Phalathrus, ii. 301.

——— Phoebe, ii. 286.

——— Pion, ii. 161.

——— Pontius, ii. 226.

——— Ptole, iii. 46.

——— Saturnian, ii. 126.

——— Saurus, ii. 132.

——— Sciathes, ii. 255.

——— Sepia, ii. 260.

——— the Summit, ii. 160.

——— Supreme, iii. 87.

——— Thalassios, ii. 302.

——— Tithys, ii. 68.

——— Tithion, i. 195.

——— Trachys, ii. 254.

——— Typanes, ii. 15.

——— called Various, i. 103.

Mountains, Aroanias, ii. 264.
INDEX.

Mountains, the Ceraunii, ii. 60.
Mummius, the Roman general, ii. 24.
— dedicated a brazen statue of
Jupiter in Olympia, ii. 64.
— leads an army against the
Achaian, ii. 184.
— routs the whole army of the
Achaia, ii. 186.
— throws down the walls of the
cities that warred on the Romans—
puts an end to their democratic go-
vernment—establishes in its stead
oligarchies—and lays a tribute on all
Greece, ii. 188.
Musaeus, i. 37.
— composed a hymn to Ceres
for the Lycomede, i. 313. iii. 105.
— the son of Antiphemus, iii.
100.
— the prophet, i. 120.
Muses, only three, according to the
sons of Alcucus, iii. 56.
— an account of the, from the MSS.
Schol. of Proclus on the Cratylus,
iii. 286.
Musus, the statuary, ii. 64.
Mycæsus, the city, ruins of, iii. 37.
Mycenæ destroyed by the Argives
through envy, i. 167.
— ruins of, i. 165.
Mycene, the daughter of Inachus, i.
167.
Myiagrus, the hero, ii. 281.
Mylaon, the river, ii. 309. 309.
Myles, the son of Lelex, i. 231. 319.
— the first that
invented a hand-mill, i. 290.
Myndus, i. 209.
Myones, the, ii. 123.
Myonia, the city, iii. 190.
Myron Frienensis celebrated the Mes-
enic war in prose, i. 825.
— the Byzantian, wrote heroic
verses and elegies, iii. 11.
— the statuary, i. 60. 206. ii. 78.
96, 97, 107. iii. 59.
Myropolis, a porch in Arcadia, ii. 291.
Myrtilus, the charioteer of Ænomaus, a
statue of, ii. 24.
— the son of Mercury, particu-
lars of, ii. 258.
Myrotoessa, ii. 293.
Myriocon, the sea, ii. 258.
Myrs, the carver, i. 75.
Myseum, the, ii. 224.
Mysius, i. 222.
Mysus, i. 97.
Myus, the city, ii. 152.

N.
Naas, the Spartan king, i. 389. ii. 168.
333.
Naia, the fountain, i. 306.
Naucrates, ii. 134.
Naphilus, the river, ii. 309.
Narcissus, the son of Phycis, by Bac-
chus, ii. 48.
Narcissus, a remarkable story of, iii. 64.
— the fable of, explained, iii.
314.
Narcissus, the wrestler, ii. 90.
Nasamonos, i. 92.
Naucides, the satyr, i. 169. 185. ii.
96.
Naupaclia, verses so called, i. 138.
— whom composed by, iii. 191.
Naupactus, i. 375.
Nauplia, i. 229.
Nauplius, the Son of Neptune and Amy-
mone, i. 229.
Naus, the great grandson of Eumolpus,
ii. 258.
Nausica, i. 51.
Naus, in Sicily, ii. 109.
Neaira, the daughter of Peneus, ii. 232.
Neda, the Nympha, iii. 308. 325.
— the river, i. 362. 444. ii. 308.
Nelaidas, a victor in the Olympic games,
ii. 118.
Neleus, the son of Crethus, and king
of Pylos, i. 315. 442. iii. 76.
Nemesis, the daughter of Asopus, ii. 60.
— the village, i. 164.
Nemean lion, the cave of, i. 164.
— the meaning of the, iii. 285.
Nemesis, why called the Angel of Ju-
stice, iii. 233.
Neocles, the Theban, iii. 2.
Neoelaidas, the pugilist, ii. 76.
Neon, the city, iii. 94. 95.
Neoptolemos, a punishment so called,
iii. 356.
Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, i. 356.
— a picture of, iii. 156.
Neothea, ii. 46.
Neptune venerated by the Trozenians
under the appellation of the king, i.
208.
— called in common by all
nations, Pelagian, Aspilian, and
Hippian, ii. 203.
— equestrian, a statue of, dedi-
cated by Úlysses, ii. 256.
— a grove of, called Poseido-
nion, iii. 191.
— the meaning of his contend-
ing with the sun, iii. 253.
— why represented with a trident,
ii. 208.
INDEX.

Neptune, Hippocaearius, the meaning of, iii. 275.
Neris, the town, i. 230.
Nero, the emperor, i. 228.
——, the gifts of, i. 170.
——, dedicated crowns in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, ii. 81.
——, gave liberty to all the Grecian cities, without infringing the Roman empire, ii. 189.
——, entirely destitute of love, iii. 53.
——, plundered the temple of Apollo at Delphos, iii. 104.
Nessus, the centaur, iii. 189.
Nestane, the ruins of, ii. 238.
Nestor, the son of Neleus, i. 310.
——, reigned over the Messenians, i. 316.
——, the house of, i. 409.
——, a picture of, i. 408. iii. 155.
Nicagora, i. 152.
Nicander, a king of the Lacedaemonians, i. 225.
——, the son of Charillus, i. 248.
——, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Nicapsipolis, iii. 15.
Nicias, i. 82.
——, the most excellent painter of animals of his time, i. 84. 287. ii. 206.
Nicippe, the daughter of Paeas, ii. 244.
Nicolecis Olympionice, i. 297.
Nicodamus, the stautary, ii. 68. 82. 90.
Nicomachus, i. 391.
Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, a statue of, ii. 91.
Nicostrasus, the son of Menelaus, i. 285.
——, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, and in wrestling, ii. 57. 83.
Night, the oracle of, i. 111.
——, according to the Smyrneans, the mother of the Nemeseis, ii. 159.
——, mystic particulars respecting the oracle of, iii. 947.
Nile, the, produces river-horses and crocodiles, i. 401.
Nileus, the son of Codrus, ii. 149.
Niobe, i. 228.
Nises, the haven, i. 107. 121.
——, the tower, i. 121.
Niuss had purple hairs on his head, i. 48. 107.
Nomia, a picture of, iii. 168.
Nomophilaee, the Spartan, i. 260.
Nomacris, a small Arcadian city, ii. 269.
Nonnois, iii. 309.
Nora, the city, iii. 130.
Norax, the son of Mercury, iii. 130.
Nostoi, the poem, iii. 161. 165.
Nus, the river, ii. 309.
Nycteis, a king of Thebes, iii. 10.
Nyctimius, the eldest son of Lycaon, ii. 229. 230. 273.
Nymphæum, the lake, i. 299.
Nymphæades, the gates, i. 121.
Nymphæa, the fountain, ii. 302.
Nymphæ, an account of, from the MS. Commentary of Hermias on the Phaedrus, ii. 288.
——, distributed by Servius into three classes, iii. 302.
——, Sthenian, i. 109.

O.

Occult, an entrance so called in Altis, ii. 128.
Ocean, why called a river—account of, from the MSS. Schol. of Proclus on the Cratylius, and from his Commentaries on the Timaeus, iii. 233.
——, according to the Athenians, the father of Nemea, ii. 159.
Oenus and his ass, a picture of, iii. 161.
——, the bird, the largest and most useful of herons, iii. 167.
Oedeum, Athenian, and the statues it contains, i. 21.
——, the building, in Corinth, i. 133.
——, the, in Achaia, ii. 200.
Ocanthus, the city, iii. 191.
Obalbus, i. 182.
——, the son of Cynoritas, i. 232.
——, the Spartan, his stratagem, i. 344.
Oebotas, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 190.
Oechalia, i. 315.
Oedipus, the fountain, iii. 36.
——, verses so called, iii. 11.
Oedipus, iii. 11. 100.
Oenae, i. 191.
Oenaeida, the, vanquished by the Messenians, i. 576.
Oenaeus, the son of Porthaon, i. 404.
Oenobius, i. 61.
Oeon, an Argive city, iii. 114.
Oenomaus, the son of Alaxon, ii. 2.
——, a statue of, ii. 24. 45.
——, the pillar of, ii. 53.
Oenone, the island, i. 137.
Oenopion, i. 158.
Oenotrus, the youngest son of Lycaon, ii. 239.
INDEX.

Onatas, the statuary, ii. 70. 317. iii. 192.
Oncheus, the city, i. 192.
Onesimus, the son of Apollo, ii. 277.
Onomacritus, i. 58. ii. 293. 305. iii. 73.
Onomarchus, king of the Phocenses, iii. 93.
Onomastus, victor in the cæsas in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Opheltes, i. 164.
Ophion, a most ancient god, the same with the Orphic dragon, iii. 306.
Ophioneus, the prophet, i. 339.
Ophius, the river, ii. 241.
Opis, the goddess, i. 118. ii. 18.
—, king of the Iapyges, a statue of, iii. 122.
—, the meaning of the word according to Callimachus, iii. 250.
Oplodamas, ii. 296.
Opportunity, the first cause, so called by the Pythagoreans, ii. 286.
Opus, the city, iii. 181.
Oracle of Amphipolus, i. 94.
— Apollo, i. 216. 255. 335. 342—344. 362. 379. ii. 6. 16. 99. 104. 226. 243. 315. iii. 28. 36. 77. 91. 104. 124. 132. 188.
— Diradiotes, particulars of, i. 189.
— Clarus Apollo, ii. 159.
— Apollo at Delphi, said to be the most ancient of any on Earth, iii. 100. 101.
— respecting Homer, iii. 151.
— Bacchus, respecting the destruction of Libethra, remarkably verified, iii. 61.
— Bacis, iii. 34.
— the, concerning the bladder, iii. 207.
— remarkable account of one in a temple of Ceres, ii. 204.
— of Apollo Thyrsheus, ii. 204.
— Euclus the prophet, respecting Homer, iii. 151.
— a remarkable one of Hercules, ii. 217.
— of Dodoncean Jupiter, ii. 215.
— Mercury, a remarkable account of the, ii. 205.
— Pythian, i. 180. 196.
— a Sibylline, ii. 168. iii. 112.
— of Musæus, iii. 112.
— Trophonius, i. 397.

B B 2
INDEX.

Oracles, the scientific theory of, unfolded, iii. 230.
—, not the tricks of fraudulent priests—why they ceased, when the Christian religion made its appearance, ii. 230.
Ornea, Trezen so called, i. 208.
Orchomenii, the, ii. 229.
Orchomenus, the city, particulars of the ancient affairs of, iii. 71.
—, the son of Minyas, iii. 75.
Orestes, i. 112.
—, the tabernacle of, i. 212.
—, reports of, ii. 298.
—, the Roman, is sent by the Romans into Greece, ii. 182.
Orestesium, the city, ii. 229. 321.
Orestheus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
—, Deucalion, iii. 189.
Orestorius, a commander of the Gauls, unparalleled cruelty of, iii. 144.
Oris, a statue of Apollo so called, i. 221.
Orithya, ii. 49.
Orne, i. 192.
Orneas, the son of Erectheus, i. 192.
Orones, a Syrian river, ii. 289.
—, the Indian, the dead body of, discovered, which was more than eleven cubits in altitude, ii. 289.
Oropus, the city, i. 91. 94. ii. 175.
Orpheus, i. 37. 206. 267. 270. iii. 53.
—, a statue of, made by the Peisagi, i. 491. iii. 60.
—, various accounts of the death of, iii. 60. 61.
—, a picture of, iii. 165.
—, the hymns of, preferred to those of Homer for religious purposes, though inferior to them in elegance, iii. 62.
—, the meaning of his being followed by wild beasts, iii. 294.
Orphic hymns, the, which exist at present, proved to be the hymns which were used in the Eleusinian mysteries, iii. 245.
Orphondas, a victor in the Pythian contest with colts, iii. 106.
Orosbia, i. 201.
Ortilochoerus, i. 313.
—, the son of Diocles, i. 391.
Orus, an Egyptian deity, the same with Apollo and the sun, iii. 268.
Ous, iii. 56.
Oxyrus, the son of Hamon, ii. 7.
Ozoloe, the, i. 375. iii. 189.

P.

Phrynum, the promontory, ii. 68. iii. 116.
Phytas, the Lydian, i. 407.
Phenius, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic and Pythian games, ii. 118.
Pedige, an enclosure so called, i. 151.
Pheas, a dreadful beast, i. 119.
Pheon, i. 173. ii. 2.
Peoneus, one of the Curetes, ii. 17.
Peonius, the statuary, ii. 26.
Paque, the town, i. 121.
Pagonias, a victor in the complex horse-race in the Olympic games, ii. 20.
Palamedes, i. 178.
—, a picture of, iii. 166.
Palladium, a tribunal in Attica, i. 77.
Pallantium, the city, ii. 229. 319.
Pallas, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
Palus, a plain in Arcadia, ii. 301.
Pamisius, the river, i. 319. 393. 400.
Pammerope, i. 104.
Pamphus, the poet, i. 104. 106. ii. 301.
—, composed the most ancient hymns for the Athenians, iii. 58.
—, the first that celebrated the Graces in verse, iii. 73.
Pamphilus, the son of Aegimius, i. 201.
Pan, the summit of all the sublunary local gods and demons, iii. 220.
—, the, that met Philippiades, an account of, iii. 307.
—, Scolitas, a brazen statue of, ii. 291.
—, Simois, a statue of, ii. 290.
Panathenaia, the greater and less of the Athenians, the meaning of, iii. 222.
Pancirolius, iii. 217.
Pancretastai, the Olympic, ii. 22.
Pancratium, the meaning of, iii. 242.
Pandarus, the daughters of, pictures of, iii. 164.
Pandion, the monument of, i. 13.
—, a statue of, i. 13. 107.
Pandora, the meaning of the fable of, iii. 212.
Panopeus, the son of Phocus, i. 203.
—, the city, iii. 95. 96.
Panormus, the port, i. 381. ii. 17. 207.
Pantaclones, the son of Ophallion, ii. 131.
Pantarces, a victor with the vaulting
INDEX.

hors in the Olympic games, ii. 114.
Pantarces, an Elean youth who was enamoured of Phidias, ii. 27.
——, a victor in wrestling in the
Olympic games, ii. 101.
Panthaliis, a picture of, iii. 153.
Pantias, the stautary, ii. 83. 113.
Panyasis, the poet, ii. 21. 163.
——, verses of, iii. 111.
Paphia, a brazen statue of, i. 308.
Paraballon, a victor in the Olympic repeated course, ii. 90.
Parabysyn, a place of judgment among
the Athenians, i. 77.
Paracyparisa Achaian, the city, i. 298.
Paramon, an appellation of Mercury, ii. 40.
Parapotami, the city, iii. 95.
Pariani, the, iii. 52.
Paris, i. 296.
——, a picture of, iii. 167.
——, the fable of, respecting his judg-
ment of the goddesses explained, iii.
277.
Parathemidas, iii. 26.
Parnassus, the son of the nymph Cle-
odora, iii. 102.
Paroracus, the son of Tricolinus, ii.
300.
Paroria, the city, ii. 300.
Paroselene, i. 307.
Parphorus, the Colophonian, ii. 105.
Parthenas, the painter, i. 75.
——, the grove, ii. 307.
Parrots only to be found among the
Indians, i. 200.
Parthenon, ii. 273.
Parthenius, the river, ii. 193.
Parthenus, the Lacedemonian, iii. 26.
Parthenopeus, the son of Talaus, iii.
36.
Parthenope, the daughter of Anceus,
ii. 156.
Passerates, ii. 282.
Parideles, the self-taught artist, ii. 52.
Patheas Achaeus, a victor in the
Olympic race with the walking horse, ii. 21.
Patre, the city, i. 234. ii. 193.
——, the women of, remarkably prone
to venery, ii. 204.
Patreus, the son of Freugenes, ii.
162. 194.
Patrius, a statue so called, i. 119.
Patricles, the stautary, ii. 81. iii. 112.
Patroclus, an Athenian island, i. 96.
Patroclus, one of Ptolemy's command-
ers, i. 246.
——, the friend of Achilles, ii.
51.
——, a picture of, iii. 164.
Pausanias, the son of Plesantonax, leads
an army into Attica, i. 242.
——, the son of Cleombrotus, the
conduct of, towards a woman whose
name was Coa, i. 242.
—— makes a league with the
Thebans, and flies to the Tegeate, i.
243.
——, the general of the army in the
battle at Platees, story respecting, i.
281.
——, the stautary, iii. 111.
Pausias, the painter, two pictures of, i.
198.
Pauson, the stautary, iii. 111.
Pegas, the Nymph, ii. 136.
Pegasus, the hoof of, a channel for wa-
ter, i. 132.
Pelagon, ii. 133.
Pelagros, a place in Arcadia, ii. 248.
250.
Pelarge, the daughter of Potneus, iii.
50.
Pelasgus, ii. 226.
Peleides, the prophetesses, verses of, iii.
120.
Peleus slew Phocus, i. 205.
Pellis, ii. 45.
Pells, a picture of, iii. 158.
Pellas, the fountain, i. 294.
Pellene, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 221.
Pelopidas imprisoned by Alexander,
who reigned in Thessaly, iii. 29.
Pelops reigned in Pisa, ii. 3.
—— first built a temple to Mercury,
in Peloponnesus, ii. 3.
—— established games to Jupiter
Olympius, ii. 18.
——, a circumstance respecting the
bones of, ii. 38.
Pelorus, the Spartan, iii. 9.
Pencala, the river, ii. 231.
Peneleus, iii. 12.
Penelope, i. 293.
Peneus, the river, ii. 135.
Pentathlus, iii. 116.
Penthules, a picture of, iii. 168.
Pentheus, the son of Echion, iii. 9.
Pentheus, ii. 234.
Pepheas, a maritime city of the Spar-
tans, the island, i. 308.
Peranta, i. 135.
INDEX.

Phana, the city, iii. 132.
Phanas, i. 356.
Phares, an Achaian city, i. 390. ii. 163.

Patrenses by the Emperor Augustus, ii. 205.
Pharamdates, i. 242.
Pharax, ii. 84.
Phares, the son of Philadomia, ii. 206.
Pharbis, the son of Mercury, i. 390.

Pharsalus, a Lacedaemonian city, i. 235. 290.

Pharnakides, or witches, Theban statues, so called, iii. 22.
Phayllus, the brother of Onomarchus, and king of the Phocenses, iii. 99.
Pheloe, a small Achaian town, ii. 229.
Phemonoe, the first prophetess of Apollo, iii. 101.
Pheneos, the city, ii. 255, 256.
Pheneus, ii. 256.
Phereclus, the Elean pugilist, ii. 116.
Pherias, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 110.
Phialis, the city, ii. 229.
Phialus, ii. 229.

Phidas, ii. 23. 26. 35. 142. 144. 222. iii. 8. 112.

Phidias, the son of Bucollon, ii. 234.

Phidias, the, i. 290.

Persia, the, a Spartan porch, i. 290.
Persia, the fountain, iii. 119.
Perseus, a statue of, i. 119.
Phrases, the, a Spartan porch, i. 290.

Perseus, a fountain so called, i. 167.
Perseus, i. 150.

Perseus, the son of Orneus, i. 192. iii. 183.

Perseus, the, the founder of Mycene, and why he built it, i. 165.

Perseus, the, particulars of, i. 166. 167.

Perseus, the fountain, iii. 71.

Perseus, the son of Phyllus, and king of the Phocenses, iii. 94.

Perseus, the son of Phyleus, and the Spartan, a remarkable story of, iii. 114.

Phalacra, ii. 46.

Phalactus, the river, iii. 71.

Phalacra, the, the son of Temenus, i. 154. 201.

Phalacra, as remarkable story of, iii. 192.

Phalacra, the, the son of Agelaus, ii. 301.

Phaleas, the, a Spartan, a remarkable story of, iii. 114.

Phalacra, the, the son of Agelaus, ii. 301.

Pherenetus, the son of Euthymachus, iii. 125.
Pericles, the daughter of Alcathous, i. 115.
Pericles, a statue of, i. 65.
Pericles, the stater, ii. 44.
Pericles, ii. 135.
Periklymenus, iii. 36.
Periklytus, the son of Euthymachus, iii. 125.

Phana, the city, iii. 132.
Phanas, i. 356.
Phares, an Achaian city, i. 390. ii. 163.

Patrenses by the Emperor Augustus, ii. 205.
Pharamdates, i. 242.
Pharax, ii. 84.
Phares, the son of Philadomia, ii. 206.
Pharbis, the son of Mercury, i. 390.

—, a Lacedaemonian city, i. 235. 290.
Pharnakides, or witches, Theban statues, so called, iii. 22.
Phayllus, the brother of Onomarchus, and king of the Phocenses, iii. 99.
Pheloe, a small Achaian town, ii. 229.
Phemonoe, the first prophetess of Apollo, iii. 101.
Pheneos, the city, ii. 255, 256.
Pheneus, ii. 256.
Phereclus, the Elean pugilist, ii. 116.
Pherias, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 110.
Phialis, the city, ii. 229.
Phialus, ii. 229.

Phidas, ii. 23. 26. 35. 142. 144. 222. iii. 8. 112.

— made a brazen statue of Apollo, i. 64.

— Minerva, i. 75.

—, the workshop of, ii. 38.
Phidias, the mare of, ii. 109.
Phidon, the most insolent tyrant in Greece, ii. 184.
Philaenius, the son of Cyneus, ii. 172.
Philammon, iii. 74. 105.
Phalaeon, i. 225.
Philanthus, the son of Proclus, ii. 5.
Philaeus, the stater, ii. 74.
Philinous, a statue of, ii. 119.

Philip, the son of Amyntas, caused the Eleans to be involved in a civil war, i. 385.

—, a statue of, ii. 102.

—, not a good commander, &c. ii. 238.

— brought the bones of Linus to Macedonia, in consequence of a dream, iii. 58.

Philip the younger fortified three cities, which through his contempt of the Greeks he called keys, ii. 166.

—, the place in Arcadia, ii. 252.
INDEX.

Philip, the son of Demetrius, filled all Greece with terror, ii. 165.
——, the eldest son of Cassander, iii. 15.
Philippides, i. 76. ii. 382.
Philippus, the pugilist, ii. 97.
Philistis, the son of Archomenides, ii. 63.
Philitas, a victor in the Olympic caestus with boys, ii. 20.
Phililis, a victor in the Olympic games in wrestling, ii. 98.
Philias, the river, i. 290.
Phillipion, a round building in Altis, ii. 54.
Phillus, the daughter of Alcimedes, ii. 251.
Philocles, a commander of the Athenian fleet, iii. 67.
Philoctetes, ii. 33. 241.
Philodamia, the daughter of Danaus, i. 890. ii. 206.
Philogenes, the son of Euctemon, ii. 150.
Philolaus, a name given to Æsculapius by the Spartans, i. 298.
Philomela, iii. 98.
Philomelus, the son of Theotimus, iii. 93.
Philon, the pugilist, ii. 99.
——, a victorious boy in the Olympic race, ii. 113.
Philonides, a statue of, ii. 117.
Philonome, the daughter of Craugasus, iii. 123.
Philopomos, the son of Craugasus, i. 389. ii. 170.
——, general of the forces sent against the Achalans by Attalus, i. 186.
——, particulars of, ii. 329—337.
——, the last of the Greeks, ii. 336.
Philotas, the grandson of Peneleus, ii. 150. 152.
Philotimus, the statuary, ii. 113.
Philoxenus, l. 4. 217.
Phineus, ii. 46.
Phintas, the son of Sybotas, i. 319. 358.
Phidias, i. 263.
Phlegon Trallianus, remarkable histories, from the treatise, De Mirabilibus, iii. 240.
Phlegyas, i. 195.
——, the son of Mars, iii. 74.
Philias, particulars of, i. 159.
Philaenis, i. 193.
Phliasian tower, particulars of, i. 159.
Phlygonium, the city, iii. 95.
Phlyus, the son of Earth, i. 313.
Phoenæa, the war of the, against the Thessalians, iii. 90.
——, the memorable transactions of, iii. 96.
Phoicē, or sacred war, the causes and particulars of, iii. 93. 94.
——, desperation, the origin of the phrase, ii. 92.
——, war brought to an end by Philip, iii. 95.
——, cities, the destruction and restoration of, iii. 95.
Phoicon, the building, iii. 99.
Phoicus, the city, iii. 95.
Phoicus, a city under Parnassus, ii. 155.
——, particulars of, iii. 90.
Phoeus, the son of Ornytion, i. 203.
iii. 34. 90.
——, a picture of, iii. 164.
Phoebus marath in Troizen, i. 208.
Phoébus, the river, i. 209.
Phoezi, a place in Arcadia, ii. 249.
Phoëbe, the mountain, ii. 132.
Phorbas, the son of Lapithas, ii. 4.
——, the Athenian archon, ii. 125.
Phormio, the son of Asopichus, l. 61.
——, a victor, the Spartan, i. 277.
——, a victor in the Olympic games, ii. 55.
——, the Erythraean, ii. 160.
Phormis Mænalius, the offerings of, ii. 72.
Phoroneus, by what kings he was succeeded, i. 165.
——, the inventor of fire, according to the Argives, i. 175.
Phrygmon, the statuary, ii. 96.
Phratries, i. 374.
Phrasiclides, the Athenian archon, ii. 88. 283.
Phreattys, i. 78.
Phrixos, the ruins of, ii. 132.
——, the Nymph, ii. 926.
Phrixus, the son of Athamas, i. 61.
iii. 71.
——, the river, i. 228.
Phronis, the pilot of Menelaus, a picture of, iii. 153.
Phrurarchidas, iii. 26.
Phryne, the courtezan, i. 50.
——, a golden statue of, made by Praxiteles, ii. 125.
Phrynichus, the poet, iii. 167.
Phrynon, ii. 61.
Phylaeus, an heroic grove of, iii. 108.
INDEX.

Phyleus, the eldest son of Auges, ii. 3.
Physaco, a choir so called by the Eleans, ii. 43.
Picture in the Athenian porch called Various, particulars of, i. 39.
— of Bacchus leading Vulcan back to heaven, i. 50.
— of Pentheus and Lycurgus, suffering the punishment of their impiety towards Bacchus, i. 50.
— of the enterprise of Ulysses against the suitors, i. 132.
— in the tomb of Xenodice, i. 143.
Pictures in the temple of Esculapius among the Messenians, i. 394.
Piera, the fountain, ii. 43.
Pieria, the wife of Oxylus, ii. 9.
Pirrus, the river, ii. 203.
—, the Macedonian, ordered that nine Muses should be worshipped, iii. 57.
Pindar, i. 112. 206. 306. 316. 392. ii. 23. 35. 79. 151. 220. iii. 43. 127.
—, statue of, i. 205.
—, verses of, i. 306.
— composed hymns in honour of Amnon, iii. 31.
—, what first induced him to compose verse, iii. 44.
—, remarkable dream of, 45.
—, ruins of the house of, iii. 49.
—, a verse of, iii. 102.
—, the throne of, iii. 151.
Pisander, the city, iii. 35.
Pions, one of the posterity of Hercules, iii. 35.
Pipes of the ancients, a curious account of, from two Greek MSS. iii. 309, 310.
Piraeus, the grove, i. 154.
Piraeus, l. 1.
Piraeus, the son of Argus, i. 170.
Phrene, water of, i. 131.
Pirithous, ii. 26.
—, a picture of, iii. 163.
Pirus, the river, ii. 193.
Plaestor, the Camirenian, a poet, i. 228. ii. 269.
Pisias, the statuary, i. 9.
Pisidorus, the Olympic victor, ii. 15. 93.
Pisias, a picture of, iii. 156.
Pisistratus, i. 58. 173.
— collected the scattered verses of Homer into one regular poem, ii. 221.
Pison, the statuary, ii. 81.
Pius Perieres, ii. 45.
Pitanei, the, i. 269.
Pitho, one of the Graces, according to Hermesianax the poet, iii. 73.
Pittacus, the Mitylenian, iii. 150.
Pittheus taught the art of speaking, i. 210.
Pityreus, i. 194.
Pityusa, the island, i. 220.
Plataea, the daughter of king Asopus, iii. 1.
—, the city, the destruction of, iii. 2.
Platanista, Spartan games so called, i. 260.
Platanisson, the fountain, i. 401. ii. 310.
Plataniaus, the promontory, i. 299.
Plataniaus, the river, iii. 48.
Plato, l. 105.
Plato, a beautiful saying of, ii. 190.
—, according to the ancients, descended from Apollo—remarkable dream of, with its explanation by the Socratic Simmias, iii. 225.
—, observation of, in the Gorgias, iii. 3.
—, extract from the Phaedrus of, iii. 270.
—, an epistle of, iii. 281.
—, his account of the advantages which men derived from prophecy, iii. 284.
Plemnæus, i. 154.
Plethoanax, i. 242.
Plestori, a place so called in the Gymnasion of Elis, ii. 137.
Plethron, a statue of, ii. 116.
Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, i. 242.
Plistus, the river, iii. 109.
Ploitus, iii. 296.
Pluto, called by Pindar, Chrusenios, ii. 45.
—, why represented with a helmet, iii. 269.
—, why represented with a key, iii. 268.
—, beautiful account of, from the MSS. Schol. of Proclus on the Creta-
tylus, iii. 288.
Podalirius, i. 311.
Podares, ii. 247.
Pomanderus, the son of Charaesilaus, iii. 39.
Pomeneides, groves sacred to the Nereides, so called, i. 128.
Poleas, ii. 292.
INDEX.

Polemarchus, i. 237.
Polenor, the Centaur, ii. 15.
Poleus, the statuary, ii. 97.
Pollux, a servant of Menelaus, a picture of, iii. 153.
Pollex, i. 271. li. 46.
Poloson, a place in Tanagra, iii. 39.
Polus, li. 294.
Polyandria, busts so called, i. 190.
Polyarchus, iii. 139.
Polybides, the son of Lycortas, ii. 243.
Polybides, a statue of, ii. 292. 304. 329.
Polybus, li. 141.
Polycaon, the son of Lelex, i. 231. 312.
Polycaon, the son of Butes, i. 314.
Polycharis, the Messenian, i. 321.
Polycles, the statuary, li. 86.
Polycles, the sons of staturies, iii. 181.
Polydectes, the son of Eusonius, i. 248.
Polydorus, the daughter of Meleager, i. 316.
Polydorus, the son of Cadmus, iii. 10.
Polydorus, a Spartan king, i. 264. lii. 336.
Polydorus, the son of Ippomedon, the statue of, i. 178.
Polydorus, the son of Alcames, i. 237.
Polydorus, a statue of, i. 262.
Polydorus, the son of Lycortas, iii. 39.
Polydorus, the painter, i. 44. 57. iii. 8.
Polydorus, the pictures of, an account of, iii. 152—169.
Polydorus, i. 118.
Polyemestor, the son of Eginetas, ii. 235.
Polynestor Colophonius, i. 37.
Polynicos, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 20.
Polynecon, the son of Ædimus, iii. 11.
Polynestor, a statue of, i. 178.
Polynecon, the robber, i. 105.
Polyphemus, iii. 199.

Polypitheus Lecon, a victor in the horse-race of the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Polypetes, the son of Philetemus, a picture of, iii. 156.
Polytches, the town, ii. 153.
Polytius, the house of, i. 5.
Polyxena, a picture of, iii. 155.
Polyxenus, the son of Agathenes, ii. 7.
Polyxen, the wife of Miltiades, i. 288.
Pompeius, an Arcadian king, ii. 235.
Ponius, the grove, i. 226.
Porch, royal, in Attica, i. 2.

Pollux, the son of Butes, i. 293.

Porina, the river, ii. 360.
Porphyry, reigned in Attica prior to Actsus, i. 39.
Porphyry, iii. 297.
Port, secret, in Ægina, i. 205.
Porta Baptista, iii. 217.
Posidon, the, i. 224.
Posidonias, the city, i. 208.
Posidon, the architect, ii. 124.
Potheus, the meaning of the word, according to Plato, iii. 251.
Potnia, the ruins of, iii. 16.

Prax, the great grandson of Pergamus, i. 292.
Praxias, the statuary, iii. 135.
Praxidamas, a victorious pupilist in the Olympic games, ii. 122.
Praxidamas, a statue of, i. 264.
Praxiteles, the poetess, i. 267.
Praxiteles, the statuary, ii. 5. 110. 119

Proclus, the daughter of Clytius, iii. 123.
Proclus, the son of Aristodemus, i. 233.

Proclus, the son of Aristocles, i. 440.

Proclus, the son of Styreus, and leader of the Iones, i. 156.
INDEX.

Proclus, the boy, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 113.
Proclus, the Carthaginian, i. 182.
——, the philosopher, extract from the MS. Commentaries of, on the Achiabades, iii. 251. 309.
——, extract from the MSS. School of, on the Cratylus, iii. 200. 208. 223. 233. 285. 287. 307.
——, extract from the Scholia of, on Hesiod, iii. 233. 310.
——, MS. hymn of, entitled ὤμοιας ξανθῆς, or a common hymn, iii. 243.
——, treatise of, on the Magia, iii. 291.
——, Commentaries of, on Plato’s Republic, iii. 278.
——, six books of, on the Theology of Plato, iii. 255.
——, Commentaries of, on the Timaeus, iii. 228. 234. 247. 300. 315.
Procon, i. 63.
Procritis, the daughter of Eretheus, i. 103. iii. 36.
——, a picture of, iii. 163.
Prodigies significant of the ruin of the Messenians, i. 344—346.
Prodigium baneful to the Achaeans, ii. 172.
Proteus, i. 145. 166.
——, daughters of, the statues of, i. 151.
Proclus, ii. 5.
Promachos, a stone statue of Hercules, iii. 22.
Promachus, the son of Parthenopeus, iii. 37.
——, a statue of, i. 178. iii. 114.
——, the son of Hercules, ii. 273.
Promekdon, a picture of, iii. 166.
Prometheus, a definition of, iii. 213.
——, why burning lamps were employed in the contest sacred to, ii. 224.
——, the son of Codrus, ii. 153.
Promne, the wife of Buphagus, ii. 257.
Promontory, a, called the jaw-bone of an ass, i. 299.
Prous, the hill, i. 225.
Pronomus, the Piper, i. 383.
——, a statue of, iii. 24.
Propylaea, vestibules so called, i. 56.
Proserpine’s grove, a picture of, iii. 163.
Psoymus, i. 168.
Prosymna, the statue of, i. 227.
Protais, revenged on himself Perses Artabates, i. 241. ii. 46.
——, a picture of, iii. 164.
Protolus, the Olympic pugilist, ii. 90.
Protophanes, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, and in wrestling, i. 97. ii. 57.
Providence, an energy prior to intellect, iii. 356.
Proxenus, ii. 282.
Prytanes, the Corinthian kings, i. 136.
Prytanum, contents of, i. 45. 49. 117.
——, the, in Altis, ii. 40.
Prytanis, i. 55.
Psimathes, i. 119.
Psamathe, i. 306.
Pselus, extract from a very rare Greek MS. of, iii. 292.
Pigmum, a sea so called, i. 215.
Psophis, the son of Archon, ii. 273.
——, the city, ii. 273.
——, the daughter of Eryx, ii. 273.
Peyli, the, i. 55.
Palytis, a small island before Salamis, i. 99.
Ptemel, the son of Berenice, transactions of, i. 17. 18.
Polemus Philometer, particulars of, i. 21. 22.
——, brazen statues of, i. 22.
——, the brother of Lysandra, i. 41.
——, the son of Lagus, a statue of, ii. 115.
——, the son of Damasichthon, iii. 13.
——, a victor in the Pythian contest with the two-yoked car, iii. 106.
——, the astronomer, studied astronomy for forty years in the Pteroi of Canus, iii. 283.
Ptolchus, the statuary, ii. 81.
Pulis, a plain in Arcadia, ii. 252.
Pitous, the son of Athamas and The- midus, iii. 46.
Punices, a place of judgment among the Athenians, i. 77.
Pyla, king, i. 107.
Pylades, i. 203. 233.
——, planned the death of Neoptolemus, i. 205.
Pyleus, the son of Clymenus, iii. 76.
Pyles, a city in the promontory of Coryphasium, i. 442.
INDEX.

Pybus, an Elean city, the ruins of, ii. 135.
Pyrechmes, ii. 8.
Pyrias, ii. 122.
Pyrilampes, a victor in the Olympic Dolichos, ii. 83.

Pyrrha, the daughter of Creon, iii. 20.

Pyrrhus, the god, one of the Cures, i. 305.
Pyrrhius, i. 295.
Pyrrho, the son of Pistocrates, a statue of, ii. 140.

Pyrrhus, the architect, ii. 125.

Pyrrhus, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, lii. 77.

Pyrrhus, the son of Eácides Aribas, statue of, i. 27.
Pyrrhus, a statue of, i. 27—32.
Pyrrhus, flies to Tarentum, i. 32.
Pyrrhus, were on Antigonus and the Greeks, i. 32—35.
Pyrrhus, his death, i. 35.
Pyrrhus, a trophy of, i. 181.
Pyrrhus, the son of Eácides, a statue of, ili. 112.
Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, i. 310.
Pyrrhus, plundered the temple of Apollo at Delphi, ili. 104.
Pytheos, a statue of Apollo so called, i. 221.

Pythagoras, the painter, iii. 74.

Pythian games, an account of, iii. 103—107.
Pythian, i. 102.
Pythias, the son of Delphos, iii. 103.
Pythocritus, a victorious player on the pipe in the Olympic games, ii. 112.
Pythodoros, the statuary, iii. 70.
Pythion, the serpent, the symbolical meaning of, unfolded, iii. 260.
Pyttalos, a victorious pupilist in the Olympic games, ii. 116.
Pythius, ii. 4.
INDEX.

Salomeus, the daughter of, a picture of, iii. 163.
Salome, the lake, ii. 214.
Samia, the city, ii. 13.
——, the daughter of the river Mazander, ii. 156.
Samicon, ii. 11.
Samos, a city of the Ionians, ii. 156.
Samos, the island, ii. 156.
Samus, the son of Anceus, ii. 156.
Sandion, i. 118.
Saon, iii. 85.
Sappho, i. 65. iii. 58. 58.
Sardinia, the island, iii. 128.
——, free from all poisonous herbs, except one, which causes those who eat it to die laughing, iii. 132.
Sardus, the son of Maceria, iii. 129.
Sarmatian coat of mail, and the manner in which the Sarmatians fight, i. 54.
Saron drowned in pursuing a hind, i. 208.
Satrapes, a statue so called by the Eleans, i. 143.
Saturn, why fabled to devour his children, iii. 196.
——, why called ἀγαλματίς, iii. 196.
——, why represented as an old man, and slow in his motion, iii. 195.
——, what is meant by his castrating his father Heaven, iii. 301.
——, the meaning of his swallowing a colt and a stone, instead of Neptune and Jupiter, iii. 303.
——, the meaning of his being dethroned by Jupiter, iii. 285.
Satyr, statue of one, by Praxiteles, i. 50.
Satyrïdae, islands so called, i. 60.
Satyrus, the puglist, ii. 83.
Saunion, the fountain, iii. 187.
Scesa, the daughter of Danaus, ii. 148.
Scambonides, i. 104.
Sceades, the haven, i. 299.
Scedasius, iii. 26.
Scenoma, a place in Sparta so called, i. 261.
Scephrus, the son of Tegeates, ii. 338.
Sceptræ, the, which Vulcan made for Jupiter, particulars of, iii. 87. 88.
——, the meaning of one being fabricated by Vulcan, iii. 87. 88.
Schedius, king of the Phocenses, iii. 97.
——, a picture of, iii. 166.
Scheris, the island, i. 137.
Schiates, the road, iii. 99.
Scias, a building so called in Sparta, i. 266.
Sclerus, the ruins of, ii. 14.
Sciron, i. 108. 122.
Sciron's, i. 99.
Scirrus, the prophet, i. 100.
Scopas, the statuary, i. 119. 151. 185.
——, ii. 142. 286. 323. 325.
Scorpion, a, which had wings similar to those of a locust, iii. 41.
Scorithas, a place full of oaks, i. 259.
Sceleum, the promontory of, i. 219.
Scyllis, the statuary, i. 164. 214. ii. 44. 126.
——, the diver, a statue of, iii. 134.
Scyppius, the city, ii. 155.
Scyryas, the river, i. 305.
Seasons, the, beautiful account of, from the Commentaries of Proclus on the Timaeus, iii. 315.
Seer, a worm, from the thread of which the Seres make garments, ii. 145.
Selasia, the ruins of, i. 239.
Seleus, a victorious wrestler in the Olympic games, ii. 117.
Selenus, ii. 208.
——, the meaning of his being changed into a river, iii. 301.
Seleucus, particulars of, i. 40. ii. 116.
——, a statue of, ii. 102.
Selinuntes, the town, i. 298.
Selinus, the river, ii. 212.
Semele, i. 303.
——, the meaning of her being led back to heaven by Bacchus, iii 272.
——, the symbolic signification of, iii. 302.
Sennae, or the Furies, i. 76.
Senate-house of the five hundred, and the statues it contains, i. 9.
Seps, the serpent, ii. 232.
Sérambus, the statuary, ii. 102.
Seraupion, the Alexandrian pantheriast, i. 59.
Serpis, the same with the Pluto of the Greeks, iii. 25.
Sersis, the island, ii. 145.
Ship, an account of a prodigious large one built by Ptolemy Philopater, ii. 199.
Sicily, an account of the nations of, ii. 68.
Sicyon, i. 157.
Sicyonia, i. 193.
Sicyonians, the debility of, i. 142.
——, their manner of burying their dead, i. 143.
——, the treasury of the, iii. 115.
Sida, i. 298.
Side, the daughter of Danaus, i. 299.
Silanion, the statuary, ii. 86. 111. 112.
INDEX.

Silenus, i. 306.
——, the eldest of the Satyrs, i. 60.
——, the Marsian, i. 62.
Simangelus, iii. 26.
Simon, the statuary, ii. 72.
Simonides, i. 4. 251. iii. 5.
——, an elegy of, iii. 159.
Simplicius, extract from the Commentaries of, on Aristotle's Physics, iii. 280.

——, De Caelo, iii. 313.
Simus, the son of Phlius, ii. 235.
Simulus, the Messenian, ii. 205.
Sinis, the robber, i. 102. 126.
Sinoe, the companion of Ulysses, a picture of, iii. 158.
Siope, a road so called in Ellis, ii. 139.
Siphnili, the, a treasury of, iii. 115.
Sipte, a fortified city of Thrace, ii. 75.
Sipylos, the town, i. 184.
Sirea, a place in Arcadia, ii. 273.
Sisyphus, the sons of, i. 135.
——, a picture of, iii. 169.
——, the meaning of the fable respecting the punishment of, explained, iii. 259.
Sleep, above all the deities, friendly to the Muses, according to the Trozenians, i. 211.
——, statue of, i. 152.
—— and Death, statues of, i. 282.
——, why said by the ancients to be twins, iii. 276.
Sluggish, a stone so called in Sparta, i. 296.
Smenos, the river, i. 304.
Smicrhus, an account of his gifts in Olympia, ii. 70.
Smiles, the statuary, ii. 157.
Socrates, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 95.
——, the son of Sophroniscus, made two statues for the Athenians, i. 58. iii. 49. 74.
Sodamas, i. 256.
——, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 86.
Soidas, the statuary, ii. 193.
Solon, the Athenian, iii. 150. 188.
Somis, the statuary, ii. 113.
Soos, the son of Proclus, i. 248.
Sophius, a victor in the Olympic race, ii. 81.
Sophoecis, i. 77.
——, statue of, i. 53.
Soron, a grove of oaks in Arcadia, ii. 272.
Sosander, the Smyrnean, ii. 58. 138.
Sosigenes, ii. 294.
Sosipolis, the Demon, ii. 126.
Sostratus, the pancratist, ii. 85.
Sostratus Pelleneus, a victor over boys in the Olympic stadium, ii. 192.
Sotades, a victor in the Olympic longer course, ii. 122.
Sparta, the image of, i. 167.
——, the wall of, demolished by the Achaeans, ii. 168.
Spartans, the, admire poetry the least of all men, i. 251.
——, sacrifice canine whelps to Mars, i. 272.
Sparton, the son of Tisamenus, ii. 169.
Spelaitai, statues of Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo, so called, iii. 170.
Sphacteria, the island, ii. 135.
Sphaeria, a Trojan island, i. 216.
Sphaerii, the, i. 271.
Spherus, ii. 26.
Sphettus, the son of Trozen, i. 309.
Sphinx, the particulars of, iii. 51.
——, explanation of the fable of, iii. 311.
Sphinu, the son of Machaon, i. 187.
Sphregidion, the cavern, iii. 7.
Spiders, curious particulars of, iii. 14.
Spintharus, the architect, iii. 102.
Stadicus, the statuary, ii. 86.
Stadium of white stone, i. 49.
Stags, white, ii. 262.
Statues before the entrance of the temple of Juno, i. 169.
—— and sacred gifts among the Eleans, an account of the, ii. 54.
—— in Olympia of thirty-five boys that were shipwrecked, ii. 67.
——, the meaning of those that were called Diopeteis, ii. 214.
Statue, gigantic, common in the heroic age—satisfactorily accounted for by the Platonic philosophy, iii. 237.
—— remarkable histories of, from Phlegon Trallianus, iii. 240.
Staxus, the fountain, i. 144.
Stemmatus, a grove in Sparta so called, i. 292.
Stenyckererus, the royal city of the Messenians, i. 318.
Stenyckererus, the plain, i. 399.
Stephanus de Urribus, curious extract from, respecting Pan, iii. 220.
Sterrhis, the city, iii. 95.
Steichorius Himericus, i. 185. 289.
——. ii. 229. iii. 4. 21. 155. 156.
Stenos, a cavern in Phrygia, ii. 231.
Sthenelcid, one of the Spartan Ephori, i. 250.
INDEX.

Sthenes, i. 166.
Sthenes, the son of Capaneus, i. 172.
———, the statue of, i. 178. iii.
114.
Sthenis, the statuary, ii. 118.
———, a victorious puglist in the
Olympic games, ii. 119.
Stiris, the city, iii. 183.
Stomius, the statuary, ii. 113.
———, a victor in the Olympic quin-
quernium, ii. 81.
Stratius, the son of Clymenus, iii. 76.
Straton, the statuary, i. 187.
———, a victor in the Olympic
games, ii. 57.
Stronyle, the city, lli. 116.
Strouphus, a picture of, iii. 153.
Struthuntes, the promontory, i. 225.
Symphiialus birds, the meaning of the,
iii. 285.
Symphalides, the, a description of, ii.
269.
Symphalus, the son of Elatus, ii. 231.
———, the city, ii. 268.
Styx, the water of, ii. 263.
———, remarkable properties of its water,
ii. 264.
———, of what the cause, iii. 303.
Sulpitius, ii. 175.
Sumates, ii. 230.
Sumatia, the city, ii. 230.
Sun, the, a brazen statue of, i. 308.
———, why said to be drawn by
four horses, ii. 196.
———, why represented as perpe-
tually young, iii. 196.
———, table of the, in Ethiopia,
iii. 235.
Sunium, the promontory, i. 1.
Surma Antigones, a place in Thebes,
iii. 48.
Syburiades, a victor in the Olympic
race with colts, ii. 20.
Sybotas, the son of Dotadas, i. 319.
Sylla, iii. 16.
——— took Athens, and on what ac-
count, i. 51—53.
——— guilty of many cruelties to se-
veral nations, iii. 69.
——— died miserable, iii. 69.
Sylli, the city, iii. 131.
Symmachus, a wrestler in the Olympic
games, ii. 76.
Symallaxis, the Nymph, ii. 136.
Syros, the city, i. 311.
Sythia, the river, i. 145.
Sythae, the rivers, i. 157.
INDEX.

Temesis, gates of, a city so called, i. 98.
Temenium, i. 226.
Temenus, i. 173.
———, the son of Pelagus, ii. 268.
———, the son of Phegeus, ii. 275.
Temnis, the town, ii. 34.
Temple of Achilles, i. 292. 303.
———, Eantides, i. 115.
———, the boy Æsculapius, ii. 279.

286.
Cotyleus Æsculapius, i.

288.
Æsculapius Demænotus, ii.

132.
Agnetas, i. 271.
Ajax, i. 96.
Alexandra, i. 287.
Amazonian Apollo, i. 306.
Ammou in Libya, i. 373.
iii. 31.
Amphiaraus, i. 94. 186.
———, called Anactorus, i. 163.
Antinous, ii. 244.
Aphaea, in which Pindar composed verses for the Æginetæ, ii. 206.

Aphæus, ii. 322.
Apollo Acestius, ii. 140.
Carneus, i. 165. 271.

304.
Delphinian, i. 47.
Diradiates, i. 188.
Ephibaturius, i. 213.
Epidelium, i. 300.
the Helper, ii. 314.
Ismeniæ, iii. 20.
Latous, i. 124.
Lycius, i. 174.
Mæletus, i. 199.
Parrhasius, ii. 309.
Platanistius, i. 219.
Pythian, i. 250. 260.
Thearian, i. 211.
Theoxeniæ, ii. 222.
Tutelaris, i. 121.
in Delphos plundered by the Phocenses, iii. 93.

———, various reports of the construction of, iii. 101.
———, dedicated by the emperor Adrian, iii. 182.
Arainæ, i. 265.
Bacchus Acratophoros, ii.

311.
———, Algobalos, iii. 17.
———, Axites, ii. 280.

Temple of Bacchus Calydonius, ii. 201.
Colonata, i. 268.
Crestius, i. 188.
Lampter, ii. 222.
Leucyanitas, ii.

132.
Lysian, iii. 32.
Melenagis, i. 221.
Nyxetius, i. 111.
Poltis, ii. 280.
Baton, i. 186.
Bellerophon, i. 130.
Belus in Babylon, i. 373.
the Cabiri remarkably holy from the beginning, iii. 50.
Calathia, i. 311.
Cassandra, the daughter of Priam, i. 309.
Castor, i. 266.
the river Cephissus, i. 178.
Ceres Chamyne, ii. 131.
Eleusinæ, i. 291.

258. 277. 289. iii. 8.
Europa, iii. 82.

———, a holy one of Ceres, i. 295.

355. ii. 240.
Ceres Mycaleæsian, iii. 37.
Mysian, i. 171.
Panachaïs, ii. 211.
Pelasginæ, i. 183.
Prostasia and Proserpine, i. 154.
Spritis, iii. 183.
Thermasia, i. 219.
Thesmæ, ii. 259.
Thesmophoros, i. 116.

188. iii. 32. 178.
Virid, i. 56.
the Wool-bearer, i.

121.
Cleta, i. 283.
Clymenum, i. 223.
Cyamitas, i. 102.
Cyclopus, i. 99.
Diana Æginæa, i. 270.
Diana Ætolæa, iii. 199.
Agrotera, ii. 219.
Alphæa, ii. 136.
Aphonomethe, i. 272.
Arielia, i. 198.
Astræa, i. 306.
Brauronianæ, i. 61.
Calliste, ii. 301.
Cacæalia, ii. 271.
Cordace, ii. 154.
Coryæsæan, i. 260.
Daphnéa, i. 304
Despoinæ, ii. 304.
Dictynæa, i. 265.
INDEX.

Temple of Diana Dictyna, i. 304. iii. 185.

270.

Ephesian, ii. 151. 159.

the Huntress, i. 49.

ii. 221.

Hymnia, ii. 235. 253.

Iphigenia, ii. 291.

Ixora, i. 270.

Laphria, ii. 194.

Limnaea, i. 144.

Limmatis, i. 320. 393.

ii. 200. 340.

Lycean, i. 211.

Lycoctis, ii. 303.

Mysia, i. 252.

Orthia, i. 190. 278.

Ceres, Paidotrophos, i. 402.

Pheres, i. 153.

Philoemeria, ii. 139.

Propyleis, i. 105.

Pryonian, ii. 260.

Rural, ii. 295.

Saronia, i. 208.

the Saviour, i. 210.

ii. 311.

Scndias, ii. 300.

Sthenella, ii. 270.

Triclia, ii. 196.

the mother Dindymene, ii. 191.

Dionysius, i. 50.

, a most ancient

Dryops, the son of Apollo,

Earth, i. 262.

, which is called Ge-

septum, i. 265.

, the nurse of youths,

i. 56.

wide-bosomed, ii. 218.

the gods, called Epidotes, i. 199.

the river Erymanthus, ii. 275.

Eucle, i. 37.

Eurynome, ii. 314.

Fortune Accra, i. 144.

the Furies, ii. 216. 298.

the Good Daemon, iii. 82.

Good Fortune, iii. 82.

the Good God, ii. 302.

the Greatest Gods, ii. 207.

the Great Goddesses, ii. 292.

the Great Mother, i. 265.

Gorgasus and Nicomachus,

l. 319.

Temple of Hades, ii. 142.

Hebe, i. 158. 160.

Hercules Abia, i. 390.

Cynosarges, i. 48.

Ippodotos, iii. 50.

Manticus, i. 373.

Hermes Agyptus, ii. 376.

Hilaria and Phorbe, i. 276.

Hippolytus, i. 213.

Hippothenes, i. 274.

the Hours, i. 178.

Ino, i. 308.

Isis, ii. 217.

, which is called Pelagias, i. 136.

, which is called Aegy-

ptis, i. 136.

Juno, Jupiter Panelleneus,

and to all the gods, built by the

emperor Adrian, i. 46.

Juno Acrea, i. 180.

Antheia, i. 183.

Argive, i. 298.

Bunzaen, i. 137.

Hyperchira, i. 268.

the Perfect, ii. 294.

Porostromia, i. 154.

Jupiter Agora, i. 262.

Aphesius, i. 123.

Cappadocia, i. 136.

Charmion, ii. 281.

the Congregator, ii.

211.

Cosmetas, i. 280.

Dodorean, i. 33.

Epidoto, ii. 248.

Eueneus, i. 268.

Ithomian, i. 344.

Judicial, iii. 49.

the King, iii. 82.

Larissesus, i. 169.

Lyceum, ii. 290.

Messapeus, i. 290.

Nemeaen, i. 164. 178.

Olympus, i. 270. ii.

199.

Deucalion, i. 46.

the Opulent, i. 288.

Phlius, ii. 293.

Pluvius, iii. 82.

Pulvareus, i. 111.

Jupiter the Saviour, i. 178.

213. 302. ii. 243. 299.

Tropaeus, i. 265.

in Olympia, the de-

scription of the, ii. 23.

Lycurgus, i. 277.

Machon, i. 310.
INDEX.

Temple of the goddesses Manai, ii. 298.
— Maro and Alpheus, i. 265.
— Melampus Amythaon, i. 122.
— Menelaus, i. 292.
— Messene, the daughter of Triopas, i. 395.
— called Metron, or, the temple of the Mother of the Gods, ii. 54.
— of Morpho, i. 275.
— Mercury Acesius, ii. 291.
— Criophorus, iii. 42.
— Cylenius, ii. 292.
— Minerva Agorai, i. 262.
— Alea, ii. 244. 270.
— Apastoria, i. 216.
— Asia, i. 304.
— Aziopoma, i. 274.
Temple of Neptune Natal, i. 275.
— Onchestian, iii. 51.
— Phtholmys, i. 215.
— Protoclytus, i. 184.
— Tanarius, i. 264.
— and its contents, i. 127.
— Octavia, i. 131.
— Oebalus, i. 275.
— the god Ogoa, ii. 246.
— Palemon, i. 128.
— Pallas and Evander, ii. 321.
— Pan the Liberator, i. 214.
— Nomian, ii. 310.
— Pandrosus, i. 71.
— Parthenon, i. 63.
— Pelops, ii. 65.
— Perseus, i. 170.
— the goddess Persuasion, i. 144.
— Phaenna, i. 283.
— the mother Plastene, ii. 34.
— Polemocrates, i. 230.
— Polias, i. 71.
— the goddesses, called Praxidice, ii. 68.
— Promachos, iii. 42.
— Proserpine the Saviour, i. 267.
— the Huntress, iii. 82.
— called Puthion, iii. 74.
— of the Roman emperors, i. 298.
— Safety, ii. 211.
— Serapis, i. 137. 270. ii. 204.
— Canopicus, i. 137.
— Silenus, ii. 141.
— the goddess Syria, ii. 220.
— Theis, i. 270.
— Tonstrina, ii. 298.
— Tricla, ii. 207.
— Triptolemus, i. 105.
— Trophonius, iii. 80.
— Venus Celestial, i. 38. 188.
— of, ii. 127.
— Erycina, ii. 274.
— Marine and Opportune, i. 221.
— Martial, i. 281.
— Melanis, i. 150. ii. 297. iii. 53.
— Mignonitis, i. 296.
— Olympian, i. 267.
— the Speculatrix, i. 214.
— Sippa, i. 218.
— Summachia, ii. 244.

VOL. III.
INDEX.

Temple of Venus, called the Temple in a Tile, ii. 327.

Urania, i. 299.

Verticordia, i. 111.

Victims, i. 393.

Victory without wings, i. 57.

winged Victory, i. 206.

Violence, i. 137.

called the altar of the Cyclops, i. 128.

in Attica, called Colonies of Cities, i. 46.

to all the Gods, i. 131. 193.

the Twelve Gods, ii. 277.

an ancient one, and its contents, i. 110.

one with a two-fold entrance, i. 191.

Tenerus, the plain, iii. 50.

the prophet, the son of Apollo and Melia, iii. 21. 50.

Tenes, iii. 123.

Tereus, the Tuscian, iii. 32. 98.

Teucer, i. 78.

the posterity of, reigned over the Cyprians, i. 203.

Teumesus, a place in Thebes, iii. 36.

Teuthis, the village, ii. 287.

an Arcadian general, particulars of, ii. 287.

Teuthras, the Athenian, i. 306.

Teuthrone, a Spartan town, i. 285.

Thalamus, a place so called in Sparta, i. 308.

Thales, the Milesian, iii. 150.

Thalaiides, a place in Arcadia, ii. 277.

Thalip, ii. 6.

Thamyris, the son of Philammon and the Nymph Argope, i. 399. iii. 105.

a statue of, iii. 59.

a picture of, iii. 166.

the meaning of the blindness of, iii. 222.

Thasus, an Achaian city, ii. 162.

Theagenes, i. 109.

a statue of, ii. 102.

Theban, the Olympic victor, ii. 95.

Thearias, iii. 139.

Theatre at Athens, i. 58.

Thebe, the, a verse from, ii. 278.

Theban kings, the genealogy of the, iii. 9.

Thebans, the, restored to their country, by Cassander the son of Antipater, i. 384.

the transactions of the, iii. 13.

Thebans, the, reduced by Sylla to a very calamitous condition, iii. 16.

Thebe, the daughter of Asopus, ii. 61.

Prometheus, iii. 10.

Thebes, the seven gates of, raised, according to Nonnus, agreeably to the number and order of the seven planets; and the meaning of this, ii. 309.

Thecpleon, a building so called in Attis, ii. 40.

Thelpus, the city, ii. 276.

Themis, i. 113.

Themis, the city, iii. 170.

Themistocles, ii. 336.

the offerings of, rejected by Apollo, iii. 124.

Theocles, the statuary, ii. 41.

Theocles, the prophet of the Messenians, i. 352.

valiantly rushes on the Spartans, and falls covered with wounds, i. 383.

Theocromus, the statuary, ii. 110. ii. 93. iii. 111.

Theocrestus, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 106.

Theodorus, the Samian, first discovered the method of casting iron, i. 266.

one of the first that taught how to cast brass, and melt it into statues, ii. 256.

a victor in the Olympic quinquerium, ii. 118.

the father of the Sibyl Hecropil, iii. 119.

Theognetus, a victor in wrestling in the Olympic games, ii. 96.

Theomelide, a place in Sparta so called, i. 269.

Theonnesus, the statuary, ii. 114.

Theophilus, the Athenian archon, iii. 95.

Theopompus, the son of Nicander, i. 237. 248. 258.

his speech to the Lacedaemonian army, i. 329.

a victor in the Olympic quinquerium, ii. 101.

Sinopsenis, his account of a large skeleton, iii. 282.

Theopompos, the statuary, iii. 110.

Theopolus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 119.

Theoxenus, ii. 282.

Thera, a place near the mountain Taygetus, i. 291.

the island, ii. 150.
INDEX.

Therape, i. 272. 288.
Theras, the son of Ion, i. 233.
——, the son of Autesion, i. 317.
——, ii. 150.
Theron, the statuary, i. 112.
Thermius, ii. 7.
Thermopylae, the torrent, iii. 37.
Theronice, ii. 6.
Theropone, ii. 6.
Thersander, the son of Agamidias, i. 277.
——, the son of Polynices, ii. 158.
Thersilochus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 108.
Thersites, a picture of, iii. 166.
Thersius, a victor in the Olympic chariot-race, ii. 21.
Theseus, picture of, &c. i. 8. iii. 163.
——, the meaning of the fable of, in which he is said to have been bound by Pluto, and liberated by Hercules, iii. 934. 203.
Theaope, the city, iii. 52.
Theopius, the son of Erechtheus, iii. 52.
Theopretis, a piece of poetical composition, ii. 252.
Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip the son of Amyntas, ii. 239. iii. 15.
Theseius, the father of Leda, i. 268.
Thetis, a statue of, i. 296.
Thibe, the city, iii. 65.
Thisoe, the Nymph, ii. 308. 309. 326.
Thius, the river, iii. 300.
Thoas, ii. 7. iii. 190.
Thonias, the city, ii. 288.
Thoncus, the son of Lyceon, ii. 229. 289.
Tholus, a place in Attica, containing silver statues, i. 12.
——, a round figure of white stone, i. 198.
Thornax, i. 259.
Thracians, the, called by the Greeks, Boreans, iii. 226.
Thracis, the city, iii. 95.
Thrasybulus, the Elean prophet, ii. 79. 247.
Thrasydrys, the Elean, makes a peace with the Lacedaemonians, i. 251.
Thronum, the city, ii. 60.
Thryodylides, i. 61. ii. 123.
Thuriatara, the city, i. 392.
Thyades, the, Attic women so called, iii. 97.
Thyia, the daughter of Castalus, iii. 103.
——, a picture of, iii. 162.
Thyiai, a festival of the Eleusinians, in honour of Bacchus, ii. 144.
Thylias, the statuary, ii. 62.
Thymoetes, the son of Oxyntis, i. 173.
Thyræum, the city, ii. 299.
——, ruins of, ii. 300.
Thyrea, the town, i. 229.
Tisa, the river, i. 283.
——, the daughter of Eurides, i. 283.
Tiber, the lake, ii. 17.
Tigas, a city of Arcadia, i. 190.
Tiphæus, the fountain, iii. 68.
Timanetus, a victor in the armed course, iii. 106.
Timagenidas, the Theban, ii. 172.
Timalco, i. 112.
Timandra, the daughter of Tyndarus, ii. 283.
Timanthes, the pancratist, ii. 96.
Timarchides, the statuary, iii. 180.
Timasithes, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 97.
Timæas, the statue of, i. 178.
Timocles, the statuary, iii. 180.
Timocrates, the Rhodian, bribes the Grecians to war on the Lacedaemonians, i. 255.
Timon, the Eleusins, conquered in the quinquennium, i. 5. 116.
——, a victor in the Olympic chariot-race, ii. 80.
——, the son of Egyptus, ii. 106.
Timoptolis, the Eleusis, ii. 115.
Timothenes, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 79.
Timothetus, the statuary, i. 214.
——, Cononis, i. 69.
——, the Milesian, a verse of, ii. 382.
Tiphæ, the city, iii. 66.
Tiphys, the pilot of the ship Argo, iii. 66.
Tiresias, the divining tower of, iii. 31.
——, a picture of, iii. 163.
——, the meaning of his becoming blind through beholding Minerva, iii. 315.
Tityra, ruins of, i. 193.
Tyrynthus, the son of Argus, i. 193.
Tismenetus, the son of Orestes, i. 172.
——, particulars of, i. 264. 264.
——, a king of the Thesians, iii. 13.
Tisander, the statuary, iii. 112.
——, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 109.
Tisias, the orator, ii. 120.
Tisicrates, a victor in the Olympic stadium, i. 99.
INDEX

Thisis, the son of Alexia, ii. 355.
Titon, the brother of the Son, i. 155.
Titana, a town of the Sicyonians, i. 157. ii. 320.
Thalassa, iii. 171.
Tharassus, i. 245.
Thermon, the town, ii. 178.
Titos Pharnaces, iii. 179. 185.
Tepides, a rider in the Olympic race with a single mule, i. 21.
Tremo, an Argive festival so called, i. 192.
Tomb of Oedipus, i. 77.
— — the sons of Egyptus, i. 189.
— — Egyptus, the son of Belus, ii. 204.
— — Egyptus, ii. 261.
Tomb, called Asynium, i. 118.
— — of Agamemnon, and his charioteer Euryndios, i. 168.
Tomb of the kings called Aclaim, i. 299.
Tomb of Alcmen, i. 273.
— — Alcmen, i. 111.
— — Aloph, i. 107.
— — Amphion, i. 275.
— — the children of Amphion, lit. 82.
— — Amphius, lit. 190.
— — Anchises, lit. 193.
— — Andromon, lit. 190.
— — Antroclus, the son of Corinna, li. 152.
— — Antaeus, lit. 99.
— — Antiope and Phocas, lit. 172.
— — Apollodorus, i. 82.
— — Ars, i. 158. 162.
— — the Areains, that fell in the engagement against the Beozians, ii. 127.
— — Arcas, the son of Callisto, ii. 243.
— — Apollonios, ii. 81.
— — Alagius, i. 164.
— — Aratine, i. 173.
— — Aristocrates, ii. 224.
— — Aristodemos, ii. 302.
— — Aristoemenes, and the manner in which the Messenians sacrifice on it, i. 346.
— — Aristides, the satirist, i. 160.
— — Asklepios, iii. 36.
— — Astrabonos, i. 278.
— — Asystos and Mantos, i. 13.
— — those Athenians that fought against the Egeians, i. 81.
Tomb in Athens, called the heroans of 
— — of Atres, i. 167.

Tomb of Aglyra, the daughter of Alexia, ii. 292.
— — Antones, i. 122.
— — — the daughter of 
— — Cepheus, ii. 244.
— — Brasidas, the son of Tellus, i. 269.
— — brazen, i. 183.
— — of Caucus, ii. 29.
— — Callipolis, i. 110.
— — Callis, ii. 301.
— — Callis, i. 54.
— — Car, the son of Phereus, i. 183.
— — Carpus, i. 261.
— — Castor, i. 267.
— — Cephisodorus, i. 100.
— — Cerdes, the wife of Phereus, i. 168.
— — Chalcodon, ii. 259. iii. 37.
— — Cinus, i. 298.
— — Cleitus, i. 164.
— — the Cleomini, i. 81.
— — Cleisthenes, i. 81.
— — Clymene, the mother of Homer, iii. 151.
— — Clytemnestra and Agipes, i. 168.
— — Canon and Teosbeus, i. 83.
— — Corethus, i. 118.
— — Corinna, iii. 43.
— — Cranus, i. 87.
— — Cretan archers, i. 80.
— — Crotus, i. 98.
— — Cyparissus, i. 186.
— — Cyno, i. 296.
— — Demarchus, i. 215.
— — Diogenes of Sinope, i. 199.
— — Electra, i. 193.
— — Ennomion, ii. 128.
— — Euphronius, ii. 250.
— — Ephebides and Lycurgus, orators, i. 29.
— — Episthides, i. 252.
— — Epimenides, i. 181.
— — , the Cretan, i. 263.
— — Epopeus, i. 194.
— — Eriphylus, ii. 186.
— — Erichthonus, i. 86.
— — Eubulus, i. 82.
— — Eumenes, the son of Lycurgus, i. 277.
— — Eumenes, i. 271.
— — Eunolpus, i. 104.
— — Eupolus, the Athenian, a writer of comedies, i. 143.
— — Eurybiades, i. 278.
Tomb, royal, of the Eurypontides, i. 265.
INDEX.

Tomb of Euryphile, ii. 196.
Eurytheus, i. 123.
Eurytus, i. 164.
— heroic, of Aigeus, i. 275.
Aigeus, i. 121.

Tete
Alcimus, i. 273.
Alamone, the son of
Amphiaras, ii. 274.
Alcon, i. 271.
Amphiaras, i. 264.
Aratus, i. 146.
Auron, i. 266.
Cadmus, i. 275.
Cecrops, the son of
Pandion, iii. 68.

Chilon, i. 277.
Clydeceus, the son of
Hyllus, i. 278.

Cyniscus, i. 273.
Deuces, i. 273.
Eheforon, ii. 274.
Eumaeus, i. 273.
Hippolytus, i. 265.
Hippothoon, i. 104.
Ino, i. 116.

Iolus, iii. 44.
Iops, i. 264.
Iphigenia, i. 117.
Lete, i. 264.
Perseus, i. 170.
Sebeus, i. 273.
the posterity of Oioly-
cus, i. 275.
Pleuron, i. 268.
Podareis, i. 243.
Promachus, ii. 274.
the son of Taygete, i.
Teleclus, i. 27.
Thebeus, i. 255.
Zares, i. 104.
raised by Harpalus, i. 102.
of Hector, the son of Priam.

Helleodorus Halis, i. 100.
the Sibyl, Herophile, iii. 118.
Hesiod, iii. 79.
the suitors of Hippodamia,
ii. 139.
Hippolyte, i. 113.
Hippolytus, i. 55.
Hippo, or the Horse, i. 292.
Homer, iii. 151.
Hyacinthus, i. 232.
Hyllus, i. 112.

Hypermnestra and Lyneceus,
i. 180.
Tomb, royal, of the Iamidæ, i. 265.
Tomb of Idas and Lyneceus, i. 266.

Tomb of Iphicles, the brother of Her-
cules, ii. 257.
Tombs of Iphimedea and the sons of
Aloeus, iii. 44.

Tomb of Iphione, i. 118.
the sons of Iphitus, iii. 186.
certain knights, i. 80.
Ladas, i. 293.
Lais, i. 130.

Tomb of Laius and the servants that
followed him, iii. 100.
Tomb of Las, i. 304.

Leagrus, i. 80.
Letus, iii. 8.
Lelex, i. 121.
Leonidas, i. 269.

Lycynimus, i. 185.
Linus, the son of Apollo, i.

176.

Lycurgus, i. 164.
Lycus, i. 143.
Lysander, iii. 66.
Machon, i. 310.

the horses of Marmax, ii.

133.

the head of the Gorgon Me-
dusa, i. 181.

Megaera, iii. 114.
Melanippeus, iii. 35.
Melesander, i. 81.
Melissa, i. 262.

Menoeceus, iii. 48.
Mermerus and Phares, the
sons of Medes, i. 133.

Miltiades, the son of Cimop.
i. 89.

Minyas, iii. 79.
Molossus, i. 99.

Myrtillus, ii. 287.
Nicocles Tarentinus, i. 101.
Nileus, i. 151.

the children of Ædipus, iii.

35.

Oeaeus, ii. 132.
Enopion, ii. 161.
Onusus, i. 274.
Oicles, iii. 303.

Olyntus, i. 81.
Opheltes, i. 164.
Orestes, i. 262.
Orestes, iii. 39.

Orestes, i. 262.
Orestes, iii. 39.

Oxysses, i. 141.

Pandion, i. 107, 113.
in Megalopolis, called Pareba-
sium, ii. 287.

of Paterus, ii. 200.

Patroclus, the father of Me-
lissa, i. 202.
INDEX.

Tomb of Pausanias, the general of the Plateeans, i. 269.
— Pelagius, i. 183.
Tomb of the daughters of Pelias, ii. 248.
Tomb of Periclope, ii. 252.
— Pericles, Chabrias, and Phormio, i. 79.
— Perseus Gorgophone, i. 182.
— Phaedra, i. 214.
— Phoeus, i. 205.
— the Phoéi, ii. 249.
— Phoroneus, i. 177.
— Phytalus, i. 101.
— Pindar, iii. 45.
— the Boeotian Plateeans, i. 89.
— Plato, i. 85.
— Polemacbus, i. 237.
— Preugenæs, ii. 201.
— Promethæus, ii. 159.
— Psamathe, i. 176.
— Pyges, i. 118.
— Pyrrho, the son of Pisto-ocrates, ii. 140.
— Pyrrhus, i. 181.
— Rhadime and Leontichus, ii. 161.
— a Rhodian, i. 102.
— Sacadas, i. 185.
— Saurus, ii. 132.
— Semele, iii. 32.
— certain Sicilians, i. 143.
— Sostratus, ii. 191.
— Sphairus, the charioteer of Pelops, i. 216.
— Sthenelus, i. 185.
— Temarius, i. 269.
— Tantalus, i. 181.
— Talus, the son of Bias, i. 181.
— Talithbus, i. 265.
— Telephus, the herald, ii. 211.
— Tegeatas and his wife Mera, ii. 328.
— Telamon, ii. 259.
— Teledamus and Pelops, i. 168.
— Telephus, the piper, i. 199.
— Temenus, i. 228.
— Tereus, i. 114.
— Themisscyra, i. 114.
— Themistocles, i. 100.
— Theodectes, Phæclitus, Mnesistheus, i. 102.
— Theodorus, the tragic actor, i. 101.
Tomb of Theopompos, the son of Niceratus, i. 278.
— Thersander, iii. 12.
— the Thessalian knights, i. 80.
— Thrasybulus, i. 79.
— Thyestes, i. 170.
— Tiresias, iii. 35.
— Tolomides and his soldiers, i. 83.
— Tyndareus, i. 280.
— Uranethes, i. 187.
— Xenodochus, i. 143.
Tombs of Zeno, Chrysippus, Polyeides, Nicias, and Aristogiton, i. 84.
— Zethus and Amphion, iii. 34.
Tomb, a common one of the Colophonians and Smyrnians that died in battle, ii. 154.
— common, of the Greeks, iii. 4.
— a common one, of those that fell in the engagement against Alexander, ii. 25.
— a common, of the Thessalians that fell in the engagement against Philip, iii. 87.
Tomb of those that fell at Corinth, i. 82.
— those that fought in a naval battle about the Hellespont, i. 83.
— those that fell at Delium, i. 83.
— those that Leosthenes led, i. 83.
— those that followed Olympiodorus, i. 83.
— certain soldiers, i. 83.
— those that were led by Clinmon, i. 83.
— those that fell at Thebes, i. 106.
Tomb of those Athenians that fell in a battle against the Persians, i. 89.
— of those that followed Aegialeus to the Theban war, iii. 37.
— an empty oar, of certain Argives, i. 178.
— of the women that followed the army of Bacchus, i. 183.
— a magnificent one belonging to the Jews, ii. 261.
— of those that died fighting against the Medes, i. 118.
— Tragus, a perpetual river, ii. 271.
— Trajan, a statue of, ii. 31.
— Trapegoüs, the city, ii. 229.
— Trapezaeus, the son of Lycaon, ii. 229.
— Trapezunta, a place in Arcadia, ii. 288.
INDEX.

Trapezus, the city, ruins of, ii. 288.
Treasury, a, dedicated by Myron the
Sicyonian tyrant, ii. 123, 124.
- of the Carthaginians, ii.
- 124.
Treasures in Olympia, an account of
the, ii. 193—216.
Tetius, the town, i. 165.
Tricoli, the city, ii. 229. 300.
Triculonos, ii. 133. 229.
Trierena, the boundaries of the Phe-
neust, ii. 260.
Trigonon, a place of judgment among
the Athenians, i. 77.
Trinacria, the island, i. 220.
Trinaxus, the walls of, i. 296.
Tripas, i. 165.
- a statue of, iii. 115.
Tripodes, a road in Attica, i. 49.
Tripodiscus, the town, i. 120.
Tripodes, brazen, called by Homer, de-
stitue of fire, i. 396.
Triptolemus, ii. 193.
Trisai, ii. 239.
Tritia, an Achaian city, ii. 162. 206.
- the daughter of Triton, ii. 206.
Triton, a wonderful statue of, and par-
ticulars of, iii. 40.
Triton, the torrent, iii. 70.
Tritons, the form of, the, iii. 40.
Troizenii, the, i. 207.
Troilus, a victor in the Olympic per-
fected chariot-race, ii. 77.
Trophaea, a place in Arcadia, ii. 276.
Trophonius, the architect, iii. 21.
- a remarkable account of the
and Agamedes, the archi-
tects, particulars of, iii. 77.
- the death of, according to Cicero, iii. 316.
Troy, the subversion of a picture of, iii.
- 157.
Turb, Egeia, a festival of Bacchus so called,
i. 190.
Tubus, the river, ii. 279.
Tydeus, the Elean, a statue of, ii. 116.
Tyndareus, i. 232. 276. 293.
- the sons of, the cause of
their wrath against the Messenians,
i. 382.
Tyndarus, the sons of, i. 128.
Typhon, Egea, ii. 83.
Typhon, the symbolical meaning of,
unfolded, iii. 260.
Tyronidas, ii. 327.
Tyrius, verses of, i. 327. 346. 348.
Tyrius, an Athenian grammarian, i.
- 351, 352.
appeases the discontent of
the Lacedaemonians by his verses, i.
- 359.
Tyrhenus, the inventor of the trump-
et, i. 181.

V.

Various, a place of disputation so
called in Sparta, i. 275.
Venus, a grove of, ii. 203.
- Ambrologera, a statue of, i. 282.
- Apostrophia, iii. 32.
- Celestial, a statue of, iii. 32.
- why so called, iii.
- 200.
- the daughter of Di-
one, remarkable account of, from
the MS. Scholia of Proclus on the
Cratylus, iii. 200.
- the ruler of the
Fates, iii. 206.
- Juno, the statue of, i. 268.
- Mechanis, a statue of, ii. 294.
- why called Melanis, iii. 303.
- Niophoros, the statue of, i.
- 176.
- Popular, iii. 32.
- Praxia, i. 119.
- why called Verticordia, iii.
- 247.

Venuvians, the, ii. 319.

Vespasian, the Roman emperor, im-
posed on the Greeks an annual tri-
but, ii. 190.
Vessels, the two placed by the throne
of Jupiter, according to Homer, the
meaning of, iii. 304.
Victory, a golden statue of, ii. 24.
Vipers in Arabia, the bite of, not dan-
gerous, through their being fed with
the juice of the balsam tree, iii. 55.
Virgil, iii. 295.
Vulcan, a definition of the nature of,
iii. 197.

U.

Ulysses, the Spartan, iii. 9.
Ulysses, i. 292. ii. 51.
- a picture of, iii. 156.

Ulysses, the Roman general, ii. 190.
Umbilicus, a place among the Phil-
assians, so called, i. 161.
INDEX.

X.

Xanthippus, the son of Ariphon, a statue of, i. 65.

——— is chosen general of the Athenians, i. 250.

——— destroyed the fleet of the Medes, ii. 338.

——— the son of Delphous, i. 201.

Xanthus, the son of Ptolemy, iii. 13.

 Xenocles, a victor in the Olympic pancratium, ii. 78.

 Xenias, the Elean, i. 251. ii. 172.

 Xenocrates, the prophet, iii. 122.

 Xenocles, a victor in the Olympic games, in wrestling, ii. 98.

 Xenocrates, iii. 26.

 Xenodorus, the statuary, iii. 22.

 Xenodamus, the pancratist, iii. 186.

 Xenodice, a picture of, iii. 155.

 Xenodochus, a victorious pugilist in the Olympic games, ii. 113.

 Xenodochus, the Messenian, i. 325.

 Xenomachus, a victor in the Olympic horse-race, ii. 113.

 Xenon, the Achian, ii. 174.

 Xenophilus, the statuary, i. 187.

 Xenophon, the warrior, i. 375.

———, the sons of, statuaries, i. 37.

———, the son of Gryillus, ii. 14.

———, the pancratist, ii. 83.

Xuthus, i. 194. ii. 147.

Z.

Zacynthus, the son of Dardanus, ii. 273.

Zancle, the inhabitants of Sicily, i. 372.

Zancle, i. 372.

Zanes, brazen statues of Jupiter so called among the Eleans, ii. 55.

Zaraca, a maritime city of Laconia, i. 104. 295. 302.

Zeno, a victor in the Olympic stadium, ii. 113.

Zephyrium, the promontory, i. 236.

Zethus, iii. 10.

Zeuxidamus, the son of Archidamus, i. 249.

Zeuxippus, i. 142.

Zoecion, the city, ii. 300.

Zoteus, ii. 300.

Zypoetes, a Thracian, ii. 31.

THE END.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Place the two Maps to face

The picture of the Temple of Olympian Jupiter to face

The Tower of the Winds

The Ionic Temple on the banks of the Ilissus to face

The Monument of Lysicrates to face

The Doric Portico to face

Vol. I

Page 1

46

——

49

50

56

LONDON:

PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.