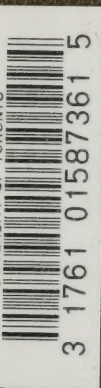


COLLEGE SERIES OF GREEK AUTHORS




THE ATTICA OF  
PAUSANIAS

CARROLL

GINN & COMPANY





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COLLEGE SERIES OF GREEK AUTHORS

EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE AND THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR, EDITORS  
CHARLES BURTON GULICK, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

# THE ATTICA OF PAUSANIAS

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TO  
THE MEMORY  
OF  
THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR





## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN THE

### COLLEGE SERIES OF GREEK AUTHORS.

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- abs. = absolute, absolutely.  
acc. = accusative.  
acc. to = according to.  
act. = active, actively.  
adj. = adjective, adjectively.  
adv. = adverb, adverbial, adverbially.  
Aeol. = Aeolic.  
antec. = antecedent.  
aor. = aorist.  
apod. = apodosis.  
App. = Appendix.  
appos. = apposition, appositive.  
art. = article.  
Att. = Attic.  
attrib. = attributive.  
aug. = augment.  
c., cc. = chapter, chapters (when numerals follow).  
cf. = compare.  
chap. = chapter.  
comp. = comparative.  
cond. = condition, conditional.  
conj. = conjunction.  
const. = construe, construction.  
contr. = contraction, contracted.  
co-ord. = co-ordinate.  
dat. = dative.  
decl. = declension.  
def. = definite.  
dem. = demonstrative.  
dep. = deponent.  
dim. = diminutive.  
dir. = direct.  
disc. = discourse.  
Dor. = Doric.  
edit. = edition, editor.  
editt. = editions, editors.  
e.g. = for example.  
encl. = enclitic.  
Eng. = English.  
Ep. = Epic.  
epith. = epithet.  
equiv. = equivalent.  
esp. = especial, especially.  
etc. = and so forth.  
excl. = exclamation.  
f., ff. = following (after numerical statements).  
fem. = feminine.  
fin. = sub fine.  
freq. = frequently.  
fut. = future.  
G. = Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*.  
gen. = genitive.  
GMT. = Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*.  
H. = Hadley's *Greek Grammar*, revised by F. D. Allen (1884).  
hist. pres. = historical present.  
ibid. = in the same place.  
id. = the same.  
i.e. = that is.  
impers. = impersonal, impersonally.  
impf. = imperfect.  
inv. = imperative.

- in. = ad initium.  
 indef. = indefinite.  
 indic. = indicative.  
 indir. = indirect.  
 inf. = infinitive.  
 interr. = interrogative, interrogatively.  
 intr. = intransitive, intransitively.  
 Introd. = Introduction.  
 Ion. = Ionic.  
 Kr. *Spr.* = Krüger's *Sprachlehre, Erster Theil*, fifth edition.  
 Kr. *Dial.* = Krüger's *Sprachlehre, Zweiter Theil*, fifth edition.  
 κτέ. = καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.  
 κτλ. = καὶ τὰ λοιπά.  
 Kühn. = Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*, second edition.  
 Kühner-Blass = third edition of the first part of the *Grammatik*, revised by F. Blass.  
 Kühner-Gerth = third edition of the second part of the *Grammatik*, revised by B. Gerth.  
 Lat. = Latin.  
 L. & S. = Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, seventh and eighth editions.  
 l.c. = loco citato.  
 lit. = literal, literally.  
 masc. = masculine.  
 mid. = middle.  
 M. = Monro's *Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*.  
 Ms., Mss. = manuscript, manuscripts.  
 n. = note.  
 neg. = negative.  
 neut. = neuter.  
 nom. = nominative.  
 obj. = object.  
 obs. = observe, observation.  
 opp. to = opposed to.  
 opt. = optative.  
 p., pp. = page, pages.  
 part. gen. = partitive genitive.  
 partic. = participle.  
 pass. = passive, passively.  
 pers. = person, personal, personally.  
 pf. = perfect.  
 pl. = plural.  
 plpf. = pluperfect.  
 pred. = predicate.  
 prep. = preposition.  
 pres. = present.  
 priv. = privative.  
 prob. = probable, probably.  
 pron. = pronoun.  
 prop. = proper, properly.  
 prot. = protasis.  
 quot. = quoted, quotation.  
 q.v. = which see.  
 refl. = reflexive, reflexively.  
 rel. = relative, relatively.  
 Rem. = remark.  
 S. = Schmidt's *Rhythmic and Metric*.  
 sc. = scilicet.  
 SCG. = Gildersleeve's *Syntax of Classical Greek*, First Part.  
 Schol. = scholiast.  
 sent. = sentence.  
 sing. = singular.  
 subj. = subject.  
 subjv. = subjunctive.  
 subord. = subordinate.  
 subst. = substantive, substantively.  
 sup. = superlative.  
 s.v. = sub voce.  
 trans. = transitive, transitively.  
 viz. = namely.  
 v.l. = varia lectio.  
 voc. = vocative.  
 §, §§ = section, sections.  
 Plurals are formed generally by adding s.  
 Generally small Roman numerals (lower-case letters) are used in referring to the books of an author; but A, B, Γ, etc. in referring to the books of the Iliad, and α, β, γ, etc. in referring to the books of the Odyssey.  
 In abbreviating the names of Greek authors and of their works, Liddell and Scott's practice is generally followed.

## PREFACE

The text adopted in this volume is that of the Hitzig-Bluemner edition of Pausanias (Berlin, 1896), with certain changes in typography and punctuation to conform to the style of the series in which it appears. The Hitzig text presents a careful revision of the Schubart text and critical apparatus (which had not been corrected for forty years) in the light of new studies and discoveries up to 1896. The later text of Spiro (Teubner, 1903) differs from that of Hitzig only in minor details. As the present work is primarily archaeological in its purpose, textual criticism is avoided, and the reader is referred to the Hitzig-Bluemner edition for details in these matters.

In the preparation of the Introduction, Notes, and Excursuses, the editor is conscious of his indebtedness to the Hitzig-Bluemner commentary and to the monumental work of Frazer (*Pausanias's Description of Greece, translated with a Commentary*, in six volumes. London, 1898). So thoroughly have these scholars done their work that in the preparation of a college edition they may be relied on for an accurate summary of the literature on the *Attica* up to the time of the publication of their works, and the chief task of the editor is to appraise the matter they present in the light of later contributions, to bring the discussions up to date, and to select what is essential to meet the needs of students.

On account of the size and cost of these two important works, they are not readily accessible to any but specialists. This emphasizes the need of a more compact edition of the *Attica* — the most important of the ten books of Pausanias's *Description of Greece* — one which gives the text and presents concisely in the way of

commentary the results of modern scholarship concerning Athenian and Attic topography. Owing to the nature of the subject-matter, the commentary is mainly archaeological, but grammatical and stylistic peculiarities have not been neglected. The more important topics, which could not be adequately treated in the Notes, are considered at some length in a series of Excursuses. The Topical Outline of the Attica enables the student to follow the somewhat tortuous course of the author. The Select Bibliography in the Appendix presents the more important titles under appropriate heads.

Up to this time Pausanias has been seldom read in our colleges and universities, on the theory that strictly classical authors are better suited to the class-room. The increasing interest, however, in archaeological studies, — much of it being due, in America, to the work of the American School at Athens — has encouraged the feeling that Greek students should have some knowledge of the topography and monuments of ancient Athens. This knowledge is most readily acquired by the study of the Attica of Pausanias, and it is hoped that this book may quicken the student's interest in the intellectual and artistic aspects of Greek life.

In conclusion, the editor desires to express his hearty acknowledgments to the beloved and lamented Professor Seymour, who read a part of the proofs in the closing months of his fruitful life and made many important suggestions; to Professor Dörpfeld for introducing him to the study of Athenian topography and for permission to use the plans here reproduced; to Professor D'Ooge, Professor Bates, and Dr. Newcomer for reading portions of the subject-matter in proof, with many pertinent observations; and, above all, to Professor Gulick, whose editorial acumen and sympathetic criticism have contributed largely to the preparation of the work.

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# INTRODUCTION

## PAUSANIAS THE PERIEGETE

1. *Scope and character of Pausanias's work.*—Aldus Manutius begins his preface to the *editio princeps* of Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, which appeared in 1516, by characterizing it as an "*opus antiquae raraeque eruditionis thesaurus continens.*" And invaluable it is because of its subject-matter, since it reveals to us numerous details, not only concerning "the city of the violet crown," but also about the other most celebrated sites of ancient Greece, when its monuments still retained some of the freshness and splendor of the older time.

The *Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος* has come down to us in ten books. The work is a detailed account of the sites ordinarily visited and the objects ordinarily seen by the traveler in making an extensive tour of Greece. As the writer is supposed to be coming from over the Aegean Sea to the Greek mainland, his account begins with Sunium, the promontory of Attica. Thence he proceeds to Athens. Book I is devoted to the description of Athens and Attica. From Attica the traveler journeys southward by way of Megaris (also treated in Book I) and the Isthmus to Corinth and the Argolid (described in Book II). His Peloponnesian tour follows much the same route which travelers of our day usually take, embracing Laconia (Book III), Messenia (Book IV), Elis (Books V, VI), Achaia (Book VII) and Arcadia (Book VIII). Then follows a second tour to the principal cities of Central Greece, starting from Athens in the same manner as modern travelers would journey. Here the writer's chief attention is absorbed by Thebes in Boeotia (Book IX) and by Delphi in the district of Phocis (Book X). The regions of Western and Northern Greece, which had played no prominent part in the art and civilization of Hellas, Pausanias leaves out of consideration.

The territory chiefly described gives its name to the various books. Thus the first book has the title Ἀττικά and includes Megaris; the second the title Κορινθιακά, and embraces, in addition to Corinth, Argos, Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Epidaurus; the third Λακωνικά, the fourth Μεσσηνιακά, the fifth and sixth (which describe Olympia) Ἠλιακά, the seventh Ἀχαιικά, the eighth Ἀρκαδικά. The description of Central Greece is contained in the ninth book called Βοιωτικά, and in the tenth, the Φοικικά, which is devoted almost exclusively to Delphi. Topographical directions are not always exact; yet, by mentioning in order the names of demes, of places, and of monuments, Pausanias throws much light on the geography and topography of ancient Greece.

2. *Date of the Periegesis.* — Pausanias made his sojourn in Greece in the second century of our era, in the days of Hadrian and the Antonines. His date is fixed by 5, 1, 2, where he states that 217 years have elapsed since the restoration of Corinth. As this well-known event occurred in 43 B.C., the passage shows that the author was writing Book V in 174 A.D. Other intimations as to his date harmonize with this evidence. Thus, for example, in 5, 21, 15 images set up in 125 A.D. are spoken of as specimens of the art of his day; and 1, 5, 5 and 8, 9, 7 indicate that the writer was a contemporary of the emperor Hadrian. The latest historical event mentioned by him as occurring in his time (10, 34, 5) is the incursion of the Costobocæ into Greece, which took place probably between 166 and 180 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Every discussion about the date of the separate books, especially of the *Attica*, must take as its starting-point 174 A.D., just mentioned as the only fixed date and the date of Book V. Pausanias (7, 20, 6) tells us that Book I was finished before Herodes Atticus built the Odeum at Athens, erected in honor of his wife Regilla, who appears to have died in 160 or 161 A.D. The Odeum was doubtless built not long after Regilla's death, and therefore 160–161 A.D. constitutes the *terminus ante quem* of Book I. A reference to Herodes Atticus probably gives us also the *terminus post quem*, for according to 1, 19, 6, the stadium of Athens had already been rebuilt by him

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 3–4.



before 143 A.D. or a little earlier. Book I has, therefore, as its limits 143-160 A.D.

There are numerous indications that the *Attica* was written and published before the rest of the work. For instance, we have the writer's statement (7, 20, 6) that the Odeum is not mentioned in his work on *Attica*, because his description of Athens was finished before Herodes began to build. Further, in 8, 5, 1 he corrects a view which he had adopted in Book I (c. 41, 2) regarding the kingship of Achaëa at the time of the attempted return of the Heraclidae to Peloponnesus. A third argument is that in subsequent books he makes additions to certain statements in Book I. Compare, for example, 5, 11, 6 with 1, 15, 3, accounts of the painting of the Battle of Marathon.<sup>1</sup> In one case he supersedes the account of the Gallie invasion in 1, 3, 5 ff. by the fuller narrative in 10, 19, 5 ff., as if the first had proved inadequate. There also occur remarks in the later books which seem to have been occasioned by current criticisms of the *Attica* already published, as, for example, in 3, 11, 1 in reference to the plan of the book; in 4, 24, 3 in regard to digressions; cf. 8, 7, 4-8; 9, 30, 3; 9, 24, 3.

We must, accordingly, presuppose an interval of a few years between the publication of Book I and that of later books. Book II was probably written after 165 A.D., as the statement is made that the temple of Asclepius at Smyrna had already been founded (2, 26, 9), which according to other testimony was still unfinished in 165 A.D. A study of references which the author makes to various parts of his work shows that the books were written in the order in which they stand.<sup>2</sup> We have already a fixed date for Book V, 174 A.D. Hence Books II-IV must date between 165 and 174 A.D. Book VIII, which refers to the German victories of Marcus Aurelius (8, 43, 6), must have been written after 166, when the war broke out, and may have been written in or after 176, when the emperor celebrated his triumph. Book X, with the allusion to the Costoboc invasion, was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also 5, 12, 4 with 1, 21, 3; 2, 30, 2, and 3, 15, 7, with 1, 22, 4; 6, 20, 14 with 1, 24, 3; 10, 21, 5 with 1, 3, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Thus e.g. 2, 19, 8; 21, 4; 23, 6; 32, 3 show that the First Book was written before the Second, etc. See Frazer, Pausanias, I, Introduction, xvii n. 5.

written between 166 and 180, probably after 176. Thus Books VI-X may date between 174 and 180 A.D. The composition of the *Description of Greece*, therefore, extended over a period of not less than fourteen years (160-174 A.D.) and probably occupied a much longer period.

3. *Pausanias, his life and work.*—Though the work itself is so voluminous, our knowledge of the author is limited almost to his mere name. The book gives us his date, and some insight into his personality, but as to the author's family, birthplace, citizenship, and pursuits in life we are left in almost total ignorance. An occasional allusion, however, conveys some intimation. If we inquire, for example, whence he came, he gives us a hint in δ, 13, 7, Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλον τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικίστεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε λείπεται κτλ., where it is suggested that his native land was the territory about Mount Sipylus in Lydia, and mention is made in what follows of natural features and monuments pertaining to this region. This statement is strengthened by many passages in which he recurs to the scenery and legends of Lydia.<sup>1</sup> We conclude, therefore, that he was a Lydian by birth; but whether he was a native of Magnesia, the important city at the northern foot of Mount Sipylus, or of Thyatira, or of some less known town, is not to be ascertained.

Late Greek writers mention two other authors of the same name, with whom our Pausanias is sometimes confused. Philostratus (Vit. Soph. 11, 13) speaks of a sophist named Pausanias, much esteemed in his time, who was a pupil of Herodes Atticus and teacher of Aspasius. So far as his date is concerned, we might readily identify him with the author of the *Description of Greece*. But the sophist came from Caesarea in Cappadocia, not from Lydia, and Suidas mentions *Problemata* by him, and a book on syntax, but no *Periegesis*. One can hardly conceive of our author with his crabbed style occupying the lectureship of eloquence at Athens. Hence the identity of the traveler and the sophist is altogether improbable.

Nor can he with any greater degree of probability be identified with the historian Pausanias, who wrote, among other works, a history of Antioch, and who is mentioned as ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1, 21, 3; 24, 8; 2, 22, 3; 5, 13, 7; 6, 22, 1; 7, 24, 13; 8, 2, 7; 17, 3.

historian was born at Antioch in Syria, not in Lydia. Stephanus of Byzantium cites the works of the two men, the *Κτίσις Ἀρτιοχειῶς* and the *Περιήγησις*, under the simple name Pausanias, but this proves nothing more than that in the fifth century the two writers of this name were not readily distinguished. We must therefore rest content with the knowledge that our author lived and traveled in the second century, and was born near Mount Sipylus in Asia Minor.

4. *Aim and method of the Periegesis.* — That Pausanias has given to the world a work of unique value is manifest to any one who notes its contents. We have here a book rich in antiquarian, mythological, historical, and artistic lore, and the very nature of the subject-matter arouses the question what was the author's aim in preparing his work. The answer is nowhere clearly given by him. He begins his book without a preface; he concludes without an epilogue. Probably his work was left unfinished and no opportunity was given to revise it; probably, while it served its purpose, the author felt there was no need of explanatory remarks. Hence the answer to our question is largely a matter of inference; but we can, at any rate, gather from utterances here and there what was the author's general purpose, and how his method developed as his grasp of the subject increased.

Thus, he tells us in 1, 26, 4 that it is his purpose to describe the whole of Greece, as he had the Acropolis, *Δεῖ δέ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά.* Again, after he has concluded his account of Athens and Attica he adds (1, 39, 3): *τοιαῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίοις γνωριμώτατα ἦν ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν. ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα.* Later, as a preface to his description of Sparta, he refers to this statement, and outlines his aim and method more definitely (3, 11, 1): *ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀθησὶ ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο. μὴ τὰ πάντα με ἐφεξῆς, τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἀξία μνήμης ἐπιλαϊάμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι, δηλώσω δὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησεν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀείων ἀφηγήματος. ἃ ἕκαστοι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσιν, ἀποκρίναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. ὡς οὖν εἴ βεβουλευμένοι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου παραβήσομαι.<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> See also 2, 13, 3; 6, 1, 2; 10, 32, 1.

From these passages and from a study of the contents of the work it becomes clear that "Pausanias intended to describe all the most notable objects and to narrate all the most memorable traditions which he found existing or current in the Greece of his own time."<sup>1</sup>

This was a vast undertaking, especially so in the case of Attica, the first country he undertook to describe. Here he was bewildered by an embarrassment of riches before he had definitely decided on a method of treating the data he had at hand. Hence the author's method is not so clearly defined in the first as in the later books. Beginning with Book II, he regularly prefaces his account of every important city with a historical sketch and follows strictly the topographical order of description. But in the case of the *Attica* there is no historical introduction whatever; though the topographical order is in the main observed in describing Athens, it is not followed in his treatment of the rest of Attica. At times the course of description is confused, as when he interrupts his account of the Attic demes to describe the mountains of Attica (cf. I, 32, 1 and I, 35, 1 ff.). Again, he mentions fewer notable objects in proportion to the total number in Athens than he does in any other important centre of Greece, and his accounts of notable monuments in Athens are shorter than those in the remaining books. Contrast, for example, his description of Athens with that of Olympia, the former embracing only thirty chapters of one book, or seventy Teubner pages, while the latter is devoted the larger part of two books, being forty chapters or one hundred and ten Teubner pages. Temples and statues in the whole of Athens, however, were far more numerous and imposing than in Olympia. The explanation of the defects of the *Attica* is, of course, that the author was finding himself in his new work, and had not altogether arrived at a definite plan.

The topographical method already adopted in the description of Athens reveals the author's purpose in preparing the work. Thus, he begins by describing the harbors of Athens, and the objects of interest on the roads leading from the harbors to the city. He next enters the principal gate and proceeds by a broad avenue to the Agora, which he treats in great detail. Thence he traverses the

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, I, Introduction, xxiii.

territory east of the Acropolis, known as the City of Hadrian. A description of the southern slope of the Acropolis finally brings him to its principal entrance, and, having entered, he devotes to the objects of interest in the sacred precinct the maximum of attention. He concludes his account of Athens by describing the suburbs of the city. Let us compare this description with the description of Athens in Baedeker's Greece. The writer of this work gives first a historical sketch of the city. He then describes it in several sections: *a*, From the Royal Palace round the south side of the Acropolis; *b*, The Acropolis; *c*, From the Palace through the Town to the Theseum — the Hill of the Nymphs, Pnyx, and Museum; *d*, Modern Quarters of the Town; *e*, Walks near Athens.

Similarity of treatment shows that we have in Pausanias the prototype of Baedeker and Murray. The second century was an age of travel, like our own, and many needed systematic direction to help them on the way. The public-house system of the country was poor, but private hospitality, as in the earlier days, made some amends. Accordingly, the description of inns and other accommodations which Dionysus in the *Frogs* feels to be such a desideratum and which our Murray or Baedeker offers in great detail, is wanting; but in other respects the likeness between the ancient and the modern cicerone holds. Book I was meant primarily to be a guide-book for the Greek visitor to Athens and Attica, just as the whole volume was a guide-book for the generally frequented parts of Hellas, with special reference to works of art, like the modern Bueckhardt. To gratify the intellectual curiosity of his readers, Pausanias fills his volume with mythical, antiquarian, and historical lore, and he doubtless felt that his work would be serviceable to the historian as well as the traveler. Yet his main purpose was, without doubt, to provide a guide-book for visitors to the historic sites of Greece.

5. *Style of Pausanias.*—The literary style displayed in the book before us is due partly to the nature of the subject-matter, partly to the character of the author as reflected in his work. Pausanias is revealed as an unimaginative man, but one deeply interested in antiquarian lore, who set out on his travels with the purpose of “doing” Greece and of giving others the benefit of his reading and

observation, and who kept at it with heroic persistence. He permitted no curious legend to escape him, and gathered information from every source. He carefully studied his predecessors in historical prose, especially Thucydides and Herodotus, and laboriously sought to cultivate a good style. But he falls hopelessly short of the vigorous expression of the former, and the sweetness and lucidity of the latter. There is a sense of strain about his style. As Frazer so well puts it, "The sentences are devoid of rhythm and harmony. They do not march, but hobble and shamble and shuffle along. At the end of one of them the reader is not let down easily by a graceful cadence, a dying fall; he is tripped up suddenly and left sprawling, till he can pull himself together, take breath, and grapple with the next."<sup>1</sup>

Frazer thinks that these defects in Pausanias's style may perhaps be best explained by Boeckh's<sup>2</sup> hypothesis that Pausanias modeled his style on that of his countryman Hegesias of Magnesia, a leader of the Asian school of rhetoric. Hegesias aimed at variety of phrase, which often avoided monotony at the cost of simplicity and clearness, and led him into a jerky yet mincing style. Pausanias's indirect mode of statement often leads him in like manner to ambiguity, the chief defect of his style.

6. *Pausanias's use of previous writers.*—It is not essential to our purpose to enter fully into the discussion of Pausanias's trustworthiness and his use of previous writers, as Frazer has treated the subject most exhaustively and happily and has satisfactorily met all the more serious criticisms.

Sealiger characterized Pausanias as being "*omnium Graeculorum mendacissimum.*" In recent times his trustworthiness and literary independence have been energetically called in question by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (*Hermes*, XII, 346 ff.), but Pausanias found a vigorous champion against Wilamowitz in R. Schoell (*Hermes*, XIII, 432 ff.). Wilamowitz's charges, however, were followed up and exhaustively extended by A. Kalkmann (*Pausanias der Perieget*,

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, I, Introduction, lxix. The reader will greatly profit by close study of this excellent critique.

<sup>2</sup> "De Pausaniae Stilo Asiatico," *Gesamm. Kl. Schr.* IV, 208-212.

Berlin 1886), who argued that Pausanias had traveled and seen very little in Greece, but had compiled the bulk of his work from the manuals of earlier writers and had added only a few hasty jottings of his own to give his descriptions a convincing atmosphere. He found his chief source, according to Kalkmann and Wilanowitz, in Polemon of Ilium, who lived in the second century B.C. The charges of Kalkmann, which were a severe impeachment of Pausanias's moral character, as well as his literary ability, were successfully refuted by W. Gurlitt (*Ueber Pausanias*, Graz 1890) and R. Heberdey (*Die Reisen des Pausanias*, Wien 1894).<sup>1</sup> Kalkmann himself substantially retracts his earlier views by admitting that Pausanias saw with his own eyes all the objects that especially interested him (*Arch. Anz.* 1895, 12). Frazer, finally, disposes conclusively of the theory that Pausanias stole everything from Polemon. His inquiry, in which he draws the important distinction between the historical and the descriptive portions in Pausanias's work, is here summarized.

In regard to the historical passages he shows that Pausanias drew his accounts of the mythical and heroic ages largely from the poets; that Herodotus is the historian most frequently cited by him; that, notwithstanding there is only one direct reference to Thucydides (6, 19, 5) and one to Xenophon (1, 3, 4), he probably used these authors in several places where he does not mention their names. He also refers to numerous other historians, and cites several local histories, notably the histories of Attica by Androtion (6, 7, 6; 10, 8, 1) and by Clitodemus (10, 15, 5). He also made extensive use of inscriptions, consulted writers on art, and got information from local guides.

Regarding next the descriptive or topographical passages, Frazer considers whether Pausanias derived his knowledge from observation, from books, or from both. The author himself gives no full or direct answer to these questions. He neither professes to have seen everything he describes, nor does he acknowledge having borrowed any of his descriptions from previous writers, whom he barely alludes to

<sup>1</sup> With Gurlitt cf. Lolling, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1890, 627 ff., Weil, *Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1890, 1101 ff., and Wachsmuth in *Pauly-Wissowa*, Suppl. 1, 200 ff.

and never mentions by name. Yet he affirms that he saw personally certain things he describes; and to have seen certain things implies that he saw others. There are descriptions which Pausanias may have taken from books, but there is no description extant so like in form and substance to what Pausanias has written that one can say he copied from it. Frazer considers in detail a number of passages which, others have thought, bear traces of having been derived either wholly or in part from written documents rather than from personal observation, and concludes that in none are the indications so clear as to amount to a proof of borrowing.

Frazer discusses in considerable detail the predecessors whom Pausanias ought to have consulted, namely Pseudo-Dicaearchus the Messenian, Diodorus of Athens, Heliodorus, and Polemon, whose writings are known through extant fragments. Of Polemon we have more than one hundred fragments. These Frazer takes up one by one and draws a minute comparison with Pausanias. He concludes that not one fragment supports the theory that Pausanias copied from Polemon, nor do they justify us even in supposing that he was acquainted with the writings of his learned predecessor. Even more true is this of his relation to the other antiquarians.

Another theory of Kalkmann's that obtained some vogue was that our author did not describe Greece as it was in his own time, but as it was a century or two earlier, when his alleged sources were composed. This theory is more susceptible of verification, namely by proving that certain things Pausanias speaks of as existing had ceased to exist before his time. Kalkmann, for example, thus attacks the description of the Piræus. It had been burnt in 86 B.C. and was in a ruined condition when seen by Strabo; how then could Pausanias's account of its temples and colonnades apply to his own time? Frazer, in reply, shows what great changes were possible in two hundred years, and how the Piræus had regained prosperity under beneficent Roman emperors. He also gives numerous proofs, from existing monuments and otherwise, that Pausanias described Greece as it was in his own age.

We may say, then, that at present a conservatively just view has succeeded the bitter outcry against our author's alleged untrustworthiness. Pausanias cannot be regarded as an independent creative



spirit, originating a great work for the benefit of mankind. He is rather a true child of his time, a plodding collector, somewhat superficial and credulous, with a propensity for the archaic and the mystical, but withal an intelligent and inquisitive traveler who rambled through land and city and carefully noted what to him appeared worth seeing and recording. The extant monuments prove that his description of Athens is founded primarily on personal observation. He did not neglect his predecessors and got together historical and mythological material out of handbooks. He also consulted, as did Herodotus, local priests and guides in his eager search for information. As a result, he has handed down to modern times a readable and instructive description of travel, that presents a fairly coherent picture of ancient Athens, and a work indispensable to the traveler and investigator.

## TOPOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

### I. *Maritime Athens* (1 1—2 3).

#### 1 1. *a.* Coast from Sunium to Piraeus.

Sunium.

Laurium.

Isle of Patroclus.

#### 1 2-3. *b.* Piraeus.

Precinct of Athena and Zeus.

Shipsheds.

Tomb of Themistocles.

Long Colonnade — Statues of Zeus and Demus.

Agora : upper and lower.

Shrine of Aphrodite.

#### 1 4. *c.* Munychia.

Temple of Munychian Artemis.

#### *d.* Phalerum.

Shrine of Demeter.

Temple of Athena Sciras.

Temples of Zeus.

Altars of gods called Unknown.

Altars of heroes.

Altars of children of Theseus.

Altar of Phalerus.

Altar of Androgeos.

#### 1 5. *e.* Cape Colias.

Image of Coliad Aphrodite.

Images of Genetyllides.

#### 2 1. *f.* Road from Phalerum to Athens.

Temple and Image of Hera.

Tombs of Antiope and Molpadia — within the city.

#### *g.* Road from the Piraeus to Athens.

Long Walls.

Tombs : Menander, Euripides.

Monument : warrior beside a horse.

II. *The Agora and its Neighborhood* (2 4 — 18 3).

## a. From the Dipylum to the Market-Place.

- 2 4. The Pompeium.  
 Temple of Demeter.  
 Group of Poseidon and Polybotes.  
 Colonnades bordering the Dromos.  
 Bronze statues (*πρὸ αὐτῶν*).
- 2 5. Shrines of gods, gymnasium of Hermes, and house of Pulytion, sacred to Dionysus.  
 Dedication of Eubulides — images of Athena Paeonia, Zeus, and others.  
 Chamber with clay images (*μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενος*).

## b. The Market-Place: from Royal Colonnade to Euneacrunus.

- 3 1. Royal Colonnade (*πρώτη ἐν δεξιᾷ*).
- 3 2. Statues: Conon, Timotheus, Evagoras (*πλησίον*).  
 Zeus Eleutherius (*ἐνταῦθα*).
- 3 3. Stoa *ἑπισθεν* (Eleutherius).
- 3 4. Euphranor's painting.  
 Temple of Apollo the Paternal.  
 Statue of the god, by Euphranor (*πλησίον ἐν τῷ ναῷ*).  
 Statues of Apollo by Leochares and Calamis (*πρὸ τοῦ νεώ*).
- 3 5. Metroum (*Μητροῦς θεῶν ἱερόν*).  
 Image by Phidias.  
 Buleuterium of the 500 (*πλησίον*).
- ἐν αὐτῷ { Zeus Bulaeus, a *ξόανον*.  
 Apollo of Pisias.  
 Demus of Lyson.  
 Thesmothetae of Protogenes.  
 Callippus of Olbiades.
4. Digression on the Galatae.
- 5 1-5. Tholus (*τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλησίον*).  
 Statues of Eponymi (*ἀνωτέρω*).
- 5 5-8 1. Digression on Attalus and Ptolemy.
- 8 2-3. Images (*μετὰ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων*), including  
 Amphiarus.  
 Eirene and Plutus.  
 Lyeurgus.  
 Callias.  
 Demosthenes.

- 8 4-5. Shrine of Ares (τῆς τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνας πλησίον).  
 ἔνθα { Two images of Aphrodite.  
 Image of Ares by Alcamenes.  
 Image of Athena by Loerus of Paros.  
 Image of Enyo by sons of Praxiteles.  
 Heracles, Theseus, Apollo, Calades, Pindar (περὶ τὸν ναόν).  
 Harmodius and Aristogiton (οὐ πόρρω δέ).
- 8 6. Theatre, called Odeum.  
 Statues of Egyptian kings (πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου).
- 9 1-3. Digression on the Ptolemies.
- 9 4. Philip, Alexander, and Lysimachus statues (μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους).
- 9 5-10. Digression on Lysimachus.
- 11 1. Statue of Pyrrhus.
- 11-13. Digression on Pyrrhus.
- 14 1. Dionysus and other images (ἐς . . . τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὀιδεῖον).  
 Enneacrunus (πλησίον).  
 c. The Market-Place: from Enneacrunus to Prytaneum.
- 14 1-1. Temple of Demeter and Kore, and temple of Triptolemus (ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην).  
 Image of Triptolemus.  
 πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε { Bronze bull.  
 Epimenides.
- 14 5. Temple of Eucleia (ἔτι ἀπωτέρω).
- 14 6. Temple of Hephaestus (ὑπὲρ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν . . . βασιλείον).  
 Statues of Athena and Hephaestus.
- 14 7. Temple of Aphrodite Urania (πλησίον).
- 15 1-4. Painted Colonnade.  
 Hermes Agoraeus (ιοῦσι πρὸς τὴν στοὰν ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν).  
 Market gate (καὶ πύλη πλησίον).  
 Paintings { Battle of Theseus and Amazons.  
 Capture of Troy.  
 Battle of Marathon.  
 Statues { Solon (πρὸ μὲν τῆς στοᾶς).  
 Seleucus (δλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω).
- 16 1-3. Digression on Seleucus.

- 17 1. An Agora, containing, besides other notable objects,  
Altar of Pity (Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κτλ.).
- 17 2. Gymnasium of Ptolemy (τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ).  
Stone Hermae.  
Bronze statue of Ptolemy.  
Statue of Juba.  
Statue of Chrysippus.  
Shrine of Theseus (πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ).  
Paintings { Fight of Athenians and Amazons.  
Fight of Centaurs and Lapithae.  
Theseus and Amphitrite.
- 18 1. Shrine of the Dioscuri.  
2. Precinct of Aglaurus (ὑπὲρ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερόν).  
3. Prytaneum (πλησίον).  
Laws of Solon.  
Image of Peace.  
Image of Hestia.  
Statues: Autolycus, Miltiades, Themistocles.

III. *The City of Hadrian* (18 4 — 19 6).

- 18 4. Serapeum (ἐντεῖθεν ἰούσιν εἰς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως).  
Fict of Theseus and Pirithous (οὐ πόρρω).  
5. Temple of Ilithyia (πλησίον).  
6. περίβολος of Olympian Zeus.  
Temple of Olympian Zeus.  
Chryselephantine statue of Zeus within the temple.  
Four statues of Hadrian, in front of the temple.  
A bronze statue of each of the colonies.  
A statue of Hadrian sent by each of the colonies.  
Colossus of Hadrian, at the back of the temple.
7. An ancient bronze Zeus.  
Temple of Cronus and Rhea.  
Temenos of Ge Olympia.  
Statue of Isocrates on a pillar.  
Statues of Persians holding a brazen tripod.
8. The tomb of Deucalion.
9. Digression: Other buildings of Hadrian in Athens.
- 19 1. Statue of Apollo Pythius (μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου).  
Another sanctuary of Apollo Delphinus.

2. The Gardens (Κήποι).  
Temple of Aphrodite (in the Gardens).  
Statue of Aphrodite (τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον).
3. Sanctuary of Heracles, called Cynosarges.  
Altars of Heracles and of Hebe.  
Altar of Alcmene and Iolaus.
4. Lyceum.  
Monument of Nisus (ὄπισθεν τοῦ Λυκείου).
5. Rivers of Athens.  
Ilissus.  
Eridanus.
6. Agrae (διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Εἰλισσόν).  
Temple of Artemis Agrotera.  
Stadium.

IV. *The Street of Tripods and Southern Slope of Acropolis* (20 1 — 22 3).

- 20 1. a. The Street of Tripods (ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες).
  2. Temples of gods, one supporting Satyr of Praxiteles.  
Satyr and Eros of Thymilus (ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον).
  3. b. Oldest sanctuary of Dionysus, containing two temples (πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ).  
Statues of Dionysus in the temples, one called Eleuthereus, the other made by Alcamenes.  
Paintings in one of the temples.
  1. c. Odeum of Pericles (πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκευάσμα).
- 20 4-7. Digression: Sulla's Capture of Athens.
- 21 1-2. d. The Theatre of Dionysus.  
Statues of tragic and comic poets.
3. e. Gilded head of Medusa (ἐπὶ . . . τοῦ Νοτίου καλουμένου τείχους, ὃ τῆς ἀκρόπόλεως ἐς τὸ θεατρὸν ἐστι τετραμμένον).
  - f. Cave (Monument of Thrasyllus) (ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ θεάτρου).
  - g. Tomb of Calos (ἰόντων . . . ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου).
- 4-9. h. Sanctuary of Asclepius.
- 22 1-2. i. Temple of Themis (Μετὰ . . . τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ).  
Tomb of Hippolytus (πρὸ αὐτοῦ).

3. *j.* Aphrodite Pandemus and Peitho: images.
- k.* Sanctuary of Ge Kourotrophos.
- l.* Sanctuary of Demeter Chloe.

V. *The Acropolis* (22 4 — 28 3).

- 22 4. *a.* Entrance to Acropolis (ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστιν ἔσοδος μία).
- b.* The Propylaea.  
Figures of horsemen.
5. *c.* Temple of Nike Apteros.  
Heroum of Aegeus.
- 6-7. *d.* Picture Gallery (ἐν ἀριστεροῦ τῶν προπυλαίων οἴκημα ἔχον γμυφας).  
Rape of Palladium by Diomedes.  
Odysseus with bow of Philoctetes.  
Slaying of Aegisthus by Orestes.  
Sacrifice of Polyxena.  
Achilles in Skyros (?)  
Odysseus and Nausicaa (?)  
Alcibiades.  
Perseus with head of Medusa.  
Boy carrying water-pots.  
Wrestler, by Timaeus.  
Portrait of Musaeus.
- e.* Hermes Propylaeus and the Graces, attributed to Socrates.
- 23 1-7. *f.* Between Propylaea and sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia.  
Bronze statue of Leana.  
Image of Aphrodite, by Calamis.  
Bronze statue of Diitrephes.  
Image of Hygieia.  
Image of Athena Hygieia.  
Stone of Silenus.  
Bronze boy with lustral basin, by Lycius.  
Perseus, slaying Medusa, by Myron.
- g.* Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia.  
Image of Artemis Brauronia, by Praxiteles.
- h.* Between sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia and eastern end of Parthenon.  
Bronze copy of Wooden Horse.  
Statues of Epicharinus, of Oenobius; of Hermolyceus, of Phormio (μετὰ τὸν ἵππον).

- 24 1-2. Athena striking Marsyas (*ἐνταῦθα*).  
 Theseus and the Minotaur (*τούτων πέραν*).  
 Phrixus and the ram.  
 Heracles strangling the snakes (and other statues).  
 Athena springing from the head of Zeus.  
 Votive bull of the Areopagus.
- 24 3. *i.* A temple, possibly of Athena Ergane, containing a *σπουδαίων δαίμων*.
- 24 3-4. A statue by Cleoetas.  
 Statues of Conon and Timotheus.  
 Procne and Itys, an offering of Alcamenes.  
 Athena and Poseidon.  
 Image of Zeus, by Leochares.  
 Image of Zeus Polieus.
- 24 5-7. *j.* The Parthenon.  
 The pediments — birth of Athena — contest of Athena and Poseidon.  
 Chryselephantine image of Athena.  
 Statue of Emperor Hadrian (*ἐνταῦθα . . . μόνον*).  
 Statue of Iphicrates (*κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον*).
- 24 8. *k.* Between Parthenon and South Wall (*πρὸς . . . τῷ τείχει τῷ νοτίῳ*).  
 Bronze Apollo Parnopius, by Phidias (*τοῦ ναοῦ . . . πέραν*).  
 Statues of Pericles and Xanthippus (on opposite sides, *ἐτέρωθεν*).  
 Statue of Anacreon.  
 Statues of Io and Callisto, by Dinomenes.
- 25 1-2. *l.* Votive Groups of Attalus, at the South Wall (*πρὸς . . . τῷ τείχει τῷ νοτίῳ*).
- 25 2—26 3. Digression: Olympiodorus.
- 26 4. *m.* Between the South Wall and the Erechtheum.  
 Statue of Olympiodorus.  
 Bronze image of Artemis Leucophryene (*τῆς . . . εἰκόνης πλεονάζουσα τῆς Ὀλυμπιοδώρου*).  
 Seated image of Athena, by Endoeus.
- 26 5. *n.* The Erechtheum (*οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον*).  
 Altar of Zeus Hygatus (*πρὸ . . . τῆς ἔσοδου*).  
 Altars of Poseidon, with Erechtheus, of Butes, of Hephaestus (*ἔσελθοῦσι*).



- Paintings of the Butadae (ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων).
6. The old Athena image.  
The lamp of Callimachus.
- 27 1. o. Athena Polias Temple (ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος).  
A wooden Hermes, offering of Cecrops.  
A chariot, the work of Daedalus.  
The breastplate of Masistius.  
The dagger of Mardonius.
2. p. A temple of Pandrosus (τῷ ναῷ . . . τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς . . . συνεχῆς)
3. q. Dwelling of Arrephoric Maidens.
- 27 4. r. Between the Erechtheum and the Propylaea (27 4 — 28 2).  
Small figure of Lysimache (πρὸς . . . τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς).  
5. Statues of Erechtheus and Eumolpus.  
6. Statues of Tolmides and his prophet.  
Oïd images of Athena injured by fire.  
7. A representation of a boar-hunt.  
Fight of Heracles and Cyenus.  
9. Bronze statue of Theseus lifting the stone.  
Theseus and the Marathonian bull.
- 28 1. Bronze statue of Cylon.
2. Bronze image of Athena, from the spoils at Marathon.  
Bronze chariot, from the spoils of Boeotians and Chalcidians.  
Statue of Pericles.  
Statue of Athena Lemnia.
- 28 3. s. The Acropolis Wall.
- VI. *Western Slope of the Acropolis, and the Areopagus* (28 4 — 29 1).
- 28 4. a. The Clepsydra (καταβάσι . . . οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὄσον  
ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια, πηγὴ τε ὕδατος).  
b. Sanctuary of Apollo in a cave (πλησίον).  
c. Cave of Pan.
5. d. The Areopagus.  
Altar of Athena Areia.
6. Stones of Insolence and Shamelessness.  
Sanctuary of Semnae (πλησίον).  
Statues of Pluto, Hermes, and Ge.
7. Monument of Oedipus.
- 28 8-11. Digression: The Athenian law courts.
- 29 1. Panathenaic Ship (τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον).

VII. *Road from Athens to the Academy Suburb* (29 2—30 4) (ἐξέω πόλεως).

- 29 2. a. Sanctuaries of gods.  
 Precinct of Artemis, with wooden images of Ariste and Kalliste.  
 A small temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus.
3. b. The street of Tombs.  
 Thrasybulus.  
 Pericles, Chabrias, Phormio.
- 4-14. Monuments to Athenians who fell in battle.
15. Conon and Timotheus.  
 Zeno and Chrysippus.  
 Nicias, the animal-painter.  
 Harmodius and Aristogiton.  
 Ephialtes.
16. Lyeurgus.
- 30 1. c. The Academy.  
 Altar of Eros (πρὸ . . . τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν).  
 2. Altar of Prometheus (Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ).  
 Altar of the Muses (Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ).  
 Altar of Hermes (Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ).  
 Altar of Athene and Heracles (Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ).  
 Sacred olive trees.
3. Tomb of Plato (οὐ πόρρω).
4. Tower of Timon.
- d. Colonus Hippius.  
 Altar of Poseidon Hippius and Athena Hippiia.  
 Hero-chapel of Theseus and Pirithous.  
 Hero-chapel of Oedipus and Adrastus.

VIII. *The Demes of Attica* (31—33).

- 31 1. a. Halimus.  
 Sanctuary of Thesmophorian Demeter, and Kore.  
 At Zoster on the sea, an altar of Athena.
- b. Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.
- c. Prospalta.  
 Sanctuary of Kore and Demeter.
- d. Anagyrus.  
 Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods.

- e.* Cephale.  
The Dioscuri.
- 31 2. *f.* Prasiae.  
Temple of Apollo.  
Monument of Erisichthon.
- 31 3. *g.* Lamptrae.  
Monument of Cranaus.
- h.* Potamoi.  
Tomb of Ion, son of Xuthes.
- 31 4. *i.* Phlya.  
Altars of Apollo, Artemis, Dionysus, the Ismenid Nymphs,  
and Ge.  
In another temple, altars of Demeter, Zeus, Athena, Kore,  
and the Semnae.
- j.* Myrrhinus.  
Wooden image of Colaenis.
- 31 5. *k.* Athmonia.  
Sanctuary of Artemis.
- 31 6. *l.* Acharnae.  
Sanctuaries of Apollo Agyieus and Heracles.  
Altar of Athena Hygieia.
- 32 3-7. *m.* Marathon.  
Tumulus of Athenians.  
Tumulus of Plataeans and slaves.  
Monument of Miltiades.  
Trophy of white stone.  
Fountain Macaria.  
Marsh.  
Mountain of Pan.
- 33 1. *n.* Brauron.  
Ancient wooden image of Artemis.
- 33 2-8. *o.* Rhammus.  
Sanctuary of Nemesis, with image made by Phidias.
- IX. Oropus (34).**
- 34 1. *a.* The deme of Oropus.  
2-5. *b.* The Sanctuary of Amphiaraus.  
Temple, with image.  
Altar, dedicated to various deities.  
Fountain of Amphiaraus.

X. *The Mountains and Islands of Attica* (32 1-2, 35 — 36 2).

- 32 1-2.      a. Mountains.  
                 Pentelicus, with image of Athena.  
                 Hymettus, with image of Zeus and altars of Zeus and  
                 Apollo.  
                 Parnes, with bronze image and altars of Zeus.  
                 Anchesmus, with image of Zeus.
- 35 1 — 36 2. b. Islands.  
                 Patroclus.  
                 Helene.  
                 Salamis, with temple of Ajax and sanctuaries of Artemis  
                 and of Cycheus.  
                 Psyttalia, with wooden images of Pan.

XI. *The Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis* (36 3 — 38 7).

- 36 3-6.      Monument of Anthemocritus.  
                 Tomb of Molottus.  
                 Monument of Cephisodorus.
- 37 1-7.      Grave of Heliodorus Halis.  
                 Grave of Themistocles, son of Poliarchus.  
                 Graves of family of Acestor.  
                 Temenos of the hero Lacijs and the deme Laciadae.  
                 Monument of Nicocles, the lyre-player.  
                 Altar of Zephyrus.  
                 Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.  
                 Tomb of Phytalus.  
                 Monument of Theodorus (*πρὶν . . . διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισόν*).  
                 Statues of Mnesimache.  
                 Ancient altars of Zeus Meilichius (*διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Κηφισόν*).  
                 Graves of Theodectes and Mnesitheus.  
                 Small temple of Cyamites.  
                 Monument of a Rhodian.  
                 Monument to Pythionice by Harpalus.  
                 Sanctuary with images of Demeter and Kore, Athena  
                 and Apollo.  
                 Temple of Aphrodite.
- 38 1-5.      The Rheitoi.  
                 Heroum of Hippothoon.  
                 Heroum of Zarex.

XII. *Eleusis and its Neighborhood* (38 6–9).

- 38 6–7. *a.* Eleusis: the Sacred Precinct.  
 Temple of Triptolemus.  
 Temple of Artemis Propylaea.  
 Temple of Poseidon Pater.  
 Altar of Triptolemus.
- 38 8–9. *b.* Road from Eleusis to Eleutherae.  
 Temple and image of Dionysus.  
 Cave of Antiope.  
 Walls of Eleutherae.
- 39 1–3. *c.* Road from Eleusis to Megara.  
 Well, called Anthium  
 Sanctuary of Metanira.  
 Graves of Seven against Thebes.  
 Monument of Alope.  
 Palaestra of Cercyon.

XIII. *Megara* (39 4 — 44).

- 39 4–6. Mythical History of Megara.
- 40 1: Fountain of Theagenes (ἐν τῇ πόλει).
- 2–3. An ancient Sanctuary (τῆς . . . κρήνης . . . οὐ πόρρω).  
 Bronze images of Artemis Soteira.  
 Statues of Roman emperors.  
 Images of the Twelve Gods.
- 4–5. Temenos of Zeus.  
 Temple called Olympicum.  
 Gold and ivory image of Zeus, not completed.  
 Bronze beak of a trireme.
6. The Acropolis, called Caria.  
 Temple of Dionysus Nyctelius.  
 Sanctuary of Artemis Epistrophia.  
 Oracle of Nyx.  
 Temple of Zeus Conius.  
 Images of Asclepius and Hygieia.  
 The Megaron of Demeter.
- 41 1. The Tomb of Alemene (ἐκ . . . τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατιοῦσιν . . .  
 πλῆσιον τοῦ Ὀλυμπείου).  
 Rhous.  
 Monument of Hyllus (πλῆσιον).

- 41 3. Temple of Isis (οὐ πόρρω . . . τοῦ Ἰλλων μνήματος).  
 Temple of Apollo and Artemis (παρ' αὐτόν).
- 3-6. Digression: Who killed the lion of Cithaeron?
7. The Heroum of Pandion (ἐκ τούτου . . . τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιούσι).  
 Monument of Hippolyte (πλησίον).
- 8-9. Grave of Tereus (οὐ πόρρω).
- 42 1. The Acropolis, named after Alcathous (ἄλλη Μεγαρέων ἀκρόπολις  
 ἀπὸ Ἀλκάθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα).  
 Monument of Megareus (ἐς αὐτὴν . . . τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνιούσιν . . .  
 ἐν δεξιᾷ).  
 Hearth of gods called Prodomeis.
- 2-3. Stone of Apollo (τῆς . . . ἐστίας ἐγγύς).
4. Buleuterium.  
 Temple of Athena (ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως).  
 Gold-and-ivory image of Athena.  
 Sanctuary of Athena Nike.  
 Sanctuary of Aiantis.
- 42 5. Old Temple of Apollo.
6. Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros.  
 Monument of Callipolis (κατιούσι . . . ἐντεῦθεν).
7. Monument of Ino (κατὰ . . . τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδόν).
- 43 1. Heroum of Iphigenia.
2. The Prytaneum.  
 Graves of Euippus and Ischepolis (Ἐν . . . τῷ Πρυτανεῖω).  
 The rock Anaclethra (πλησίον).
3. Graves in the city of Megara.  
 Of those killed in Persian Wars.  
 A tomb of heroes, called Aesymnium.
4. The Heroum of Alcathous.  
 Tomb of Pyrgo, his first wife.  
 Tomb of Iphinoe, his daughter.
5. The Sanctuary of Dionysus.  
 Grave of Astycratea and Manto (παρὰ . . . τὴν ἔσοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ  
 Διονύσιον).  
 A wooden image of Dionysus.  
 A Satyr by Praxiteles.  
 Image of Dionysus, dedicated by Euchenor.
- 43 6. Temple of Aphrodite (Μετὰ . . . τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἱερόν).  
 Ivory image of Aphrodite, surnamed Praxis.

- Peitho and Paregoros, works of Praxiteles.  
 Eros, Himeros, and Pothos of Scopas.  
 Sanctuary of Tyche (*πλησίον*).  
 Image, by Praxiteles.  
 Temple adjacent, containing  
 Muses and a bronze Zeus, by Lysippos.
- 43 7-8. The Grave of Coroebus (*ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἀγορᾷ*).  
 Figure of Coroebus killing Poine.
- 44 1. The Grave of Orsippus (*πλησίον*).  
 Sanctuary of Tutelary Apollo (*Ἐκ . . . τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατιούσι τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ τῆς Εὐθείας καλουμένης*).  
 Image of Apollo.  
 Images of Artemis, Latona, and others, the Latona and her  
 children by Praxiteles.  
 The Old Gymnasium (*πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφαίων*).  
 Stone of Apollo Carinus.  
 Sanctuary of the Ilithyia.
- 44 3. The Port called Nisaea.  
 Sanctuary of Malophorian Demeter.  
 The Acropolis of Nisaea.  
 The tomb of Lelex, beside the sea.  
 The Island of Minoa.
- 44 4-5. The mountainous district of Megara.  
 Pagae.  
 Rock shot at by the Medes.  
 Bronze image of Artemis Soteira.  
 Heron of Aegialeus.  
 Aegosthena.  
 Sanctuary of Melampus.  
 Small figure of a man on a stele.  
 Erenea.  
 Tomb of Autonoe.
- 44 6-14. Road from Megara to Corinth.  
 Graves, among others, of Telephanes.  
 Tomb of Car.  
 The Molurian Rock.  
 Temple of Zeus, the Hurler (*ἐπὶ . . . τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ἀκρᾷ*)  
 Images of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Pan.  
 Tomb of Eurystheus.  
 Boundaries of Megaris and Corinth.





## ΑΤΤΙΚΑ

Ch. 1

1 Τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κατὰ νήσους τὰς Κυκλάδας 1  
καὶ πέλαγος τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἄκρα Σούνιον πρόκειται γῆς τῆς  
Ἄττικῆς· καὶ λιμὴν τε παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ἐστὶ καὶ  
ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Σουνιαδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τῆς ἄκρας. πλέοντι δὲ  
5 ἐς τὸ πρόσω Λαύριόν τέ ἐστιν. ἔνθα ποτὲ Ἀθηναίους ἦν

1. *Sunium — Laurium — The Island of Patroclus — The Piraeus — Munichia — Phalerum.*

2. ἄκρα Σούνιον: Cape Sunium, the southeast promontory of Attica, is a rugged headland of crystalline rock, rising two hundred feet above the sea. The earliest mention of Sunium is in Od. γ, 278, where it is said that the pilot of Menelaus was struck down by Apollo's shafts as the ship was passing the sacred headland of Sunium. The woods mentioned by Soph. Aj. 1217 ff. as covering the promontory have disappeared. The ancient fortification wall (cf. Thuc. 8, 4), with a circuit of over half a mile, may still be traced.

— 3. παραπλεύσαντι: dative of reference with verbs of motion, a favorite construction with the historians. Cf. Thuc. 1, 24 Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον. 2, 96; Hdt. 1, 51; 1, 181; 6, 33; Xen. Anab. 3, 2, 22; 6, 4, 1; Cyr. 8, 26; etc. — 4. ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Σουνιαδος: upon the highest point of the promontory stand the ruins of a Doric peripteral temple, with six columns to front

and rear and thirteen on the sides: nine columns on the southern side and two on the northern are still standing. The stylobate measures 102 × 44 feet. The date, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, is somewhat later than the so-called Theseum. This temple has been usually identified as the temple of Athena. But Poseidon also was worshiped at Sunium (Σουνιάρατε, Ar. Eq. 560, cf. Av. 808); and an inscription found in the temple a few years ago, containing a psephisma to be set up in the temple of Poseidon, proves that this temple really belongs to Poseidon. The foundations of the Athena temple have been identified. See A. M. XXIV (1899), 349; Berl. Philol. Woch. XIX (1899), 1087. — 5. Λαύριον . . . ἀργύρου μέταλλα: the hills of Laurium cover practically the whole of that part of the Attic peninsula south of a line drawn from Thoricus to Anaphlystus, a district extending about eleven miles north and south and five miles east and west. The exact period in which the art of mining was introduced into Attica is unknown. Xen. de Vect. 4, 2 implies

ἀργύρου μέταλλα. καὶ νῆσος ἔρημος οὐ μεγάλη Πατρόκλου  
 καλουμένη· τείχος γὰρ ᾠκοδομήσατο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χάρακα  
 ἐβάλετο Πάτροκλος. ὃς τριήρεσιν ἐπέπλει ναύαρχος Λίγυ-  
 πτίαις, ἃς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τιμωρεῖν  
 10 ἔστειλεν Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε σφίσιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου  
 στρατιᾷ τε αὐτὸς ἐσβεβληκῶς ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν καὶ ναυ-  
 σὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης κατεῖργεν.

Ὁ δὲ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος μὲν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, πρότερον δὲ 2  
 πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναίους ἤρξεν ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν· Φα-  
 15 ληρὸν δέ — ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἢ  
 θάλασσα — τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον ἦν, καὶ Μενεσθέα φασὶν  
 αὐτόθεν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τροίαν ἀναχθῆναι καὶ τούτου πρό-  
 τερον Θησέα δώσοντα Μίνω δίκας τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτῆς.

that it was very remote, while at his time the mines were less productive than formerly (Mem. 3, 6, 12). In Strabo's time they were almost exhausted (9, p. 399), and Diodorus (5, 37) says that in his day great sums were expended in mining here, but without adequate return. Pausanias speaks as if operations had ceased entirely in the second century. More than two thousand of the ancient shafts have been located. At present a French company and a Greek company are seeking to resmelt the old slag and extract lead from the ore. Very little silver remains. — 6. **νῆσος . . . Πατρόκλου**: this island lies three miles west of Cape Sunium, and is now known as *Gaidaronisi* or *Ass's Island*. A wall of rough stone, possibly that built by Patroclus, occupies the northeast corner; the ancient designation, as the palisade (*χάραξ*, Strabo, 9, p. 398) of Patroclus, has given to the coast territory adjacent the name of *Charaka*. The incident mentioned took

place in the so-called Chremonidean War (268–263 B.C.). Cf. 1, 7, 3; 3, 6, 4. See Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, 627.

13. **Πειραιεὺς δῆμος**, κτλ.: the Piræus consists of a rocky peninsula extending seaward from the Attic mainland two and one third miles from northeast to southwest, composed of two masses each about one and one-fourth miles wide united by a low and narrow isthmus. The southwest mass, known as *Acte* in ancient times, is 187 feet in height; the northeast mass, 280 feet at its highest point, is the hill of *Munychia*. In 493–492 B.C. Themistocles began the fortification of Piræus; about 448 the Long Walls were completed; in 440 the seaport town was laid out on a uniform plan by Hippodamus of Miletus; in 404 the Lacedæmonians destroyed the Long Walls and the Piræus fortifications; during 394–391 the fortifications were restored, chiefly under Conon; in 86 Sulla razed the fortifications, which were never

Ch. 1, 3

- Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἠρξέε — τοῖς τε γὰρ πλείουσιν ἐπιτηδειό-  
 20 *περος* ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνεται οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς  
*ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἔχειν* τοῦ Φαληροῦ — τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίπειον εἶναι  
*κατεσκευάσατο*· καὶ νεὼς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἴκοι καὶ πρὸς  
 τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους. φασὶ γὰρ μεταμε-  
 λῆσαι τῶν ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὡς οἱ προσήκου-  
 25 *τες τὰ ὄστα κομίσαιεν* ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀνελόντες· φαίνονται  
 δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ κατελθόντες καὶ γραφήν  
 ἐς τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἀναθέντες, ἐν ᾗ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐστὶ γεγραμ-  
 μένος. θέας δὲ ἄξιον τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ μάλιστα Ἀθηναῖς ἐστὶ ::  
 καὶ Διὸς τέμενος· χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφότερα τὰ ἀγάλματα. ἔχει  
 rebuilt. — 22. *νεὼς* . . . *οἴκοι*: the ship-  
 sheds were regarded as one of the  
 glories of Athens. Isocr. 7, 66 says  
 they were built at a cost of 1000 tal-  
 ents, and were sold by the Thirty for  
 three talents. Dem. 22, 76 cites them  
 along with the Propylaea and the Par-  
 thenon. Lysias deploras the destruc-  
 tion of the dockyards (12, 99) and of  
 the shipsheds (30, 22) at the hands of  
 the tyrants. From 347 B.C. to 322  
 B.C. the Athenians engaged in rebuild-  
 ing docks and shipsheds (C.I.A. II,  
 270), and erected an arsenal, largely  
 through the efforts of Lycurgus. Con-  
 siderable remains of the ancient ship-  
 sheds are still to be seen in the harbors  
 of Zea and Munychia. — 23. *τάφος Θε-  
 μιστοκλέους*: cf. Plut. Them. 32, who  
 quotes Diodorus the Periegete's descrip-  
 tion of Themistocles's grave from his  
 work *Περὶ μνημάτων*. Tradition places  
 the site of the tomb on the shore of the  
 Acte peninsula near the modern light-  
 house, to the south of the approach to  
 the Great Harbor. Thuc. 1, 138 says  
 there was a monument of Themistocles  
 in the agora of Magnesia, but that his  
 relatives maintained that his bones had  
 been conveyed to Attic soil. — *φασί*:  
 note change of construction and espe-  
 cially use of opt. after *φασί*. Cf. Madvig,  
*Advers. Crit.* I, 704. On this frequent  
 variation note the use of *φασί* and other  
 expressions (a) with inf. and following  
*ὡς* or *ὅτι* + opt., as e.g. 1, 2, 3; 10, 3;  
 (b) with inf. and following *ὡς* or *ὅτι* +  
 ind. of hist. tense, 1, 19, 4; 31, 2; (c) also  
 in 1, 20, 3, where after *ὡς* + opt. there  
 is first inf., then loss of dependence on  
*λέγεται*.
28. Ἀθηναῖς . . . καὶ Διὸς τέμενος:  
 this joint precinct of Zeus and Athena  
 is mentioned in other ancient writ-  
 ers. See S. Q. CXI, 78. It is likely that  
 the two deities were worshiped in com-  
 mon and that there were two statues  
 with one sacred precinct. Cf. Lyc. c.  
 Leocr. 17 τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτήρος  
 καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς τῆς σωτέρας. This was  
 the principal sanctuary of the Piraeus.  
 In the precinct were colonnades with  
 paintings and statues in the open air  
 (Strabo, 9, p. 396). The site has not  
 been definitely determined. . 29. ἀγάλ-  
 ματα: the two bronze statues of Athena

30 δὲ ὁ μὲν σκῆπτρον καὶ Νίκην, ἣ δὲ Ἀθηναῖα δόρυ. ἐνταῦθα  
 Λεωσθένην, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλησιν ἡγούμε-  
 νος Μακεδόνας ἐν τε Βοιωτοῖς ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ αὖθις ἔξω  
 Θερμοπυλῶν καὶ βιασάμενος ἐς Λάμιαν κατέκλεισε τὴν ἀπαν-  
 τικρὸν τῆς Οὔτης. τοῦτον τὸν Λεωσθένην καὶ τοὺς παῖδας  
 35 ἔγραψεν Ἀρκεσίλαος. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς μακρᾶς.  
 εἴθθα καθέστηκεν ἀγορὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης — καὶ γὰρ τοῖς  
 ἀπωτέρω τοῦ λιμένος ἐστὶν ἑτέρα — τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης  
 στοᾶς ὄπισθεν ἐστᾶσι Ζεὺς καὶ Δῆμος, Λεωχάρους ἔργον.

and Zeus were renowned. That of Athena was the work of Cephisodotus or Cephisodorus. See Pliny, 34, 74, Cephisodorus *Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium*. Furtwängler defends the Mss. reading *Cephisodorus* which is adopted in the Teubner and Jex-Blake editions. There is no known Greek sculptor of this name, while there were two by name Cephisodotus. The date usually assigned is 394-391 B.C.; if the latter name is accepted, the work must be attributed to the elder Cephisodotus; so Overbeck, Murray, Milchhoefer, and Wachsmuth. — 35. *τῆς στοᾶς τῆς μακρᾶς*: the Long Colonnade was probably one of the five mentioned Schol. Ar. Pac. 145, to the effect that in the harbor of Cantharus were "the docks, then the sanctuary of Aphrodite, then five colonnades round about the harbor" (S.Q. CXII). An inscription of Roman date quoted 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1884, p. 170, mentions these in the same order. This stoa is doubtless identical with that described Thuc. 8, 90 as the largest colonnade, and as immediately adjoining the promontory of Eetionia. If so, it stood on the north

side of the harbor, extending westward to where the town wall of Piraeus crossed the shallow bight over to Eetionia. It is probably identical with the often mentioned *στοὰ ἀλφειόπυλεις* (S.Q. CXVII, 55). The four other colonnades doubtless ran southward in a line along the eastern shore of the harbor, together forming the public mart or emporium. — 36. *ἀγορὰ . . . ἀπωτέρω τοῦ λιμένος*: this was the agora of Hippodamus, which occupied a spacious square, large enough for troops to muster in (Andoc. 1, 45). The road from Athens led into this square, and another wide avenue led from it up to the shrine of Artemis on Munychia (Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 11 ff.). The house of the admiral Timotheus was near (Ps.-Dem. 49, 22). The site was probably the level ground to the east of the great harbor, where is located the modern Karaiskaki Square. Named after the architect who laid out the city, it constituted in ancient times the principal market of Piraeus. — 38. *Ζεὺς καὶ Δῆμος, Λεωχάρους ἔργον*: for other works of Leochares, cf. 1, 3, 4; 24, 4; 5, 20, 10. Leochares (c. 350 B.C.) was one of the sculptors engaged with Scopas in

Ch. 1, 4

- πρὸς δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ Κόνων ᾠκοδόμησεν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν.  
 40 τριήρεις Λακεδαιμονίων κατεργασάμενος περὶ Κνίδου τὴν  
 ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ χερρονήσῳ. Κνίδιοι γὰρ τιμῶσιν Ἀφροδί-  
 την μάλιστα, καὶ σφισιν ἔστιν ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἀρχαιότατον Δωρίτιδος, μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀκραίας. νεώτατον δὲ  
 ἦν Κνιδίαν οἱ πολλοί. Κνίδιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν Εὐπλοίαν.  
 45 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίσις ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίᾳ λιμῆν  
 καὶ Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαληργῶ. καθὰ  
 καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι. καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ Δήμητρος ἱερόν.

embellishing the mausoleum of Halicarnassus (Pliny, 36, 30); he is the author of the original of the Vatican group of Ganymede and the eagle (Pliny, 34, 79). The personification of the Demus was a popular *motif* in Greek art. Pausanias mentions in Athens a statue of Demus by Lyson (1, 3, 5), and a painting of Demus by Euphranor (1, 3, 3). Parrhasius painted a celebrated picture of the Athenians, portraying their fickle character (Pliny, 35, 69). Other cities likewise were personified in art, as e.g. the Antioch of the Vatican. — 39. Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν: the temple of Aphrodite, erected by Conon after his naval victory off Cnidus (394 B.C.), lay somewhere between the docks and the colonnades (cf. Schol. Ar. Pac. 145). This would place it to the south-east of the harbor, most probably on the promontory where the custom-house now stands. Another shrine of Aphrodite, dedicated by Themistocles, was probably situated at the northern extremity of Eetionia (see S. Q. CVI). — 41. Ἀφροδίτην: Aphrodite is called Δωρίτις as the goddess of fruitfulness in vegetation (cf. ζεῖδωρος, ἠπιόδωρος, εὐκαρπος; Furtwängler in Roscher, I, 398); Ἀκραία

as Goddess of the Height (cf. 2, 32, 6), also a surname of Athena, Hera, and Artemis (Hesych. s.v. Ἀκρία); Εὐπλοία, in that she grants prosperous voyages to mariners. This latter was probably her surname at Piræus (C. I. A. II, 1206).

45. ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίᾳ λιμῆν: on the various harbors of Athens, see Excursus I. — 46. Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος: the temple was situated on the top of the hill above the Hippodamian agora (Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 11) but its exact site is not determined. Here Artemis was worshiped as a moon and harbor goddess. On the cult see Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. I, 302 ff., S. Q. CVII, 22. Pausanias fails to mention two Greek theatres on the peninsula of Piræus, one on the western slope of the hill of Munychia, about half way up the hill; the other to the west of the harbor of Zea. The former is the older and is mentioned Thuc. 8, 93, 1; Lys. 13, 32; and Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 32. The latter was built during the second century B.C. (C. I. A. II, 984). It was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1880. Parts of the stage-building, orchestra, and auditorium are in good condition. — 47. Δήμητρος

ἐνταῦθα καὶ Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ναός ἐστι καὶ Διὸς ἄπωτέρω.  
 βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων Ἀγνώστων καὶ ἠρώων καὶ  
 50 παιδῶν τῶν (Θησεύς καὶ Φαληροῦ· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Φαληρὸν  
 Ἀθηναῖοι πλεῦσαι μετὰ Ἰάσονός φασιν ἐς Κόλχους. ἔστι δὲ 5  
 καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ Ἡρωος· Ἀνδρό-  
 γεω δὲ ὄντα ἴσασιν οἷς ἐστὶν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ ἐγγχώρια σαφέστε-  
 ρον ἄλλων ἐπίστασθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἄκρα  
 55 Κωλιάς· ἐς ταύτην φθαρέντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ Μήδων κα-  
 τήρευκεν ὁ κλύδων τὰ νανάγια. Κωλιάδος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα

**ιερόν**: this shrine is one of the *ναοὶ ἠμί-  
 καντοι*, mentioned (10, 35, 2) as burnt  
 by the Persians and left in ruins for  
 all time by the Greeks as perpetual  
 memorials of their hatred of the bar-  
 barians. See Lyc. c. Leocr. 81 and  
 W. N. Bates, Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil. XII,  
 320 ff.—48. **Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ναός**: this  
 temple was said to have been founded by  
 a soothsayer from Dodona named Sci-  
 rus (1, 36, 4). See Milchh. S. Q. CXIX,  
 50. In A. M. I, 126, Lolling derives the  
 surname from *σκιρρός*, and connects it  
 with the rocks and their white color.  
 See also Preller-Robert, Griech. Myth.  
 I, 204, and Robert, Hermes, XX, 349.—  
 49. **Ἀγνώστων**: Pausanias's language  
 leaves it uncertain whether there was  
 one altar to Unknown Gods or several,  
 and whether, if several, each was dedi-  
 cated to Unknown God or Gods. At  
 Olympia was an Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμός  
 (5, 14, 8). The apostle Paul mentions  
 an altar at Athens with the inscription  
 ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ (Acts 17, 23). Oecu-  
 menius (quoted in Lomeier, de veterum  
 gentiliu lustrationibus, p. 32) says the  
 full inscription seen by Paul was: "To  
 the gods of Asia and Europe and Libya,  
 to the Unknown and Strange God."  
 Tertullian (ad nationes, 2, 9) mentions

an altar at Athens dedicated to Un-  
 known Gods. Philostratus (Vit. Apol-  
 lon. 6, 3, 5) speaks of altars of Unknown  
 Gods at Athens. Lucian makes one of  
 his characters swear by the Unknown  
 God at Athens (Philop. 9). Diog. Laert.  
 I, 10, 110, gives an explanation of the  
 presence of such altars at Athens. Cf.  
 Rendel Harris, "The Cretans Always  
 Liars," Expositor, October, 1906.—  
**βωμοὶ . . . ἠρώων**: probably of Nausi-  
 thous the steersman and Phaeax the  
 lookout man of Theseus' ship on his  
 voyage to Crete. They had shrines at  
 Phalerum beside the sanctuary of Sci-  
 rus. See Plut. Thes. 17.—50. **Φαληρὸν**  
 . . . **πλεῦσαι μετὰ Ἰάσονος**: Phalerus  
 is also mentioned (Apoll. Rhod. 1, 96)  
 as a participator in the Argonautic  
 expedition.

52. **Ἀνδρόγεω βωμός**: see 1, 27, 10.  
 —54. **ἄκρα Κωλιάς**: on the probable  
 site of Cape Colias, see Excursus I.—  
 56. **Κωλιάδος . . . Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα**:  
 on Coliad Aphrodite and her cult, see  
 Roscher, Lex. s. v. *Kolias*, and Schol.  
 Ar. Nub. 52, where a temple of the  
 goddess is mentioned and various ex-  
 planations are given of the term Coliad.  
 The priest of this deity had a seat in the  
 theatre of Dionysus (C. I. A. III, 339).

Ch. 2, 1

Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Γενετυλλίδες ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαί-  
 δοκῶ δὲ καὶ Φωκαεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θεάς, ἃς καλοῦσι Γειναί-  
 δας, εἶναι ταῖς ἐπὶ Κωλιάδι τὰς αὐτάς.—ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν  
 60 τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς Ἱπρας οὔτε θύρας ἔχουσι οὔτε  
 ὄροφον· Μαρδόνιον φασιν αὐτὸν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν Γωβρύου.  
 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν δὴ, καθὰ λέγουσιν. Ἄλκα μένους ἐστὶν  
 ἔργον· οὐκ ἂν τοῦτό γε ὁ Μῆδος εἶη λελωβημένος.

2 Ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀντιόπης μνήμα Ἀμα-  
 ζόνος. ταύτην τὴν Ἀντιόπην Πίνδαρος μὲν φησιν ὑπὸ Πει-  
 ρίθου καὶ Θησέως ἀρπασθῆναι. Τροϊζηνίῳ δὲ Ἱγία τοιαύδε ἐς  
 αὐτὴν πεποιήται· Ἡρακλέα Θερμίσκυραν πολιορκοῦντα τὴν  
 5 ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ἐλεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι. Θησέως δὲ ἐρασθεῖσαι

—57. Γενετυλλίδες ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαί: the Genetyllides are to be distinguished from Aphrodite as to birth-goddesses in her service, Aphrodite herself having at times this title. According to Hesych. s.v. Γενετυλλίς, Genetyllis resembled Hecate, and dogs were sacrificed to her. See S.Q. s.v.; Usener, Götternamen, 124. — 59. κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ: Pausanias first traverses the route from Phalerum to Athens and describes monuments at the entrance of the city (1, 2, 1); he then traverses the route from Piraeus to Athens (1, 2, 2-3), and enters finally from this approach. — 60. ναὸς Ἱπρας: mentioned (10, 35, 2) as one of the ναοὶ ἡμίκαντοι. Pausanias leaves the reader his choice of one of two inferences: (1) if the injury to the temple was inflicted by the Persians, the image was not the work of Alcámenes; (2) if the image was made by Alcámenes, the injury to the shrine was not inflicted by the Persians. The author manifestly inclines to the former inference.

2. The Amazon Antiope—Walls of Greater Athens—Court Poets—The Dipylon—Temples, Colonnades, and Statues from Gate to Agora—Attic Kings.

1. ἐσελθόντων . . . Ἀντιόπης μνήμα Ἀμαζόνος: the statement implies that this tomb was just within the city wall of Athens. Plut. Thes. 27 defines the site more exactly, παρὰ τὸ Γῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερόν. This sanctuary lay (Paus. 1, 18, 7) in the region of the Olympieum, but outside the peribolus-wall. Hence the gate through which the Phalerum road led into Athens was doubtless not far from the Olympieum. Now the tomb of Antiope was in all probability identical with the tomb of the Amazon mentioned by Ps.-Plato (Axioch. 364 b-365 a) as being near the Itonian gate. Hence it follows that the gate approached by the Phalerum road was the Itonian, and this lay near the Olympieum. See Plut. Thes. 26 ff. on the relations between Theseus and Antiope.

Ἀντιόπην — στρατεύσαι γὰρ ἄμα Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Θησέα —  
 παραδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον. τάδε μὲν Ἥγίας πεποίηκεν. Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι δέ φασιν. ἐπεὶ τε ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες, Ἀντιόπην μὲν  
 ὑπὸ Μολπαδίας τοξευθῆναι, Μολπαδίαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ  
 10 Θησέως. καὶ μνήμᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ Μολπαδίας Ἀθηναίοις.

Ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν ἐστὶν ἃ 2  
 Κόνων ὕστερον τῆς πρὸς Κνίδω ναυμαχίας ἀνέστησε. τὰ  
 γὰρ Θημιστοκλέους μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οἰκοδομηθέντα  
 τὴν Μήδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καθηρέθη τῶν τριάκοντα ὄνομα-  
 15 ζομένων. εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν γνωριμώτατοι Μενάν-  
 δρου τοῦ Διοπείθους καὶ μνήμα Εὐριπίδου κενόν· τέθραπται  
 δὲ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἐλθὼν Ἀρχέ-  
 λαον, ὁ δὲ οἱ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπος — πολλοῖς γὰρ ἐστὶν εἰρη-  
 μένος — ἐχέτω καθὰ λέγουσι. συνῆσαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τότε 3  
 20 τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ποιηταὶ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι καὶ Πολυκράτει  
 Σάμου τυραννοῦντι Ἀνακρέων παρῆν καὶ ἐς Συρακοῦσας  
 πρὸς Ἱέρωνα Λίσχυλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν· Διουυσίω

11. ἐρείπια τῶν τειχῶν: on the Long Walls, see Excursus I. — 15. τάφοι . . . Μενάνδρου . . . καὶ μνήμα Εὐριπίδου κενόν: the epitaph on Menander's tomb is preserved Anthol. Pal. 7, 370:

Βάκχω καὶ Μούσῃσι μεμηλότα τὸν Διο-  
 πείθους,  
 Κεκροπίδην ὑπ' ἐμοί, ξείνε, Μένανδρον  
 ἔχω,  
 ἐν πυρὶ τὴν ὀλίγην ὅς ἔχει κόνιν· εἰ δὲ  
 Μένανδρον  
 δίζηαι, δῆεις ἐν Διὸς ἢ μακάρων.

The inscription on Euripides' cenotaph is said to have been composed by Thucydides or by Timotheus the musician. It is found Anthol. Pal. 7, 45:

Μνήμα μὲν Ἑλλάδος ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου· ὅστέα  
 δ' ἴσχει  
 γῆ Μακεδῶν· ἢ γὰρ δέξατο τέρμα βίου.

πατρὶς δ' Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς, Ἀθῆναι· πλεί-  
 στα δὲ Μούσαις  
 τέρψας ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.

The story goes that while being hospitably entertained by King Archelaus of Macedon, Euripides was accidentally torn in pieces by his hunting dogs. See Diod. 13, 103; Biog. Gr., pp. 136, 140. Cf. Sotades ap. Stob. Flor. 98, Anth. 7, 51, and Allinson, Lucian, p. xiv. This story bears all the ear-marks of myth. On tombs as an embellishment of roads in ancient times, see Curtius, Ges. Abh. I, 74 ff. — 19. ἐχέτω καθὰ λέγουσι: a similar formula occurs 8, 38, 7. Cf. Hdt. 1, 140; 2, 28.

20. τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ποιηταί: Pausanias here mentions a number of popular instances of poets who sojourned



Ch. 2. 3

δέ, ὃς ὕστερον ἐτυράννησεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Φιλόξενος παρῆν  
καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντι Ἀνταγόρας Ῥόδιος καὶ  
25 Σολεὺς Ἄρατος. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἢ συγγενέσθαι  
βασιλεῦσιν ἠτύχησαν ἢ καὶ ἐκόντες ὀλιγόρησαν. ὁ μὲν  
ἀγροικία καὶ ὄκνῳ πλάνης. Ὅμηρος δὲ ἀποδημήσας ἐπὶ  
μακρότατον καὶ τὴν ὀφέλειαν τὴν ἐς χρήματα παρὰ τῶν  
δύνατων ὕστεραν θέμενος τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξης. ἐπὶ  
30 καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν Ἀλκίῳ παρῆναι Δημόδοκον  
καὶ ὡς Ἀγαμέμνων καταλείπει τινὰ παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ ποιη-  
τήν. — ἔστι δὲ τάφος οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν. ἐπίθημα ἔχων  
στρατιώτην ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα· ὄντινα μὲν. οὐκ οἶδα. Πρα-  
ξιτέλης δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην ἐποίησεν.

at the courts of kings and tyrants. It is strange that he passes over Pindar and Bacchylides. On Anacreon's sojourn with Polycrates, see Hdt. 3, 121; Strabo, 14, p. 638. Aeschylus was at the court of Hiero between 471 and 469; see Vita Aesch., and Christ, Ber. d. bayr. Ak. 1888, 371 ff. On Simonides' sojourn with Hiero, see Xen. Hiero, Ps.-Plato, Ep. 2, 311A, etc. On the sojourn of Antagoras and Aratus with Antigonus Gonatas in 276 B.C., see Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, pp. 53-61; Athen. 8, p. 340; Susemihl, Alex. Lit. I, 380. On Demodocus see Od. θ, 44; ν, 28. — 32. **τάφος . . . ἐπίθημα ἔχων**: it has been conjectured that this monument of a rider is identical with the shrine of the hero Chalcodon mentioned by Plutarch (Thes. 26) as being near the Piraeus gate at Athens. — **οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν**: it is a much-disputed question by what gate Pausanias enters the city. There were four gates to the north and northwest of Athens available for travelers from the Piraeus: two within the

Long Walls,—one in the saddle between the Museum and Pnyx hills, the other between the Pnyx and Nymphaeum hills; a third, called the Piraeus gate, just beyond the Nymphaeum hill; and the fourth the great gate of the city further north, known as the Dipylum. Just as the roads leading from the first two gates converged within the walls, so the roads leading from the last two converged at a short distance from the city. We have noticed that Pausanias was approaching the city by the road to the north of the Long Walls; hence he could have entered by the Piraeus gate or the Dipylum. It is generally accepted that Pausanias chose the latter, since the Dipylum was the principal gate of Athens (cf. Livy 31, 24); and the road to the Dipylum was a regular means of approach from the Piraeus to the agora; though somewhat longer, it was more level and more convenient than the lower road, and led through the principal avenue to the chief part of

35 Ἐσελθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα εἰς παρασκευὴν ἔστι τῶν πομπῶν. ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντες. καὶ πλησίον ναὸς ἔστι Δήμητρος. ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῆ τε καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ δᾶδα ἔχων Ἴακχος· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς

the city (cf. Polyb. 16, 25; Lucian, Navig. 17, 46; Dial. Meretr. 4, 2, etc.); and finally because the monuments Pausanias proceeds to describe doubtless were along the avenue from the Dipylum to the agora. For a description of the extant remains of the Dipylum, see Excursus I.

35. οἰκοδόμημα εἰς παρασκευὴν . . . τῶν πομπῶν: this was doubtless the building elsewhere designated Πομπεῖον (Dem. 34, 39; C. I. A. II, 834c, 2, a; Poll. 9, 45; Diog. Laert. 6, 22), used as a depository of the properties for the various processions, especially the Panathenaic, that started from this point. The building was embellished with paintings and statues, including a portrait of Isocrates (Vit. x Or. 4, p. 839E), and a bronze statue of Socrates by Lysippus (Diog. Laert. 2, 5, 43). The site has been recognized in the foundations of a large quadrangular building, divided into three aisles, situated southwest of the Dipylum, inside the city wall.—37. ναὸς . . . Δήμητρος: this temple is most probably identical with the Ἰακχεῖον, in the neighborhood of which a grandson of the great Aristides (Plut. Aristid. 27) made his living by interpreting dreams, and where the dream-interpreters regularly resorted (Alciphr. 3, 59). Its location near the Dipylum accords with the fact that through this gate passed the sacred processions to Eleusis. Cf. Schol. Ar. Ran. 402;

Hesych. s.v. ἀγορᾶς.—38. ἀγάλματα . . . Πραξιτέλους: these statues of Demeter, Persephone, and Iacchus are mentioned by Clem. Alex. Protrept. 4, 62, p. 52, ed. Ritter, and the Iacchus by Cicero (Verr. 4, 60), though neither mentions Praxiteles. The statement that the inscription on the wall was in "Attic characters" signifies that they were inscribed in the Attic alphabet of the fifth century before the archonship of Euclides (403–402 B.C.) when the old Attic alphabet was officially abolished in favor of the Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters. Two explanations have been given of the statement that an inscription referring to the works of Praxiteles, whose acme could hardly have been prior to 365, should be in characters abolished in 403 B.C.: one being the hypothesis of the Elder Praxiteles, advocated chiefly by Furtwängler, the other that of Köhler, who finds the solution in the fact that the inscription was carved, not as usual on the base of the statue but on the wall, and was accordingly not inscribed by the artist. The old Attic alphabet, Köhler says, was revived in Hadrian's time and was used particularly for inscriptions and the like. He thinks that these statues may well be those dedicated by the physician Mnesitheus (Paus. 1, 37, 4), who was contemporary with the comic poet Alexis, a younger contemporary of Praxiteles.

Ch. 2. 5

40 ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶν  
 ἔστιν ἐφ' ἵππου, δόρυ ἀφιεῖς ἐπὶ γίγαυτα Πολυβότῃν. ἐς οἷν  
 Κώοις ὁ μῦθος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἔχει τῆς Χελώνης· τὸ δὲ  
 ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰκόνα ἄλλω δίδωσι καὶ οὐ  
 Ποσειδῶνι. στοαὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμει-  
 45 κὸν καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαὶ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν,  
 ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχεν [ὧν τις λόγος] ἐς δόξαν. ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν  
 στοῶν ἔχει μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν. ἔχει δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἑρμοῦ καλού-  
 μενον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πουλυτίωνος οἰκία, καθ' ἣν παρὰ

Cf. A. M. IX (1884), p. 78 ff. — 40. Ποσειδῶν . . . ἐφ' ἵππου κτλ.: an incident of the Battle of the Gods and Giants, related by Strabo (10, p. 489) and by Apollodorus (1, 6, 2) to the effect that Poseidon with his trident had rent a piece from the island of Cos, and hurled it at the giant Polybotes, burying him under it and forming the island of Nisyros off Cos. The combat is frequently represented on vase-paintings and other minor works of art. Pausanias mentions that the inscription had been altered. This was a common practice under the Empire, so that what had been the image (ἄγαλμα) of a god or hero might become the portrait statue (εἰκὼν) of a man. — 44. στοαὶ . . . ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν: Himerius (3, 12) describes the procession of the Sacred Ship in the Panathenaic festival as follows: "Ἀρχεται μὲν εὐθὺς ἐκ Πυλῶν, οἷον ἐκ τινος εὐδαίου λιμένος, τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἢ ναῦς. κινηθεῖσα δὲ ἐκείθεν ἦδε, καθάπερ κατὰ τινος ἀκυμάντου θαλάσσης, διὰ μέσου τοῦ Δρόμου κομίζεται, ὃς εὐθυτενῆς τε καὶ λείος καταβαίνων ἄνωθεν σχίζει τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ παρατεταμένας στοάς, ἐφ' ὧν ἀγοράζουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ αἰλοῖποι. I understand Himerius' statement that the street "makes a straight

and gentle descent from the higher ground" as referring to the slope from the Agora to the gate. This removes Frazer's difficulty in identifying the street described by Himerius as being the one described by Pausanias. From the two authors alike we learn that the entire avenue was lined with colonnades; Himerius refers to the buildings used for merchandise and the like; Pausanias, only to those devoted to sacred purposes, which were doubtless outnumbered by the secular buildings. — 45. εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαὶ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν κτλ.: Gurlitt (p. 265) argues that the custom of lining a street before the colonnades with statues of illustrious men and women belongs to the Hellenistic Age, but Curtius (Stadtgesch. p. 178) shows that the custom arose in early times and flourished chiefly under Pericles. Such monuments to the benefactors of the state were placed in prominent places, especially on this parade street, that the visitor on the very threshold of the city might recognize that Athens was the centre of the higher life of Hellas.

48. Πουλυτίωνος οἰκία: the Athenians of "certain note" who profaned the mysteries in the house of Pulytion

τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι δρᾶσαι τελετὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν οὐ τοὺς  
 50 ἀφανεστάτους· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀνείτο Διονύσω. Διόνυσον δὲ  
 τοῦτον καλοῦσι Μελπόμενον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῶδε ἐφ' ὁποίῳ περ  
 Ἀπόλλωνα Μουσηγέτην. ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα  
 Παιωνίας καὶ Διὸς καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλων  
 τε ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον Εὐβουλίδου, καὶ δαίμων τῶν ἀμφὶ  
 55 Διόνυσον Ἀκρατος· πρόσωπόν ἐστὶν οἱ μόνον ἐνφοδορημέ-  
 ρον τῷ τοίχῳ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενός ἐστιν οἴκημα  
 ἀγάλματα ἔχον ἐκ πηλοῦ, βασιλεὺς Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύων

were doubtless Alcibiades and his companions. Andoc. 1, 12, 14, and Isoc. 16, 6, also assert that the impious ceremonies took place in the house of Pulytion. Plato (Eryx. 394c, 400b) speaks of the magnificence of the mansion. Thuc. 6, 28 states that the accused parodied the Eleusinian mysteries. The house was confiscated by the state and dedicated to Dionysus Melpomenus. — 50. **Διόνυσον . . . Μελπόμενον**: Dionysus the Minstrel is referred to in various inscriptions (see S. Q. XXVIII, 1). It is thought that this *τέμενος* is identical with the *τέμενος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν*, mentioned Athen. 5, p. 212, the principal sanctuary of the company of theatrical artists, from whose number the priest of this deity was chosen (C. I. A. III, 274, 278). The other priest of this Dionysus was chosen from the family of the Euniadae. Each had a reserved seat inscribed for him in the theatre of Dionysus. — 52. **Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα Παιωνίας . . . ἔργον Εὐβουλίδου**: the text leaves it uncertain whether Pausanias means to say that the whole group of statues or only the statue of Apollo was made and dedicated by Eubulides. In

1837 there was made in this territory an important find of a pedestal of great blocks of poros; also of a colossal marble head of a woman, a torso of a female statue, two male portrait heads of Roman date, and a large block of Hymettus marble with this inscription: [Εὐβουλίδης Εὐ]χειρος Κρωπίδης ἐποίησεν (C. I. A. II, 1645). In 1874 a colossal female head of Pentelic marble, probably an Athena, was discovered in the same place. Authorities are divided on the question of regarding this find as the monument mentioned by Pausanias, but we must incline to the opinion that these fragments are parts of a great composite statue, made and dedicated by Eubulides. — 54. **δαίμων τῶν ἀμφὶ Διόνυσον Ἀκρατος**: Acratus, one of the attendant sprites of Dionysus, was the daemon of unmixed wine. To this daemon Dicaeopolis (Ar. Ach. 1229) gulped down the "Amystis," — "the deep, long, breathless draught." — 56. **τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τέμενος**: usually regarded as identical with the house of Pulytion, mentioned as dedicated to Dionysus. — **οἴκημα ἀγάλματα ἔχον ἐκ πηλοῦ κτλ.**: Curtius (Ges. Abh. I, 40) recognizes

Ch. 2, 6

ἄλλους τε θεοὺς ἐστιῶν καὶ Διόνυσον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Πήγασός  
 ἐστὶν Ἐλευθερεύς, ὃς Ἀθηναίους τὸν θεὸν ἐσήγαγε· συνεπε-  
 60 λάβετο δέ οἱ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον ἀναμνήσαν τὴν ἐπὶ  
 Ἰκαρίου ποτὲ ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ θεοῦ. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἀμφι-  
 κτύων ἔσχεν οὕτως. Ἀκταῖον λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ γῆν Ἀττικῇ  
 βασιλεύσαι πρῶτον· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀκταίου Κέκροπι ἐκδέ-  
 χεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν Ἀκταίου. καὶ οἱ γίνονται  
 65 θυγατέρες μὲν Ἔρση καὶ Ἀγλαυρος καὶ Πάνδροσος, υἱὸς δὲ  
 Ἐρυσίχθων· οὗτος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς ζῶντος τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Κέ-  
 κροπος Κραναὸς ἐξεδέξατο, Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει προίχων.  
 Κραναῶ δὲ θυγατέρας καὶ ἄλλας καὶ Ἀτθίδα γενέσθαι  
 70 λέγουσιν· ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀττικὴν τὴν χώραν,  
 πρότερον καλουμένην Ἀκταίαν. Κραναῶ δὲ Ἀμφικτύων  
 ἐπαναστάς, θυγατέρα ὅμως ἔχων αὐτοῦ, πανεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς·  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου καὶ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων

in the group of Amphictyon a portrayal of the admission of Dionysus into the community of Attic deities. The wine-god was introduced from Eleutheræ into Athens by Pegasus the priest (Schol. Ar. Ach. 243). Amphictyon is said to have learned from Dionysus the art of mixing water with wine (Athen. 2, p. 38c).—60. ἐπὶ Ἰκαρίου: cf. 1, 33, 8, and note.

61. τὴν δὲ . . . Ἀμφικτύων ἔσχεν οὕτως: with the rest of chapter cf. Apollodorus 3, 14. The only difference between the two accounts is that Apollodorus makes Cecrops, not Actæus, the first king of Attica, who married Aglaurus, daughter of Actæus. According to Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀκτῆ, Attica was originally called Ἀκτῆ after Actæus; so too Strabo, 9, p. 397, where the king is called Actæon.—65. Ἔρση

καὶ Ἀγλαυρος καὶ Πάνδροσος: see 1, 18, 2, and note. Ἀγλαυρος is in inscriptions the original and better attested form. See C.I.G. 7716, 7718; C.I.A. III, 372. Ἀγρυνος is found in the text of Eur., Apollod., and Steph. Byz. See Preller-Robert I, 200, note 2; Usener, Götternamen, 136.—66. Ἐρυσίχθων: see 1, 18, 5; 1, 31, 12.—69. καὶ ἄλλας καὶ Ἀτθίδα: according to Apollod. 3, 14, 5, the other daughters were Cranae and Cranaechme. After the third daughter Atthis, Cranaus named the land Atthis or Attike. See Strabo, 9, 397: Ἀκταίην μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀκταίωνος φασιν, Ἀτθίδα δὲ καὶ Ἀττικὴν ἀπὸ Ἀτθίδος τῆς Κραναοῦ.

71. Ἀμφικτύων . . . ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου . . . ἐκπίπτει: according to Isocr. Panath. 126 the childless Cecrops surrendered to Erichthonius the kingdom of Attica.—73. συνεπαναστάντων: this

ἐκπίπτει· πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐ-  
75 δένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ Ἡφαιστον καὶ Γῆν.

3 Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὃ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος 1  
Κεράμου, Διονύσου τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τούτου λεγο-  
μένου· πρώτη δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασι-  
λειος, ἔνθα καθίζει βασιλεὺς ἐνιασίαν ἀρχῶν ἀρχὴν κα-  
5 λουμένην βασιλείαν. ταύτης ἔπεστι τῷ κεράμῳ τῆς στοᾶς  
ἀγάλματα ὀπτῆς γῆς, ἀφιεὶς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα

and ἀντεπεξήσαν (4, 7, 7) are the only instances in Pausanias of a verb compounded with three prepositions. See Aug. Grosspietsch, *Bresl. Philol. Abh.* VII, 5, pp. 11, 39, 68.

3. *The Ceramicus — Stoa Basileius — Stoa Eleutherius — Statues and Paintings — Temple of Paternal Apollo — Metroon — Buleuterium.*

1. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὃ Κεραμεικός: what Pausanias here styles Ceramicus was not the whole deme bearing that name but only the spot (χωρίον) Ceramicus, i.e. the Agora. The deme Ceramicus derived its name ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμικῆς τέχνης καὶ τοῦ θύειν Κεράμῳ τινὶ ἥρωι (Harpoer. s.v. Κεραμείς; cf. Suidas and Photius s.v. Κεραμίς). It consisted of two parts: (a) the Outer Ceramicus extending from the Dipylum toward the Academy and including the state cemetery called Ceramicus κατ' ἐξοχὴν (see Ar. Aves, 395, Thuc. 6, 57, Plato Parm. 127 B, etc.), and (b) the Inner Ceramicus, which probably extended from the Dipylum to the Acropolis and embraced the whole of the Agora (see S.Q. LXX, 42; Wachs. I, 152; II, 258). It is impossible to determine absolutely the limits of the deme, or to define precisely the use of the term

at different periods. With this passage begins Pausanias's itinerary of the market-place. See Excursus II. — 2. Κεράμου: the prevalence of Dionysiac worship led to the invention of an eponymous hero for the Ceramicus — Ceramus, son of Dionysus and Ariadne. — 3. στοὰ βασιλείος: as Pausanias is entering the market-place from the northwest, the Royal Colonnade in all probability stood on the west side of the market-place at the foot of the Theseum hill. The building served as the office of the archon king, and at times as the meeting-place of the Council of the Areopagus (Dem. in Aristog., 776). Dr. Dörpfeld writes me under date of Jan. 19, 1908, that the excavations of the Greeks on the east slope of the Theseum hill have laid bare a building with an apse, possibly the Royal Colonnade. The building formerly identified by Dörpfeld (A.M. XXI, 102 ff.; XXII, 225 ff.) as the Royal Colonnade he now thinks did not belong to the market, but was the last building before the "Ceramicus" of Pausanias. Only thus can the new building be the "first to the right." — 6. ἀγάλματα ὀπτῆς γῆς . . . Θησεὺς . . . Σκίρωνα κτλ.: similar groups of terra cotta

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καὶ φέρονσα Ἡμέρα Κέφαλον. ὃν κάλλιστον γενόμενον φασιν ὑπὸ Ἡμέρας ἐρασθείσης ἀρπασθῆναι· καὶ οἱ παῖδα γενέσθαι Φαέθοντα, . . . καὶ φύλακα ἐποίησε τοῦ ναοῦ.  
 10 ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἴρηκεν ἐν ἔπεισι τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας. πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἕστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος 2

have been found elsewhere, and they seem to have been the usual ornament for the apexes of gables. This suggests that the colonnade terminated in gables, and that the two groups, one of Theseus hurling Sciron into the sea, the other of Hemera with Cephalus, occupied the apexes. On the subject of the first group, see 1, 44, 8. The death of Sciron, the mythical robber, was depicted on vases, and is the subject of one of the metopes of the so-called Theseum at Athens. — 7. **Ἡμέρα Κέφαλον**: the story of the fair youth Cephalus, ravished by the goddess of day (Hemera) or of the morning (Eos, Aurora) is frequently touched on in classical authors. Apollodorus (3, 14, 3) and Ovid (*Met.* 7, 700 ff.) give the story at length; Hesiod (*Theog.* 986 ff.) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 189) more briefly. The subject is frequently depicted on vases, representing the goddess pursuing her favorite or carrying him in her arms. The latter was probably the attitude portrayed on the roof of the colonnade, as well as in the relief on the Amyclaeon throne (3, 11, 2). — 8. **οἱ παῖδα γενέσθαι Φαέθοντα**: the usual legend makes Helios the father of Phaethon; but Pausanias follows Hesiod (*Theog.* 986 ff.) in naming Cephalus as his father. The former version is followed by Eur. *Frag.* 775 (*Poet. Scen. Gr.*, ed. Dindorf), Plato (*Tim.* 22 c), Lucian (*Dial. deor.* 25),

Ovid (*Met.* 1, 751 ff.), etc., and by Pausanias himself elsewhere (1, 4, 1; 2, 3, 2). In most of these authors the mother of Phaethon is not Hemera, but Clymene, a daughter of Oceanus. Phaethon, "the shining one," is usually interpreted as the morning star, or the sun itself. — 10. **Ἡσίοδος . . . ἐν ἔπεισι τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας**: this poem of Hesiod's, which is not extant, is referred to by Pausanias in 1, 43, 1; 3, 24, 10; 9, 31, 5. In the last passage Pausanias mentions a doubt as to the authenticity of the poem. It is not certain what is the relation of this poem to the Great Eoëae (2, 2, 3) or to the Catalogue of Women, works ascribed to Hesiod. See Christ, *Gr. Litt.* 4 p. 101; *Rh. Mus.*, N.F., XXXIX (1884), 561-565.

11. **πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων**: Isocr. 9, 57 says that statues of Conon and Evagoras were set up beside the image of Zeus Soter. Pausanias' statement accords with this, for Zeus Soter is the same as Zeus Eleutherius. See Harpocr., Hesych., and Suid., s.v. **Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς**. These statues are also referred to in Dem. 20, 70; Aesch. 3, 243; Nepos, *Timoth.* 2; etc. Conon, Timotheus, and Evagoras are very properly grouped as being the three heroes of the melancholy struggle of Athens with Sparta at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries. See Isocr. *Evag.* 35 ff.:

υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας. ὃς καὶ  
 τὰς τριήρεις τὰς Φοινίσσας ἔπραξε παρὰ βασιλέως Ἄρτα-  
 ξέρξου δοθῆναι Κόνωνι· ἔπραξε δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὸ  
 15 ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐπεὶ καὶ γενεαλογῶν ἐς προγόνους  
 ἀνέβαινε Τεῦκρον καὶ Κινύρου θυγατέρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε  
 Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός, ἐς  
 ἄλλους τε ὧν ἦρχεν εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα  
 ἀποδειξάμενος τὴν Ἀθηναίων. στοὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται 3  
 20 γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ

Antidosis, 101, 139. It is probable that the statues of Conon and Evagoras were set up soon after the battle of Cnidus (394 B.C.) and that of Timotheus was added soon after the peace of Callias in 371. — 14. τὸ ἀνέκαθεν: cf. 2, 18, 7; 37, 3; 3, 2, 2; 25, 10; 4, 3, 4 and 6; 5, 25, 12. So Hdt. 1, 170; τὰ ἀνέκαθεν, 6, 35; 7, 221; without article, 5, 65, etc. ἀνέκαθεν in relations of time, as seen above, is used regularly of ancestry or origin. Sometimes γένος is added adverbially, e.g. Hdt. 5, 55, γένος ἔόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι. — 16. ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος: we learn from Isocr. 9, 57, and Hesych. s.v. Ἐλευθέριος Ζεὺς that this image was also called Zeus Soter. According to Harpocr. s.v. Ἐλευθέριος Ζεὺς, the orator Hyperides derived the name from the inference that the colonnade in the rear had been built by freedmen, but Didymus gave the much more satisfactory reason that both statue and colonnade were founded to commemorate the deliverance from the Persians. — 17. βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός . . . ἦρχεν: Hadrian received countless honors at the hands of the Athenians, as we shall see later. He was wor-

shipped at Athens under the title of Eleutherius (Liberator), and probably this worship was performed at an altar before this statue. The juxtaposition of Hadrian Eleutherius and Zeus Eleutherius is noteworthy, as they also divided honors in the Olympieum and elsewhere. In the theatre a seat was reserved for the priest of Hadrian the Liberator (C.I.A. III, 253).

19. στοὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται: though Pausanias does not here mention its name, the colonnade was known as the Stoa Eleutherius, or Colonnade of Zeus of Freedom, from the image of the god (see 10, 21, 6; Xen. Oecon. 7, 1; Plat. Eryx. 392A; id. Theages, 121A, etc.). Pausanias indicates that the two colonnades, the Basileius and the Eleutherius, were adjacent, and other writers speak of them as beside each other, παρ' ἀλλήλας. See Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. βασιλειος στοὰ. This is doubtless the colonnade referred to, Ar. Eccl. 686, as being beside the Royal Colonnade, and we should locate it, therefore, west of the Agora and to the south of the Royal Colonnade. — 20. γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους: Pausanias later mentions



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τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν Θησεύς ἐστὶ γεγραμμένος καὶ Δημοκρα-  
 τία τε καὶ Δῆμος. δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ γραφή Θησεῖα εἶναι τὸν κατα-  
 στησαντα Ἀθηναίοις ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύεσθαι· κενώρηκε δὲ  
 φήμη καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς Θησεὺς παραδοίη τὰ  
 25 πράγματα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ὡς ἐξ᾽ ἐκείνου δημοκρατούμενοι  
 διαμείναιεν. πρὶν ἣ Πεισίστρατος ἐτυράνησεν ἐπαναστάς.  
 λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἷα  
 ἱστορίας ἀνηκόοις οὔσι καὶ ὑπόσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἔν-  
 τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγωδίαις πιστὰ ἡγουμένοις. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς  
 30 τὸν Θησεῖα. ὃς αὐτὸς τε ἐβασίλευσε καὶ ὕστερον Μενεσθέως  
 τελευτήσαντος καὶ ἐς τετάρτην οἱ Θησεΐδαι γενεὰν διέμειναν

two other paintings in this colonnade — the Cavalry Battle and the Theseus — and adds: *ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίους (4)*. We infer from Pausanias's account that the Twelve Gods and the Theseus adorned the side walls, the Cavalry Battle the long back wall, of the colonnade. Pliny, N. H. 35, 129, mentions together these three works of Euphranor. These paintings were justly celebrated. Plutarch (de glor. Ath. 2) says that the Cavalry Battle was painted with much energy and fire; Lucian (Imag. 7) admired Hera's hair, and Valerius Maximus (8, 11) preferred the Poseidon to the Zeus, in the painting of the Twelve Gods. Euphranor was at his acme about 360 B. C. He attained great reputation as painter, sculptor, and writer on art (see Pliny, N. H. 34, 50; 35, 128 ff., etc.).—21. *Θησεύς . . . καὶ Δημοκρατία τε καὶ Δῆμος*: as to representations in art of the Demus, "the John Bull of Athens" (Frere), see note on 1, 1, 3. Pliny (25, 69 and 137) mentions personifications of the Demus

in paintings by Parrhasius and by Aristotolaus. An Athene Demokratia is cited C. I. A. III, 165; and according to C. I. A. II, 470, l. 62, there was a statue of Demokratia at Athens, at which public decrees were sometimes exposed.—31. *ἐς τετάρτην οἱ Θησεΐδαι γενεὰν διέμειναν ἄρχοντες*: Theseus is represented as the founder of democracy also by Isocr. 12, 129, Ps.-Dem. 59, 75, Plut. Thes. 25, etc. Aristotle (Resp. Ath. 41), on the contrary, states that the monarchical form of government under Theseus declined but little (*μικρὸν παρεγκλίνοσα τῆς βασιλικῆς*). In fact, the political synoikismos was the only practical result of Theseus's reforms (Thuc. 2, 15). Theseus was supplanted by Menestheus, but after the latter was slain at Troy the sons of Theseus regained the kingdom of Athens (1, 17, 5; Plut. Thes. 31-35) and held it for three generations, Theseus' son Demophon, his grandson Oxyntes, and his great-grandson Thy-moetes, being successively kings. See Plut. Thes. 28, Diod. 4, 62, Paus. 2, 18.

ἄρχοντες. εἰ δέ μοι γενεαλογεῖν ἤρεσκε, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ  
Μελάνθου βασιλεύσαντας ἐς Κλείδικον τὸν Λίσσιμίδου καὶ  
τούτους ἂν ἀπηριθμησάμην.

- 35 Ἐνταῦθά ἐστι γεγραμμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀθη- 4  
ναίων ἔργον οἱ βοηθήσοντες Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπέμφθησαν.  
συνέγραφαι δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ξενοφῶν τὸν πάντα πόλεμον,  
κατάληψιν τε τῆς Καδμείας καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίων  
τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὡς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐσέβαλον Βοιωτοὶ  
40 καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐλθοῦ-  
σαν· ἐν δὲ τῇ γραφῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐστὶ μάχη, ἐν ἣ γνωριμώ-  
τατοι Γρύλος τε ὁ Ξενοφώντος ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ  
τὴν ἵππον τὴν Βοιωτίαν Ἐπαμεινώνιδας ὁ Θηβαῖος. ταύτας  
τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον

19, etc.—32. τοὺς ἀπὸ Μελάνθου βασιλεύ-  
σαντας ἐς Κλείδικον: Pausanias qualifies  
this statement in 4, 5, 10, by remarking  
that “at first the people only stripped  
the descendants of Melanthus, the Me-  
dontids, as they were called, of most  
of their power, and transformed them  
from kings into responsible magis-  
trates; but afterwards they also fixed  
on ten years as the term of their magis-  
tracy.” The Theseid was followed by  
a new foreign dynasty, inaugurated by  
Melanthus, a Messenian king, who was  
forced to retire from Messenia after  
the Dorian migration, according to  
tradition, and, coming to Attica, dis-  
placed Thymoetes, the last of the  
Theseids (see 2, 18, 9; Hdt. 5, 65, etc.).

41. ἐν δὲ τῇ γραφῇ . . . Γρύλος . . .  
Ἐπαμεινώνιδας ὁ Θηβαῖος: Pausanias's  
account of the painting is inconsistent  
with the statements of others in regard  
to the battle of Mantinea, and either  
he or the painter is at fault. Diodo-  
rus (15, 87) states that Epaminondas

received his death-wound while fight-  
ing among the infantry, whereas Gry-  
lus was a member of the cavalry (Diog.  
Laert. 2, 6, 54), and Pausanias describes  
a cavalry engagement. Then there is  
much dispute as to the slayer of Epa-  
minondas. Pausanias (8, 11, 5) says  
the Mantineans maintain that he was  
slain by Machaerion, a Mantinean, the  
Spartans by Machaerion, a Spartan;  
but Plutarch (Ages. 35) asserts it was  
a Laconian, Anticrates, who struck the  
blow. Pausanias (8, 11, 6), however,  
argues for the Athenian tradition and  
says that the Mantineans gave Grylus  
a public burial and set up a monument  
to him on the spot, while the name of  
Machaerion has never received any  
special marks of honor from either  
Spartans or Mantineans.—44. πλησίον  
ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
Πατρῶον: the site of the temple of  
Apollo was doubtless on the west side  
of the market-place just to the south  
of the Stoa Eleutherius. The βωμοὺς τοῦ

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45 ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῶον ἐπικλήσειν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης. ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

50 Ὤκικοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν. ἣν Φειδίας 5

Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ (Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 843 B) stood presumably before this temple. Apollo was probably styled Paternal (Πατρῶος) as being the mythical father of Ion, the founder of the Ionian race. Apollo Patroös was identical with the Pythian Apollo (Dem. 18, 141, p. 274; Aristid. Or. 13, vol. I, 181, ed. Dindorf). His priest is mentioned in inscriptions (C. I. A. III, 687, 720 a, p. 501) and had a seat reserved in the Dionysiac theatre (C. I. A. III, 279). Nothing definite is known as to the type of Euphranor's Apollo statue.—45. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῶ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης: Winter (A. Jb. VII, 104), and other archaeologists, derive the Apollo Belvedere from this image made by Leochares. Yet there are in all three Apollo statues of Leochares known, so that any relation of the Belvedere to this Apollo image, about which we know absolutely nothing, is entirely uncertain. See Overbeck, Kunstmyth. IV, 97.—46. ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμις ἐποίησε: Ἀλεξίκακος = Ἀκείσιος (6, 24, 6) = Ἐπικόουριος, 8, 41, 7. Conze (Beitr. z. Gesch. d. gr. Plastik, 19) has conjectured that the so-called "Apollo on the Omphalos," found in the theatre of Dionysus, is a copy of this statue of Apollo made by Calamis. This conjecture has led to much discussion. The statue (to which, however, the Omphalos has been shown not to

belong) seems to date from the fifth century, and to be a copy of a famous statue, as several other copies are extant and the type is preserved on coins. But there is no proof that it is even an Apollo; Waldstein thinks it is a pugilist. For the bibliography of this question, see Frazer, II, 66. Pausanias's associating this statue with the great plague of 430–429 is hardly possible, as it conflicts with the recognized date of Calamis (500–460 B. C.).

50. Ὤκικοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας ἐργάσατο: the sanctuary of Rhea, the Mother of the Gods, was usually called Metroum (see Pollux, 3, 11; Bekk. Anec. I, 280, 6). Pausanias now proceeds to describe three buildings which he speaks of as near each other, the Metroum, the Bulenterium or Council House, and the Tholos or Rotunda. Hence the site of one, if determined, fixes that of the three. The Metroum appears to have stood to the south of the market about the northwest foot of the slope of the Areopagus. For Pausanias later speaks of the statues of the Eponymi as being higher up (ἀνωτέρω); and Arrian (3, 16, 8), mentioning the statues of the Tyrannicides, says they were in the Ceramiceus on the regular road up to the Acropolis, just opposite the Metroum. Dörpfeld's excavations show that the

εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον. οἱ βουλευούσιν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίους· Βουλαίους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κείται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πεισίου καὶ Δῆμος ἔργον Λύσωνος. τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας  
 55 ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης Καύνιος. Ὀλβιάδης δὲ Κάλλιππον,

regular road from the Agora to the Acropolis wound round the west shoulder of the Areopagus, proceeded southeast between the Areopagus and the Pnyx, and then ascended the western slope of the Acropolis, thus avoiding the steep ascent to the east of the Areopagus. See A.M. XVI (1891), 444 ff.; XVII (1892), 90 ff.; Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 38 ff. There is no indication that the Metroum was ever a temple. Pausanias calls it a sanctuary (*ιερόν*), Pliny a shrine (*delubrum*, 36, 17). It was apparently a sacred precinct with an open-air altar, as Aeschines (see Timarch. 84) describes a runaway slave as coming into the Agora and seating himself on the altar of the Mother of the Gods. The Metroum was later the repository of the public archives (Din. 1, 86; Lyc. c. Leocr. 66).—51. *πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτήριον*: the Buleuterium or Council House of the Five Hundred seems to have been built within the precincts of the Metroum (see Aeschin. 3, 187; Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 842ε). It probably contained images of both Zeus Bulaeus and Athena Bulaea (see Antiphon, 6, 45). We read of the sacred hearth of the Council House (Aeschin. 2, 45; Andoc. 1, 42, etc.), of the platform for the speaker (Antiphon, 6, 40), of the benches for the presidents (Lys. 13, 37), and of the railing barring off the public from the members

(Ar. Eq. 640 ff.; Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 5). Here too were set up various public documents engraved on stone or metal, as e.g. the laws of Solon (see Harp. and Suid. s.v. *ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος*) and the list of the ephebi (Arist. Resp. Ath. 53).—53. *ξόανον*: derived from *ξίω*, "to scrape, smooth, polish," may be applied to an image made of either wood, stone, or ivory (see Hesych. s.v. *ξόανα*; Etymol. Magn. s.v. *ξόανον*, p. 611, l. 12 ff.). Strabo applies the word to the gold-and-ivory Zeus at Olympia (8, p. 353), to the gold-and-ivory Hera of Polyclitus (8, p. 372), to the marble statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus (9, p. 396), etc. Lucian uses the term of images in bronze and silver (Alex. 18; id. de dea Syria, 39). The term is, however, more properly restricted to images of wood (see Clem. Alex. Protrep. 4, 46, p. 40, ed. Potter, and Servius on Verg. Aen. 2, 225; 4, 56); and Pausanias appears to use it always in this restricted sense, and confines it to the wooden image of a deity.—*Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πεισίου*: nothing further is known of Pisias.—54. *Δῆμος ἔργον Λύσωνος*: see Pliny (34, 91) who speaks of Lyson as one of the sculptors who made statues of athletes, armed men, hunters, and persons sacrificing.—*τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἔγραψε Πρωτογένης Καύνιος*: on the Thesmothetae, see Arist. Resp. Ath. 3 and 59–61. They were the six archons ranking below

Ch. 4, 1

ὄς Ἀθηναίους ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἤγαγε φυλάζοντας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Γαλατῶν ἐσβολήν.

4 Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται οὗτοι νέμονται τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ ἄσχατα ἐπὶ θαλάσση πολλῇ καὶ ἐς τὰ πέρατα οὐ πλωίμοι. παρέχεται δὲ ἄμπωτιν καὶ ραχίαν καὶ θηρία οὐδὲν εὐκότα τοῖς ἐν θαλάσση τῇ λοιπῇ· καὶ σφίσι διὰ τῆς χώρας ρεῖ ποταμὸς Ἡριδανός, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Ἡλίου ὀδίρεσθαι νομίζουσι τὸ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πάθος. ὁπὲ δέ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλείσθαι Γαλάτας ἕξεικῆσεν· Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατὰ τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνομαζόμενοι. συλλεγείσα δέ σφίσι στρατιὰ τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουίον. καὶ

the archon chief, the king, and the polemarch. Wachsmuth, II, 326, thinks that the allusion is to portraits of illustrious individual Thesmothetae. Protogenes, a contemporary of Apelles, was one of the most celebrated artists of antiquity; he took enormous pains with his work and was remarkable for technical skill rather than for great expression. Cf. Pliny, 35, 81-83; 87; 101-106; Overbeck, S. Q. 1907-1936; Brunn, Gesch. d. Gr. Künstler, II, 233-243. — 55. Ὀλβιάδης δὲ Κάλλιππον: on Callippus cf. 1, 4, 2; 10, 20, 5. The date of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece (10, 23, 14) was 279 B.C. Of Olbiades nothing further is known.

4. Digression: — *The Gauls — Their irruption into Greece and retreat into Asia — The Pergamenes.*

2. ἐπὶ θαλάσση πολλῇ . . . Ἡριδανός: the great sea meant is the Atlantic Ocean in the neighborhood of the Arctic Circle (cf. 33, 4; 35, 5). Pausanias seems to have regarded the Eridanus (cf. 5, 14, 3 and 5, 12, 7) as an actual river that flowed into the northern ocean, but Herodotus (3, 15)

regards the river as fabulous. The Rhone and the Po were the two rivers from time to time identified with the Eridanus (see Pliny, 37, 32), but amber is not found at the mouth of either river. On the legend of the daughters of Helios bewailing the fate of their brother Phaethon beside the river Eridanus, cf. Eur. Hipp. 735 ff.; Apoll. Rhod. 4, 596 ff.; Ovid, Met. 2, 340 ff., etc. — 7. Γαλάτας . . . Κελτοί: the people we know as Celts were known to the ancients under three names, viz. Celts (Κελτοί, Celtae), Galatians (Γαλάται), and Gauls (Galli). Cf. Procop. de aedif. 4, 5. ἐν Κελτοῖς — οἱ τανῶν Γάλλοι καλοῦνται, Arrian, Hann. 4, ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν. Also Caesar (de B. G. 1, 1), qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. — ἕξεικῆσεν: in impersonal sense; already so used in Thuc. 1, 3, 2; frequent in Pausanias, e.g. 2, 29, 3; 3, 20, 6; 4, 6, 1; 34, 5; 6, 22, 10; 7, 17; 22, 4; 8, 5, 7; 23, 3; 47, 1; 9, 34, 10; 10, 1, 1. — 9. στρατιὰ τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουίον κτλ.: Pausanias (10, 19-23) narrates at

10 τό τε Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνος καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄχρι Μακεδόνων ἦκε  
καὶ Μακεδόνας αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε Θεσσαλίαν τε  
ἐπέδραμε. καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς Θερμοπυλῶν ἐγίνοντο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ  
πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἡσύχαζον τῶν βαρβά-  
ρων. ἄτε ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλως καὶ Φιλίππου κακωθέν-  
15 τες πρότερον· καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κάσσανδρος  
ἕστερον τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὥστε ἕκαστοι δι' ἀσθένειαν οὐδὲν  
αἰσχροὺν ἐνόμιζον ἀπέειναι τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς τῆς βοηθείας.  
Ἄθηναῖοι δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπειρήκεσαν μήκει 2  
τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ πολέμου καὶ προσπταίοντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐν  
20 ταῖς μάχαις, ἐξιέναι δὲ ὅμως ὄρμητο ἐς τὰς Θερμοπύλας  
σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Κάλ-  
λιππον τοῦτον ἡγείσθαι. καταλαβόντες δὲ ἡ στενωτάτου ἦν,  
τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶργον τοὺς βαρβάρους·  
ἀνευρόντες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἦν καὶ Μήδοις ποτέ  
25 Ἐφιάλτης ἡγήσατο ὁ Τραχίνιος καὶ βιασάμενοι Φωκέων τοὺς  
τεταγμένους ἐπ' αὐτῇ λαυθάνουσι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπερβαλόν-  
τες τὴν Οἴτην. ἔνθα δὴ πλείστου παρέσχοντο αὐτοὺς Ἄθη- 3  
ναῖοι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀξίους, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὡς ἐκυκλώθησαν

greater length the irruption of the Gauls into Greece. The fact that he gives two detailed accounts of the same events is an argument that portions of the work were published separately. Cf. 7, 20, 6, and Introduction, p. 3. — 13. ἡσύχαζον: frequently used as the antonym of πολεμεῖν. Cf. 1, 13, 1 and 6, 25, 3; 2, 16, 5; 3, 9, 2; 7, 6; 4, 11, 8. Here Pausanias states as the ground of the hesitation of most of the Greeks the exhaustion caused by their wars with the Macedonians; to the contrary, he says in 4, 28, 3, that the Messenians, and in 8, 6, 3, that the Arcadians, held back through fear of an incursion by

the Lacedaemonians; and in 7, 6, 7, it is said of the Peloponnesians in general that they did not take part in the expedition to Thermopylae, because they imagined they could keep off the Galatians by building a wall across the Isthmus. — 14. μεγάλως: a noteworthy instance of hyperbaton. Pausanias fancied that he attained a certain elegance of expression by unusual word-order. Cf. § 3 ναυσὶν ὑπὸ τε ὀπλων βαρεῖαις καὶ ἀνδρῶν, § 4 τὰ πολίσματα ἐλεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ποιησάμενοι, 3, 9, 6 μετὰ γε τὸν Ξέρξου καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἐπὶ Σκύθας Δαρείου καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατόν.

Ch. 4, 5

ἀμνύόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῶν γυῶν  
 30 μάλιστα ἔταλαιπώρουν ἅτε τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ τέλ-  
 ματος πρὸς ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις ὄϊτος· αἴτιον δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν  
 τὸ ὕδωρ ταύτῃ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκρέον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· μείζονα  
 οὖν εἶχον οὗτοι πόνον· ἀναλαβόντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώ-  
 35 ἀνδρῶν ἐβιάζοντο κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ πλεῖν· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ  
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον ἴσωζον· οἱ δὲ Γαλάται  
 Πυλῶν τε ἐντὸς ἦσαν καὶ τὰ πολίσματα ἐλκύν ἐν οὐδεὶ τὰ  
 λοιπὰ ποιησάμενοι Δελφοὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ θεοῦ διαρ-  
 πάσαι μάλιστα εἶχον σπουδὴν· καὶ σφισιν αὐτοὶ τε Δελφοὶ  
 40 καὶ Φωκέων ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ τὰς πόλεις περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν  
 οἰκοῦντες, ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ δύναμις Λιτωλῶν· τὸ γὰρ  
 Λιτωλικὸν προεἶχεν ἀκμῇ νεότητος τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον· ὡς  
 δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήεσαν· ἐνταῦθα κεραυνοὶ τε ἐφέροντο ἐς  
 τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ ἀπορραγεῖσαι πέτραι τοῦ Παρνασσῶ.  
 45 δείματά τε ἄνδρες ἐφίστάντο ὀπλίται τοῖς βαρβάροις· ταύ-  
 των τοὺς μὲν ἐξ Ὑπερβόρων λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν· Ὑπέρροχον  
 καὶ Ἀμάδοκον, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Πύρρον εἶναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέως·  
 ἐναγίζουσι δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Δελφοὶ τῆς συμμαχίας Πύρρου  
 πρότερον ἔχοντες ἅτε ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου καὶ τὸ μῆγμα ἐν  
 50 ἀτιμίᾳ· Γαλατῶν δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάν-  
 τες τὰ παραθαλάσσια αὐτῆς ἐλεηλάτουν· χρόνον δὲ ἕσπερον  
 οἱ Πέργαμον ἔχοντες, πάλαι δὲ Τευθρανίαν καλουμένην· . . . ἐς  
 ταύτην Γαλάτας ἐλαύνουσιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ

52. Πέργαμον . . . πάλαι δὲ Τευθρα-  
 νίαν καλουμένην: cf. 1, 11, 2, Πέργαμος  
 δὲ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρειον δυναστεύ-  
 οντα ἐν τῇ Τευθρανίᾳ κτείνει μονομαχί-  
 σαντά οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ  
 ὄνομα ἔδωκε τὸ νῦν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Pausanias  
 apparently regarded Pergamus and  
 Teuthrania as the same town, but we

know from other sources that Teuthra-  
 nia was entirely distinct. See Xen.  
 Hell. 3, 1, 6; Strabo, 12, p. 571; 13, p.  
 615; and Conze, "Teuthrania," A.M.  
 XII (1887), 119-160. — ἐς ταύτην Γα-  
 λάτας ἐλαύνουσιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης: cf.  
 1, 8, 1; 1, 25, 2. Attalus, prince of Per-  
 gamus, defeated the Gauls in a great

τὴν ἐκτὸς Σαγγαρίου χώραν ἔσχον Ἄγκυραν πόλιν ἐλόντες  
 55 Φρυγῶν, ἣν Μίδας ὁ Γορδίου πρότερον ᾤκισεν — ἄγκυρα δέ,  
 ἣν ὁ Μίδας ἀνεύρεν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς καὶ  
 κρήνῃ Μίδου καλουμένη· ταύτην οἶνω κεράσαι Μίδα φασὶν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ Σειληνοῦ — ταύτην τε δὴ τὴν Ἄγκυραν  
 60 εἶλον καὶ Πεσσινοῦντα ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος . . . τὴν Ἄγδιστιν, ἔνθα  
 καὶ τὸν Ἄττην τεθάφθαι λέγουσι. Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ἔστι μὲν 6  
 σκῦλα ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν, ἔστι δὲ γραφὴ τὸ ἔργον τὸ πρὸς Γαλά-  
 τας ἔχουσα. ἣν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοί. Καβεῖρων ἱεράν  
 φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον· αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀρκαῖδες ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι  
 τῶν ὁμοῦ Τηλέφῳ διαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πολέμων δὲ τῶν  
 65 μὲν ἄλλων, εἰ δὴ τινες ἐπολέμησαν, οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας κεχώρη-  
 κεν ἡ φήμη· τρία δὲ γνωριμώτατα ἐξείργασται σφισι, τῆς τε  
 Ἀσίας ἀρχὴ τῆς κάτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀναχώρησις  
 καὶ τὸ ἐς τοὺς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τηλέφῳ τόλμημα, ὅτε Ἕλλη-  
 νες ἀμαρτόντες Ἰλίου τὸ πεδίον ἐλεηλάτουν τὸ Μύσιον ὡς γῆν  
 70 Τρωάδα. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐξέβην τοῦ λόγου.  
 5 Τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἐστὶ 1  
 καλουμένη, καὶ θύουσί τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ τινα καὶ

battle at the springs of the Caicus river, and after the victory assumed the title of king, reigning as Attalus I, King of Pergamus. The exact date of the victory is uncertain. Niebuhr gives it as 230-229 B.C.; Droysen, between 238 and 235; Koepf, Rh. Mus., N.F., XL (1885), 114 ff., in 240. — 57. κρήνη Μίδου καλουμένη: cf. Xen. Anab. 1, 2, 13, who locates the fountain of Midas at Thymbriion by the wayside; the Macedonians, according to Hdt. 3, 38, affirm that Sileus was caught in Macedonia in the gardens of Midas; Bion (Athen. 2, p. 45c) places it at Inna, between Paenonia and the land of the Maedi.

68. τὸ ἐς τοὺς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τηλέφῳ τόλμημα κτλ.: cf. 9, 5, 14. This event is described in the epitome of Apollodorus (epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca, ed. R. Wagner, Leipzig, 1891, p. 63; Apollodorus, ed. R. Wagner, p. 193). On the coming of Telephus into Asia, see Strabo, 12, p. 572; 13, p. 615; Diod. 4, 33; Paus. 8, 4, 9; 48, 7; 54, 6; 9, 31, 2.

5. *The Tholus — The Eponymi — Hadrian as a Patron.*

1. Τοῦ βουλευτηρίου . . . πλησίον Θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη: Θόλος signified originally any round building with a roof of cupola form; here it is used especially of the building where the sacred



Ch. 5, 2

ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα. ἀνωτέρω  
 δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων. ἀφ' ὧν Ἀθηναίους ἕστησαν  
 5 τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί· ὅστις δὲ κατεστήσατο δέκα  
 ἀντὶ τεσσάρων φυλὰς εἶναι καὶ μετέθετό σφισι τὰ ὀνόματα  
 ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων. Ἡροδότῳ καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν εἰρημένα. τῶν  
 δὲ ἐπωνύμων — καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω σφᾶς — ἔστι μὲν Ἰππι-  
 θῶν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀλόπης θυγατρὸς Κερκύνος. ἔστι δὲ  
 10 Ἀντίοχος τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους. γενόμενος ἐκ Μήδης  
 Ἡρακλεῖ τῆς Φύλαντος. καὶ τρίτος Λῆας ὁ Τελαμῶνος. ἐκ δὲ

fire was kept burning on the hearth and where the presiding officers of the Council of Five Hundred dined together daily at the public expense, and offered sacrifices and libations (Arist. Resp. Ath. 43; Dem. 19, 190). Another name for the building, Skias or "umbrella," is the official designation in inscriptions (C.I.A. III, 1048; 1051, 1.22). The chairman (epistates) of the prytanes, who kept the keys of the sanctuaries containing public treasures and records, was compelled to remain in the Tholos during his twenty-four hours of office, along with colleagues, chosen by himself (Arist. Rep. Ath. 44). Socrates here received a commission from the Thirty Tyrants to go to Salamis and arrest one Leon (Plat. Apol. 32c, d); here the standard weights and measures were kept (C.I.A. II, 476, l. 37 ff.). Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 315-320. — 3. ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων: the site of this group of statues was doubtless on the slope of the Areopagus above (ἀνωτέρω) and not far away from the Buleuterium and Tholos. Aristotle (Resp. Ath. 53) says that the bronze tablet with the list of ephēbi was set up "in front of the Council House beside the statues

of the eponymous heroes"; here was posted the list of men drawn for military service (Ar. Pac. 1183). Copies of proposed laws were here posted for public inspection (Dem. 20, 94; 24, 23). So too the names of men who deserved well of the state (Isoc. 18, 61; C.I.A. II, 569), and likewise the names of traitors (Isoc. 5, 38). It was a high distinction to have one's statue erected near the Eponymi (Lucian, Anach. 17). Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 387-390. — 5. ὅστις δὲ κατεστήσατο δέκα ἀντὶ τεσσάρων φυλὰς κτλ.: cf. Hdt. 5, 66, 69. In 1, 29, 6 Pausanias names Cleisthenes as the founder of the new tribal division. There were originally four Attic tribes called Geleontes, Hoplites, Aegicoreis, and Argadeis. Cleisthenes abolished these and redivided the population into ten tribes. The date (Arist. Resp. Ath. 21) was in the archonship of Isagoras, 508-507 B.C. The ten new tribes, in their official order, were named as follows: Erechtheis, Aegaeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Oeneis, Cecropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis and Antiochis. Cf. Mommsen, Philologus, XLVII (1889), 449-486; W. S. Ferguson, Cornell Studies, VII (1898).

Ch. 5, 5

Ἀθηναίων Λεώς· δοῦναι δὲ ἐπὶ σωτηρία λέγεται κοινῇ τὰς  
 θυγατέρας τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος. Ἐρεχθεύς τέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς  
 ἐπωνύμοις, ὃς ἐνίκησεν Ἐλευσινίου μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἡγού-  
 15 μνον ἀπέκτεινεν Ἴμμάραδον τὸν Εὐμόλπου· Αἰγύς τέ ἐστι  
 καὶ Οἰνεὺς Πανδίωνος υἱὸς νόθος καὶ τῶν Θησέως παίδων  
 Ἀκάμας. Κέκροπα δὲ καὶ Πανδίονα — εἶδον γὰρ καὶ τούτων 3  
 ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις εἰκόνας — οὐκ οἶδα οὓς ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ·  
 πρότερός τε γὰρ ἦρξε Κέκροψ, ὃς τὴν Ἀκταίου θυγατέρα  
 20 ἔσχε, καὶ ὕστερος, ὃς δὴ καὶ μετώκησεν ἐς Εὐβοίαν, Ἐρε-  
 χθέως υἱὸς τοῦ Πανδίωνος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου. καὶ δὴ καὶ Παν-  
 δίων ἐβασίλευσεν ὃ τε Ἐριχθονίου καὶ ὁ Κέκροπος τοῦ  
 δευτέρου· τοῦτον Μητιονίδαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελάνουσι, καὶ οἱ  
 φυγόντι ἐς Μέγαρα — θυγατέρα γὰρ εἶχε Πύλα τοῦ βασιλεύ-  
 25 σαντος ἐν Μεγάροις — συνεκπίπτουσι οἱ παῖδες. καὶ Παν-  
 δίονα μὲν αὐτοῦ λέγεται νοσήσαντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οἱ πρὸς  
 θαλάσση μνημὰ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Αἰθνίας

12. **Δεώς** κτλ.: the legend is to the effect that once when Athens was afflicted with famine and the Delphic oracle declared a human sacrifice the only remedy, Leos, son of Orpheus, voluntarily surrendered for sacrifice his three daughters, Eubule, Praxithea, and Theope; according to another version the maidens of their own free will offered themselves as victims. The sacrifice was effectual, the famine left the land, and the Athenians ever after worshiped the heroic maidens in a shrine in the Agora, called the *Leocorium*. This became one of the famous places of Athens (Strabo, 9, p. 396); beside it fell Hipparchus when assassinated (Thuc. 1, 20; 6, 57). It is frequently mentioned by ancient writers (Milchh. S.Q. s.v.). Hence it is strange that

Pausanias nowhere alludes to it. See Curtius, Ges. Abh. I, 465.

19. **πρότερος . . . ἦρξε Κέκροψ . . . καὶ ὕστερος**: Cleisthenes, in naming one of his tribes after Cecrops, doubtless had in mind the first Cecrops, reputed to be earth-born, half man and half serpent (Ps.-Dem. 9, 30), not his double, Cecrops II, said to be eldest son and successor of Erechtheus (Paus. 7, 1, 2), who was "a mere genealogical stop-gap" (Frazer).—21. **Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν** κτλ.: cf. Apoll. 3, 14, 6-8; 15, 5. Pandion I was the son of Erichthonius, whom he succeeded, and a Naiad, Praxithea; he married Zeuxippe and was father of Proene and Philomela, and of Erechtheus and Butes. Pandion II was the son of Cecrops II and Metiadusa; he succeeded his father, was

Ch. 5, 5

καλουμένῳ σκοπέλω· οἱ δὲ παῖδες κατίασί τε ἐκ τῶν Μεγά- 4  
ρων ἐκβαλόντες Μητιονίδας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
30 Αἰγεὺς πρεσβύτατος ὦν ἔσχε. θυγατέρας δὲ οὐ σὺν ἀγαθῷ  
δαίμονι ἔθρεψεν ὁ Πανδίων, οὐδέ οἱ τιμωροὶ παῖδες ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
ἐλείφθησαν· καίτοι δυνάμεώς γε εἵνεκα πρὸς τὸν Θερᾶκα τὸ  
κῆδος ἐποιήσατο. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ παρα-  
βῆναι τὸ καθῆκον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ· λέγουσιν ὡς Τηρεὺς συνοι-  
35 κῶν Πρόκνη Φιλομήλαν ἤσχυνεν, οὐ κατὰ νόμον δράσας  
τὸν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔτι λωβησάμενος τῇ παιδί ἤγα-  
γεν ἐς ἀνάγκην δίκης τὰς γυναῖκας. Πανδίονι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος  
ἀνδριάς ἐστὶν ἐν ἀκροπόλει θεάς ἄξιος.

Οἶδε μὲν εἰσιν Ἀθηναῖοις ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἀρχαίων· ὕστεροι 5  
40 δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε φυλὰς ἔχουσιν, Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μιυσοῦ καὶ  
Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἤδη βασιλείως  
Ἀδριανοῦ τῆς τε ἐς τὸ θεῖον τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλείστοι ἐλθόντος καὶ  
τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ μέγιστα ἐκάστοις παρα-  
σχομένου. καὶ ἐς μὲν πόλεμον οὐδένα ἐκούσιος κατέστη,  
45 Ἐβραίουσ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Σύρων ἐχειρώσατο ἀποιστάρτας·

expelled, and took refuge in Megara. Ps.-Dem. (9, 28) regarded Pandion 1 as the eponymous hero.

31. Τηρεὺς συνοικῶν Πρόκνη Φιλομήλαν ἤσχυνεν: see 1, 41, 8 ff.; 10, 4, 8. The myth of Tereus transformed into a hoopoe, and of Procne and Philomela, who became a nightingale and a swallow, is familiar from the *Birds* of Aristophanes. Cf. Apoll. 3, 14, 8; Eustath. on Od. τ, 518, p. 1875. According to later writers, however, it was Procne who became a swallow, and Philomela a nightingale, whereas Tereus was transformed into a hawk. So Verg. Georg. 4, 15, 511; Ov. Met. 6, 424-475; Hyg. Fab. 45.

40. φυλὰς . . . Ἀττάλου κτλ.: Pau-

sanias fails to mention two new tribes, established in 307-306 B.C. in honor of Demetrius and Antigonus (Plut. Dem. 10) — the Demetrias and the Antigonis. They were later abolished, probably in 201 B.C. (Ferguson, The Priests of Asklepios, p. 143). It is generally accepted that the tribe Ptolemais was named after Ptolemy Philadelphus between 285 and 247 B.C., the limits of his reign; but Beloch (Fleekh. Jrb. XXX, 481 ff.) argues that the Ptolemais was instituted after 229 B.C. in honor of Ptolemy Euergetes. The tribe Attalis was created in 200 B.C., when Attalus I visited Athens (Polyb. 16, 25; Paus. 1, 8, 1, etc.). The tribe Hadrianis is mentioned frequently in

ὀπόσα δὲ θεῶν ἱερὰ τὰ μὲν ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. τὰ δὲ  
καὶ ἐπεκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατασκευαῖς, καὶ δωρεαὶ  
ἄς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν Ἑλληνίσιν. τὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων  
τοῖς δεηθεῖσιν, ἔστιν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθήνησιν ἐν  
50 τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ.

6 Ἐὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀτταλον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἡλικία τε ἦν ἀρχαιο- 1  
τερα, ὡς μὴ μένειν ἔτι τὴν φήμην αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ συγγενό-  
μενοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ συγγραφῇ τῶν ἔργων καὶ πρότερον  
ἔτι ἡμελήθησαν· τούτων ἕνεκά μοι καὶ τὰ τῶνδε ἐπήλθε  
5 δηλῶσαι ἔργα τε ὅποια ἔπραξαν καὶ ὡς ἐς τοὺς πατέρας  
αὐτῶν περιεχώρησεν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἡ Μυσῶν καὶ τῶν προσοί-  
κων ἀρχή.

Πτολεμαῖον Μακεδόνες Φιλίππου παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Ἀμύν- 2  
του, λόγῳ δὲ Λάγου νομίζουσι· τὴν γάρ οἱ μητέρα ἔχουσαν  
10 ἐν γαστρὶ δοθῆναι γυναικὰ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Λάγῳ. Πτολεμαῖον  
δὲ λέγουσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἀποδείξασθαι καὶ  
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κινδύνου ξυμβάντος ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις μάλιστά οἱ  
τῶν ἐταίρων ἀμῦναι. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς ἐς

inscriptions (C.I.A. III, 81-83, 1113, 1114, 1120, 1121).

6. *Pausanias interrupts his itinerary to recount at considerable length (6, 1-7, 3) the history of the first two Ptolemies; 8, 1 is similarly devoted to Attalus; then, after the itinerary is resumed (8, 2-6), the mention of the statue of Ptolemaeus Philometor occasions a brief digression on his history (9, 1-3).*

4. μοι . . . ἐπήλθε δηλῶσαι: "it occurred to me"—a favorite phrase of Pausanias. Cf. 1, 12, 2; 29, 10; 2, 16, 3; 5, 4, 6; 7, 10, 6; 26, 3; 8, 17, 4.

9. ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρὶ: used by Pausanias more frequently than κέειν; e.g. 2, 22, 6; 26, 4; 28, 5; 3, 3, 9; 4, 9, 8; 33, 3; 8, 24, 2; 36, 2; 53, 1.—12. Ἀλε-

ξάνδρῳ . . . ἀμῦναι: this statement is expressly denied by Arrian (Anab. 6, 11, 3-8), who says that the incident occurred not in the territory of the Oxydracians, but at the city of an independent Indian tribe called the Malli; so Plut. Alex. 63. He also asserts that there is no truth in the statement that on this occasion Ptolemy won the title of Soter, as Ptolemy himself in his published memoirs denied being present at the action. According to Q. Curtius, 9, 5, 21, the false statement originated with Clitarchus and Timagenes.—13. τοῖς ἐς Ἀριδαῖον . . . ἄγουσιν ἀρχὴν ἀντιστάς: cf. Justin, 13, 2, 11 ff., who gives the speech Ptolemy made on this occasion.

Ch. 6, 5

Ἄριδαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν πᾶσαν ἄγουσιν ἀρχὴν ἀντιστάς  
 15 αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐγένετο ἐς τὰς βασιλείας αὐτίος τὰ ἔθνη  
 νερηθῆναι. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον διαβὰς Κλεομένην τε  
 ἀπέκτεινεν, ὃν σατραπεύειν Αἴγύπτου κατέστησεν Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρος. Περδίκκα νομίζων εὖνουν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πιστὸν αὐτῷ.  
 καὶ Μακεδόνων τοὺς ταχθέντας τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν ἐς  
 20 Αἴγας κομίζειν ἀνέπεισεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν  
 νόμῳ τῷ Μακεδόνων ἔθαπτεν ἐν Μέμφει. οἳ δὲ ἐπιστάμενος  
 πολεμήσουσα Περδίκκαν Αἴγυπτον εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ. Περδίκ-  
 κας δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς στρατείας ἐπήγετο Ἄριδαῖον  
 τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ παῖδα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκ Ῥωξιάνης τῆς Ὀξυάρ-  
 25 του γεγονότα καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου. τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπε-  
 βούλευεν ἀφελῆσθαι τὴν ἐν Αἴγύπτῳ βασιλείαν· ἐξωσθεὶς  
 δὲ Αἴγύπτου καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔτι οὐχ ὁμοίως θαιμαζό-  
 μενος, διαβεβλημένος δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας.  
 ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ αὐτίκα  
 30 ἐς τὰ πράγματα ὁ Περδίκκου θάνατος ἐπέστησε· καὶ τοῦτο  
 μὲν Σύρους καὶ Φοινίκην εἶλε. τοῦτο δὲ ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Ἀντι-  
 γόνου καὶ φεύγοντα ὑπεδέξατο Σέλευκος τὸν Ἀντιόχου. καὶ  
 αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀμνρούμενος Ἀντίγονου. καὶ Κόω-  
 σανδρον τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Λυσίμαχον βασιλεύοντα ἐν  
 35 Θράκῃ μετὰσχεῖν ἔπεισε τοῦ πολέμου. φυγὴν λέγων τὴν Σε-  
 λεύκου καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον φοβερὸν σφισιν εἶναι πᾶσιν ἀξίη-  
 θέντα. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τέως μὲν ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ πολέμου

19. τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν: after hav-  
 ing been brought with much pomp from  
 Babylon to Memphis, the remains of  
 Alexander were finally brought to Alex-  
 andria and laid in a magnificent tomb,  
 where funeral games were celebrated  
 in his honor and he was afterwards  
 worshiped as a hero. Paus. 1, 7, 1,  
 says this was under Ptolemy Philadel-

plus, but Diod. 18, 28, and Strabo,  
 17, p. 794, date it under Lagus. Here,  
 up to the Christian era, the body re-  
 posed in a crystal coffin which replaced  
 the golden one that had been stolen.  
 Nothing is known of its final disap-  
 pearance.

35. φυγὴν λέγων . . . εἶναι: the same  
 construction in 1, 32, 6.

καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ παντάπασι ἐθάρρει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Λιβύην  
 ἐπέθετο στρατεύειν Πτολεμαῖον ἀφεστηκότων Κυρηναίων,  
 40 αὐτίκα Σύρους καὶ Φοίνικας εἶλεν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, παραδοὺς  
 δὲ Δημητρίῳ τῷ παιδί, ἡλικίαν μὲν νέῳ φρονεῖν δὲ ἤδη  
 δοκοῦντι, καταβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. πρὶν δὲ ἢ δια-  
 βῆναι πάλιν ἤγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Δημήτριον ἀκούων  
 ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου μάχῃ κεκρατῆσθαι· Δημήτριος δὲ οὔτε  
 45 παντάπασι ἐξειστήκει Πτολεμαίῳ τῆς χώρας καὶ τινος τῶν  
 Αἰγυπτίων λοχῆσας διέφθειρεν οὐ πολλούς· τότε δὲ ἤκοντα  
 Ἄντιγονον οὐχ ὑπομείνας Πτολεμαῖος ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Αἴγυ-  
 πτον. διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος Δημήτριος πλεύσας ἐς 6  
 Κύπρον Μενέλαον σατράπην Πτολεμαίου ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ αὐθις  
 50 αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπιδιαβάνα ἐνίκησε· φυγόντα δὲ αὐτὸν  
 ἐς Αἴγυπτον Ἄντιγονός τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐπολιόρ-  
 κει καὶ Δημήτριος. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἐς πᾶν ἀφικόμενος κιν-  
 δύνου διέσωσεν ὅμως τὴν ἀρχὴν στρατιᾶς τε ἀντικαθήμενος  
 ἐπὶ Πηλουσίῳ καὶ τριήρεσιν ἀμυνόμενος ἅμα ἐκ τοῦ ποτα-  
 55 μῶ. Ἄντιγονος δὲ Αἴγυπτον μὲν αἰρήσειν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων  
 οὐδεμίαν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐλπίδα, Δημήτριον δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίουσιν στρα-  
 τιᾷ πολλῇ καὶ ναυσὶν ἔστειλεν, ὡς εἴ οἱ προσγένειτο ἢ νῆσος  
 ὀρμητηρίῳ χρήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐλπίζων· ἀλλὰ  
 αὐτοῖ τε οἱ Ῥόδιοι τολμήματα καὶ ἐπιτεχνήσεις παρέσχοντο

40. παραδοὺς δὲ Δημητρίῳ τῷ παιδί: cf. Diod. 19, 80-84, Plut. Dem. 5, etc., and Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hell.* II, 2, 40 ff. Demetrius was at this time twenty-two years old. He gave battle to Ptolemy at Gaza and was defeated in 312 B.C.

48. Δημήτριος πλεύσας ἐς Κύπρον κτλ.: not however in 311, after an interval of a year, but in 306 did Demetrius sail to Cyprus, and not at sea but in a land battle was this signal victory. Thus Pausanias makes two mistakes.

Cf. Diod. 20, 47-53; Plut. Dem. 15-17, etc., and Droysen, II, 2, 125-137.—51. Ἄντιγονος . . . ἐπολιόρκει καὶ Δημήτριος κτλ.: this successful expedition against Egypt occurred in 306 B.C. and the memorable siege of Rhodes 305-304 B.C. The Rhodians gave Ptolemy the title *Soter* in recognition of the assistance he gave them at this time. Cf. Diod. 20, 73-96; Plut. Dem. 19-24; Droysen, II, 2, 146-174.

Ch. 6, 8

60 ἔς τοὺς πολιορκοῡντας καὶ Πτολεμαῖός σφισιν ἔς ὅσον διενέ-  
 μως ἦκε συνήρατο ἔς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀντίγονος δὲ Ῥόδου τε  
 ἄμαρτῶν καὶ Αἰγύπτου πρότερον. οὐ πολλῶ τούτων ὕστερον  
 ἀντιτάξασθαι Λυσιμάχῳ τολμήσας καὶ Κασσάνδρῳ τε καὶ  
 τῇ Σελεύκου στρατιᾷ, τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπόλεσε τὸ πολλὸν καὶ  
 65 αὐτὸς ἀπέθανε ταλαιπωρήσας μάλιστα τῷ μήκει τοῦ πρὸς  
 Εὐμένη πολέμου. τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν καθελόντων Ἀντί-  
 γονον ἀροσιώτατον κρίνω γενέσθαι Κάσσανδρον. ὃς δι' Ἀν-  
 τιγόνου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ἀνασωσάμενος πολεμήσων  
 ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἄνδρα εὐεργέτην. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου 8  
 70 Πτολεμαῖος Σύρους τε αὐθις καὶ Κύπρον εἶλε. κατήγαγε δὲ  
 καὶ Πύρρον ἔς τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα ἠπειρον. Κυρήνης δὲ ἀπο-  
 στάσης Μάγας Βερενίκης υἱὸς Πτολεμαίῳ τότε συνοικοῡσης  
 ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν εἶλε Κυρήνην. — εἰ δὲ ὁ  
 Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου παῖς  
 75 ἦν, ἴστω τὸ ἐπιμανὲς ἔς τὰς γυναῖκας κατὰ τὸν πατέρα κε-  
 κτημένος, ὃς Εὐρυδικῇ τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου συνοικῶν ὄντων οἱ  
 παίδων Βερενίκης ἔς ἔρωτα ἦλθεν. ἦν Ἀντίπατρος Εὐρυδικῇ  
 συνέπεμψεν ἔς Αἴγυπτον. ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἔραστὴς

61. Ἀντίγονος . . . ἀντιτάξασθαι Λυ-  
 σιμάχῳ τολμήσας: the reference here  
 is to the momentous battle fought at  
 Ipsus in Phrygia in 301 B.C. Antigo-  
 nus was killed, his kingdom went to  
 pieces, and the result of the battle was  
 the four independent kingdoms of Cas-  
 sander in Macedonia, Lysimachus in  
 Thrace, Seleucus in Syria, and Ptol-  
 emy in Egypt. The kingdom of Ly-  
 simachus, after a brief existence, was  
 wiped out by the incursions of the  
 Gauls. Cf. Diod. 20, 112; 21, 1; Plut.  
 Dem. 28 ff., etc., and Droysen, II, 2,  
 215-219.

75. ἴστω: cf. Herod. 4, 76, εἰ ὦν ταύτης

ἦν τῆς οἰκίης ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἴστω ἀποθα-  
 νών. Paus. 1, 29, 14; 2, 35, 8; 3, 27,  
 7; 5, 12, 3; 6, 13, 10; 15, 7; 16, 8.

76. Εὐρυδικῇ . . . Βερενίκης κτλ.: it is  
 not known when Ptolemy's marriage  
 with Eurydice, daughter of Antipater,  
 occurred. Berenice (Schol. Theoc. 17,  
 34) was a grand-niece of Antipater.  
 Her children by her first husband, Phi-  
 lip, were Magas and Antigone, the wife  
 of Pyrrhus (Plut. Pyrr. 4): her chil-  
 dren by Ptolemy were Arsinoe, born  
 not later than 316, and Ptolemy, born  
 probably in 309 or 308. Ptolemy Phila-  
 delphus ascended the throne in 285;  
 Lagus lived until 283.

παίδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποίησατο, καὶ ὡς ἦν οἱ πλησίον ἢ τελευταίη,  
 80 Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέλιπεν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύειν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις ἐστὶν ἡ φυλή, γεγονότα ἐκ Βερενίκης ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου θυγατρὸς.

7 Οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρα- 1  
 σθεὶς ἔγημεν αὐτήν, Μακεδόσιν οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα,  
 Αἰγυπτίοις μέντοι ὧν ἦρχε. δεύτερα δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινε  
 Ἀργαῖον ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 5 νεκρὸν οὗτος ὁ καταγαγὼν ἦν ἐκ Μέμφιδος· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ  
 καὶ ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν γεγονότα ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης, Κυπρίου ἀφι-  
 στάντα αἰσθόμενος. Μάγας δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁμομήτριος Πτολε-  
 μαίου παρὰ Βερενίκης τῆς μητρὸς ἀξιωθείς ἐπιτροπεύειν  
 Κυρήνην — ἐγεγόνει δὲ ἐκ Φιλίππου τῆ Βερενίκη Μακεδόνοσ  
 10 μὲν. ἄλλως δὲ ἀγνώστου καὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ δήμου — τότε δὴ  
 οὗτος ὁ Μάγας ἀποστήσας Πτολεμαίου Κυρηναίους ἤλαυνεν  
 ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν τὴν ἐσβολὴν φραξά- 2  
 μενος ὑπέμενεν ἐπιόντας Κυρηναίους, Μάγα δὲ ἀπαγγέλλε-  
 ται καθ' ὁδὸν ἀφεστηκέναι Μαρμαρίδας· εἰσὶ δὲ Λιβύων οἱ  
 15 Μαρμαρίδαι τῶν νομάδων. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀπηλ-  
 λάσσετο· Πτολεμαῖον δὲ ὠρμημένον διώκειν αἰτία τοιαύδε  
 ἐπέσχευ. ἡνίκα παρεσκευάζετο ἐπιόντα ἀμύνεσθαι Μάγαν.  
 ξένους ἐπηγάγετο καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Γαλάτας ἐς τετρακισχι-  
 λίους· τούτους λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντας κατασχεῖν Αἴγυπτον,  
 20 ἀνήγαγε σφᾶς ἐς νῆσον ἔρημον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν

7. *Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe.*

1. Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς κτλ.: Arsinoe was first married some time after the battle of Ipsus to Lysimachus (Droysen, II, 2, 236). After the battle of Corupedion, in which Lysimachus fell, she married her half-brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus. The date

of her marriage with her full brother, Ptolemy Philadelphus, is not definitely known, but an Egyptian inscription shows they were already married 273–272 B.C. Cf. A. Wiedemann, *Philol.* XLVII (1889), 84. Pausanias' statement that the marriage of brother and sister was customary among the Egyptians is confirmed by *Diod.* 1, 27, 1,



Ch. 8, 1

ἐνταῦθα ἀπόλονται ὑπὸ τε ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ· Μάγας δὲ ἤδη γυναῖκα ἔχων Ἀπάμην Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σελεύκου θυγατέρα. ἔπεισεν Ἀντιόχον παραβάντα ἄς ὁ πατήρ οἱ Σέλευκος ἐποιήσατο συνθήκας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἐλαύνειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὠρμημένου δὲ Ἀντιόχου στρατεύειν, Πτολεμαῖος διέπεμψεν ἐς ἅπαντας ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντιόχος, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενεστέροις ληστὰς κατατρέχειν τὴν γῆν, οἳ δὲ ἦσαν δυνατώτεροι στρατιᾷ κατείργεν, ὥστε Ἀντιόχῳ μήποτε ἐγγενέσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ πρότερον εἰρηταί μοι ὡς ναυτικὸν ἔστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν ἐπ' Ἀντιγονοῦ καὶ Μακεδόνας· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν μέγα ἐγένετο ἐς σωτηρίαν Ἀθηναίους. οἳ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐγένοντο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης, οὐ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Λυσιμάχου δὲ θυγατρὸς· τὴν δὲ οἱ συνοικήσασαν ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα, καὶ νομός ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἀρσινοΐτης Αἴγυπτίους.

8 Ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος δηλῶσαι καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἀτταλον ἔχοντα, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίους. αἰνῆρ Μακεδῶν

Philo. Jud. de Special. Leg. Mang. 2, 303, etc.

34. ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν . . . ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα: κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν, a frequent expression, e.g. 1, 29, 6; 2, 6, 3; 3, 10, 5; 9, 5, 14; 10, 1. The formula is Herodotean, cf. Hdt. 3, 118; 6, 38. Similarly, we find ἡ τελευτή, τὸ χρεῶν, ἡ πεπρωμένη, as subject of καταλαμβάνειν. So 1, 11, 4; 13, 5; 20, 7; 3, 13. Still more frequently are such words subject of ἐπιλαμβάνειν. Cf. 1, 9, 3; 2, 9, 4; 20, 6; 22, 2; 30, 7; 34, 5.

8. Attalus — Statues: Amphiarus, Eirene, Lycurgus, Callias, Demosthenes — Sanctuary of Ares with statues adjacent — Harmodius and Aristogiton — The Odeum.

1. Ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος: cf. 6, 1, 2,

ἐκέλευσεν ὁ λόγος; 1, 39, 3, ἀπέκρινεν ὁ λόγος. — τὰ ἐς Ἀτταλον ἔχοντα: a favorite phrase borrowed from Herodotus. Cf. 1, 11, 6; 20, 7; 32, 3, with Hdt. 2, 53; 3, 16, 82, 126, etc. The fortunes of the Attalids were founded by Philetaerus, a eunuch of Bithynia, who was left by Lysimachus in charge of his treasury on the Acropolis of Pergamus. Philetaerus later went over to Seleucus when the latter defeated and killed Lysimachus in 281 B.C., and after the murder of Seleucus in 280 he succeeded in continuing master of the fortress and its treasures. When he died in 263 he left his nephew Eumenes in possession of Pergamus. Eumenes was succeeded in 241 B.C. by his cousin Attalus, who, after defeating the

Δόκιμος ὄνομα, στρατηγὸς Ἀντιγόνου, Λυσιμάχῳ παραδοῦς ὕστερον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Φιλέταιρον Παφλαγόνα εἶχεν εὐνοῦχον. ὅσα μὲν δὴ Φιλεταίρῳ πεπραγμένα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασίν ἐστι τὴν ἀπὸ Λυσιμάχου καὶ ὡς Σέλευκον ἐπηγάγετο, ἔσται μοι τῶν ἐς Λυσιμάχον παρενθήκη· ὁ δὲ Ἄτταλος Ἀττάλου μὲν παῖς ὢν, ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ Φιλεταίρου, τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐμένους παραδόντος ἔσχεν ἀνεπιού. μέγιστον δὲ 10 ἐστὶν οἱ τῶν ἔργων· Γαλάτας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἦν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν ἀναφυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα θεῶν. 2 Ἀμφιάρως καὶ Εἰρήνη φέρουσα Πλοῦτον παῖδα. ἐνταῦθα

Gauls, assumed the title of king and reigned as Attalus I.

13. Ἀμφιάρως: Amphiarus is one of the tragic heroes of Greek mythology. Cf. Od. ο, 243, ν, 352; Aesch. Sept. 587 ff.; Eur. Supp. 925, etc. He was one of the "Seven against Thebes," the hero whom the earth swallowed up with his four-horse chariot and the gods made immortal. The place was afterwards called *Harma*, i.e. the chariot, and is one of the famous sites of Greece, on the road from Potniae to Thebes (Paus. 1, 34; 9, 8, 3). Consult, on the cult of Amphiarus, Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 62-65. — Εἰρήνη φέρουσα Πλοῦτον παῖδα: this group was by Cephisodotus (9, 6, 2), the father or elder brother of the great Praxiteles. It was probably set up after Timotheus's great victory at Leucas and the conclusion of peace between Athens and Sparta in 374 B.C., as from that date Peace (Εἰρήνη) was worshiped as a goddess (Isoc. 15, 109; Nepos, Timoth. 2). It is now generally accepted that the so-called

Leucothea group in the Glyptothek at Munich is a copy of this work of Cephisodotus. It represents a woman clad in a long robe, bearing on her left arm a little naked boy. There are frequent copies of the group on Attic coins. Cf. Imhoof-Gardner, *Numism. Comm. on Paus.* p. 147, and plates. — ἐνταῦθα Λυκοῦργός τε κείται χαλκοῦς: according to Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 852A, a bronze statue to Lycurgus, the finance minister and orator, was set up ἐν ἀγορᾷ, in recognition of his services to the state, by a decree of Stratocles passed 307-306 B.C. Two fragments of an inscription containing the decree have been found. See Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 70-72, who also tells of the fragments of the pedestal found in 1888, with the inscription: Λυκοῦργος Λυκ[ό]φορος Βο[υ]τάδης. Lycurgus deserved well of his country for his public works as well as for his financial administration. He completed the Dionysiac theatre, leveled and walled in the Panathenaic stadium, and built the gymnasium of the

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Λυκοῦργός τε κείται χαλκοῦς ὁ Λυκόφρονος καὶ Καλλίας, ὡς  
 15 πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὡς Ἀθηναίων  
 οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἔπραξε τὴν εἰρήνην· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημο-  
 σθένης, ὃν ἐς Καλαυρείαν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πρὸ Τροιζῆνος  
 νῆσον ἠνάγκασαν ἀποχωρῆσαι, δεξάμενοι δὲ ἕστερον διώ-  
 20 κουσιν αὐθις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λαμῖα πληγὴν. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὡς  
 τὸ δεύτερον ἔφυγε, περαιούται καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Καλαυρείαν.  
 ἔνθα δὴ πῶν φάρμακον ἐτελεύτησε· φυγάδα τε Ἑλλησι  
 μόνον τοῦτον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἀνήγαγεν Ἀρ-  
 χίας. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίας οὔτος Θούριος ὃν ἔργον ἦρατο ἀνόσιον·  
 ὅσοι Μακεδόσιν ἔπραξαν ἐναντία πρὶν ἢ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν τὸ  
 25 πταῖσμα (τὸ ἐν Θηεσσαλία γενέσθαι, τούτους ἦγεν Ἀρχίας

Lyceum; under his administration the arsenal of Philo was built, and all the docks and arsenals were put in excellent condition. — 14. **Καλλίας** κτλ.: Callias was the reputed author of the so-called Peace of Cimon which, according to a tradition of the fourth century and later, was concluded with Persia in 445 B.C., whereby Artaxerxes pledged himself to send no warships into the Aegean sea, and to forbid his troops to approach within three days' march or one day's ride of the sea. Cf. Dem. 19, 273; Diod. 12, 4; Plut. Cimon, 13, etc. Herodotus (7, 151) testifies that Callias was sent to Persia, but neither he nor Thucydides mentions such a treaty. It is intrinsically improbable that it should have been made, and if made it was repeatedly broken. Isoc. 4, 118–120, is the first writer to allude to it (c. 380 B.C.). Theopompus considered a copy of the treaty extant in the fourth century a forgery (Harp. s.v. Ἀπτικοῖς γράμμασιν). Even Pausanias speaks doubtfully about it. — 16. ἔστι

δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης: this statue was erected 280–279 B.C. on a decree moved by Demochares, nephew of the orator (Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. pp. 847 D and 850 C). The sculptor was Polyectus. The statue was of bronze, and represented the orator standing with his hands locked in each other. The site was πλησίον τοῦ περισχοίνισματος καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν. Plut. Dem. 31 says a large plane-tree stood near. The well-known marble statue in the Vatican is supposed to be a copy, with some variations, of this statue. Cf. P. Hartung, "Zur Statue des Dem.," Verh. d. k. deutsch. Instituts, XVIII (1903), Heft 1, 25. The altar of the Twelve Gods mentioned as near the statue, though not noticed by Pausanias, was an important spot, as distances were reckoned from it. It was set up by Pisistratus and enlarged by the democracy. Cf. Thuc. 6, 54, 6; Hdt. 2, 7: 6, 108; C.I.A. II, 1078, etc., and Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 434–436.

Ἀντιπάρῳ δώσοντας δίκην. Δημοσθένει μὲν ἢ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἄγαν εὖνοια ἐς τοῦτο ἐχώρησεν· εὖ δέ μοι λελέχθαι δοκεῖ ἄνδρα ἀφειδῶς ἐκπεσόντα ἐς πολιτείαν καὶ πιστὰ ἡγήσασθαι τὰ τοῦ δήμου μήποτε καλῶς τελευτήσαι.

30 Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνας πλησίον Ἀρεῶς ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κείμεναι, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναῖον ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἔνταῦθα καὶ Ἐνυοῦς ἀγαλμά ἐστίν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους· περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν  
35 ἐστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεύς καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταινία τὴν κόμην, ἀνδριάντες δὲ Καλάδης Ἀθηναίους, ὡς λέγεται, νόμους γράψας, καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε εὐρόμενος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπήνεσεν ἄσμα

30. Ἀρεῶς ἐστὶν ἱερόν: the shrine of Ares is not elsewhere mentioned except in inscriptions bearing on the cult of Ares (cf. S. Q. XV, 23). The site is not known with exactness. It probably lay on the south side of the Agora, along the north slope of the Areopagus. Various sites have been conjectured, but none convincingly. It was certainly not far (οὐ πόρῳ) from the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and on, or adjacent to, the Areopagus. — 31. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης: Furtwängler (Meisterw. pp. 121-128) argues that the Borghese Ares, now in the Louvre, is a replica of Alcamenes's image of Ares. Since there are numerous other copies of the original of the Borghese statue, it must have been a famous work, as that of Alcamenes was bound to be. Cf. Roscher, Lexicon, I, 489; Friederichs-Wolters, Gips-Abgüsse, 1298. Pausanias groups four statues within or near

the sanctuary of Ares—two images of Aphrodite, an Athena of Locrus of Paros, otherwise unknown, and a statue of Enyo, by the sons of Praxiteles (cf. 8, 30, 10; 9, 12, 4). — 34. περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς κτλ.: round the temple Pausanias mentions five statues, one a god, Apollo, two heroes, Heracles and Theseus, and two mortals, Calades and Pindar. Few particulars are given. Of Calades nothing further is known. The poet Pindar was represented καθήμενος ἐν ἐνδύματι καὶ λύρα διὰ δάμα ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀνελλεγόμενον βιβλίον (Ps.-Aesch. Epist. 4, 3). The date of the statue was probably long after the poet's death, as Isoc. 15, 166 does not allude to it in reciting the honors heaped on Pindar because of his eulogium of the city. He had addressed Athens as "O bright and glorious Athens, pillar of Greece" (Frag. 54, ed. Bergk). Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 402, 407.

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ποιήσας. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἄρμόδιος καὶ Ἄριστο-  
 40 γείτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἴππαρχον· αἰτία δὲ ἦτις ἐγένετο καὶ  
 τὸ ἔργον ὄντινα τρόπον ἔπραξαν. ἑτέροις ἐστὶν εἰρημεία.  
 τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οἱ μὲν εἰσι Κριτίου τέχνη. τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαί-  
 οὺς ἐποίησεν Ἀντήνωρ· Ξέρξου δέ. ὡς εἶλεν Ἀθήνας ἐκλι-  
 πόντων τὸ ἄστυ Ἀθηναίων. ἀπαγαγομένου καὶ τούτους ἀτε-  
 45 λάφυρα, κατέπεμψεν ὕστερον Ἀθηναίους Ἀντίοχος.

Τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὃ καλοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς  
 ἐσόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Λίγυπτιών. ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ  
 τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοι σφισιν. ἄλλη δὲ ἐπὶ κλησις ἄλλω· καὶ  
 γὰρ Φιλομήτορα καλοῦσι καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἕτερον. τὸν δὲ  
 50 τοῦ Λάγου Σωτήρα παραδόντων Ῥοδίων τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ

39. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἄρμόδιος καὶ Ἄριστογείτων κτλ.: it has been already noticed that the famous group of Harmodius and Aristogiton stood about opposite the Metroum, on the way up to the Acropolis. Other evidence is to the effect that they stood in a conspicuous place used for festivals known as the "orchestra" (Tim. Lex. Plat. and Phot. Lex. s.v. ὀρχήστρα). Ar. Lys. 633 and Eccles. 682 speak of them as being in the Agora. The "orchestra" was doubtless somewhere off from the northwest slope of the Areopagus, on the opposite side of the road. The statues were of bronze, fashioned by the sculptor Antenor (Arrian, Anab. 3, 16, 7; 7, 19, 2, etc.) shortly after the expulsion of Hippias, 510 B.C. They were carried off by Xerxes 480 B.C. and were finally sent back to Athens by Alexander the Great (Arr. Anab. 3, 16, 8; Pliny, N. H. 34, 70) or by Seleucus (Val. Max. 2, 10) or by Antiochus (Paus. 1, 8, 5). In the mean time, in 477 they were replaced

by a new group fashioned by Critius and Nesiotes (Par. Chron. 1. 370; Lucian, Philops. 18). After the restoration of the Antenor statues, the two groups stood side by side. The finest reproduction of the group is the famous pair of marble statues in the Naples Museum. It is still a moot question whether the Naples statues reproduce the group of Antenor or that of Critius and Nesiotes. For the discussion of this, see Frazer, II, 93-99.

46. Τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὃ καλοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον: this passage brings up three important questions in Athenian topography — the number of Odeums in Athens, the identification of the one here mentioned, and its site. Pausanias names three,—(1) the above, also mentioned 1, 14, 1; (2) one built by Pericles, 1, 20, 4; and (3) the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, 7, 20, 6. As the question of the identity and site of the structure here mentioned is involved with the consideration of the objects and places mentioned in c. 14, the discussion is reserved.

ἄλλων ὁ μὲν Φιλάδελφός ἐστιν οὗ καὶ πρότερον μνήμην ἐν  
 τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις ἐποιησάμην. πλησίον δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρσινόης  
 9 τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐστιν εἰκῶν. ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ καλούμενος ὄγδοος 1  
 μὲν ἐστιν ἀπόγονος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν  
 ἔσχευ ἐπὶ χλευασμῶ. οὐ γάρ τινα τῶν βασιλέων μισηθέντα  
 ἴσμεν ἐς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ μητρὸς, ὃν πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῶν  
 5 παίδων ἢ μῆτηρ οὐκ εἶα καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. πρότερον δὲ  
 ἐς Κύπρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεμφθῆναι πράξασα· τῆς δὲ ἐς  
 τὸν παῖδα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δυσνοίας λέγουσιν ἄλλας τε αἰτίας  
 καὶ ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν νεώτερον τῶν παίδων κατήκοον  
 ἔσσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἤλπριζε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλέσθαι βασιλέα  
 10 Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπειθεν Αἰγυπτίους· ἐναντιουμένου δέ οἱ τοῦ 2  
 πλήθους, δεύτερα ἐς τὴν Κύπρον ἔστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρον, στρα-  
 τηγὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δι' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίῳ θέ-  
 λουσα εἶναι φοβερωτέρα. τέλος δὲ κατατρώσασα οὐς μάλιστα  
 τῶν εὐνούχων ἐνόμιζεν εὐνους, ἐπήγετο σφᾶς ἐς τὸ πλήθος  
 15 ὡς αὐτὴ τε ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοὺς εὐνού-  
 χους τοιαῦτα ὑπ' ἐκείνου παθόντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς  
 ὄρμησαν μὲν ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς δὲ σφᾶς  
 ἔφθασεν ἐπιβὰς νεώς, Ἀλέξανδρον ἤκοντα ἐκ Κύπρου ποι-  
 οῦνται βασιλέα. Κλεοπάτραν δὲ περιῆλθεν ἢ δίκη τῆς 3

9. *Ptolemy Philometor and his mother Cleopatra — Statues of Philip, Alexander, and Lysimachus — Lysimachus and his Contest with the Thracians — Hieronymus of Cardia.*

1. ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ: Ptolemy X Soter II Philometor II, with the nickname Lathyrus (Plut. Cor. 11) was the eldest son of Ptolemy IX Euergetes II, and succeeded his father in the 208th year of the Lagidae = 117–116 B.C. He reigned 117–108 and 89–81 B.C. — 3. ἐπὶ χλευασμῶ: added by Pausanias to explain the surname Φιλομήτωρ.

Μητρόφιλος would rather meet Pausanias's idea. But his explanation is a mistake, as Φιλομήτωρ was an official title and could not be a nickname. — 5. οὐκ εἶα . . . πρότερον δὲ . . . πράξασα: it is a frequent occurrence in Pausanias in coördinate clauses with μὲν — δέ, τε — καί, οὔτε — οὔτε, εἴτε — εἴτε, to have in the first clause the participle, in the second the finite verb; but to have the reverse of this, as here, is extremely rare. Cf. 1, 12, 1; 2, 18, 3; 10, 1 (without μὲν); 3, 3, 3; 7, 10; 7, 19, 6; 10, 32, 7.

Ch. 9, 5

20 Πτολεμαίου φυγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃν αὐτῇ βασιλεύειν ἔπραξεν Αἰγυπτίων. τοῦ δὲ ἔργου φωραθέντος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβῳ τῶν πολιτῶν φεύγοντος, οὕτω Πτολεμαῖος κατήλθε καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔσχεν Αἴγυπτον· καὶ Θηβαίοις ἐπολέμησεν ἀποστᾶσι. παραστησάμενος δὲ ἔτι  
 25 τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐκάκωσεν. ὡς μηδὲ ὑπόμνημα λειφθῆναι Θηβαίοις τῆς ποτε εὐδαιμονίας προελθούσης ἐς τοσοῦτον ὡς ὑπερβαλέσθαι πλούτῳ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων πολυχρημάτους, τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀρχομερίου. Πτολεμαῖον μὲν οὖν ὀλίγῳ τούτων ὕστερον ἐπέλαβε μοῖρα ἢ  
 30 καθήκουσα· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθόντες εὖ πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἐξηγήσεως χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ Βερενίκην ἀνέθηκαν, ἣ μόνη γνησία οἱ τῶν παίδων ἦν.

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Φιλίππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ  
 Φιλίππου κεύνται· τούτοις μείζονα ὑπήρχε πως ἢ ἄλλον  
 35 πάρεργα εἶναι λόγου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τιμῇ τε ἀληθεῖ καὶ εὐεργέταις οὔσι γεγόνασιν αἱ δωρεαί. Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κολακεία μᾶλλον ἐς αὐτοὺς τοῦ πλήθους. ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίμαχον οὐκ εὐνοία τοσοῦτον ὡς ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον νομίζοντες ἀνέθηκαν.

40 Ὁ δὲ Λυσίμαχος οὗτος γένος τε ἦν Μακεδῶν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφόρος, ὃν Ἀλέξανδρός ποτε ὑπ' ὀργῆς λέοντι ὁμοῦ καθείρξας ἐς οἶκημα κεκρατηκότα εὔρε τοῦ θηρίου· τὰ τε οὖν ἄλλα ἤδη διετέλει θαυμάζων καὶ Μακεδόνων ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Θρακῶν  
 45 ἔβασίλευεν ὁ Λυσίμαχος τῶν προσοίκων Μακεδόσιν. ὅσων ἦρχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Φιλίππος· αἶν

40. Ὁ δὲ Λυσίμαχος κτλ.: this story is told at length by Justin, 15, 3, and referred to by Plut. Dem. 27, Pliny, N. H. 8, 54, etc. Q. Curtius, 8, 1, 17, calls the story a fable, but thinks it

is based on an actual occurrence to the effect that once, while hunting in Syria, Lysimachus had killed single-handed a gigantic lion; which, thought Curtius, might be the origin of Pausanias' story

δ' ἂν οὗτοι τοῦ Θρακίου μοῖρα οὐ μεγάλη. Θρακῶν δὲ τῶν <sup>Ch. 9, 6</sup>  
 πάντων οὐδένες πλείους εἰσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ Κελτοὶ  
 πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐν ἀντεξετάζοντι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς  
 50 πω πρότερος Θραῦκας Ῥωμαίων κατεστρέψατο ἀθρόους·  
 Ῥωμαίοις δὲ Θράκη τε πᾶσά ἐστιν ὑποχείριος, καὶ Κελτῶν  
 ὅσον μὲν ἀχρεῖον νομίζουσι διὰ τε ὑπερβάλλον ψῦχος καὶ  
 γῆς φαυλότητα, ἐκουσίως παρῶπταί σφισι. τὰ δὲ ἀξιόκτητα  
 ἔχουσι καὶ τούτων. τότε δὲ ὁ Λυσίμαχος πρώτοις τῶν περιού- 6  
 55 κων ἐπολέμησεν Ὀδρύσαις, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ Δρομιχαίτην καὶ  
 Γέτας ἐστράτευσεν· οἷα δὲ ἀνδράσι συμβαλὼν οὐκ ἀπείροις  
 πολέμων, ἀριθμῶ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ὑπερβεβληκόσιν, αὐτὸς μὲν  
 ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἐλθὼν κινδύνου διέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ οἱ παῖς Ἀγα-  
 θοκλῆς συστρατευόμενος τότε πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Γετῶν ἐάλω.  
 60 Λυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ ὕστερον προσπταίσας μάχαις καὶ τὴν  
 ἄλωσιν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ ποιούμενος συνέθετο  
 πρὸς Δρομιχαίτην εἰρήνην, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ  
 πέραν Ἰστρου παρὲς τῷ Γέτῃ καὶ θυγατέρα συνοικίσας  
 ἀνάγκη τὸ πλεόν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ Ἀγαθοκλέα, Λυσίμαχον δὲ  
 65 αὐτὸν ἀλῶναι λέγουσιν, ἀνασωθῆναι δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους τὰ  
 πρὸς τὸν Γέτην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξαντος. ὡς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν,  
 Ἀγαθοκλεῖ Λυσάνδραν γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο, Πτολεμαίου τε  
 τοῦ Λάγου καὶ Εὐρυδίκης οὔσαν. διέβη δὲ καὶ νανσὶν ἐπὶ 7  
 τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντιγόνου συγκαθεῖλε.  
 70 συνώκισε δὲ καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἄχρι θαλάσσης τὴν νῦν πόλιν,

68. διέβη . . . ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν: in 302  
 b.c. Lysimachus entered into the alli-  
 ance with Cassander, Seleucus, and  
 Ptolemy against Antigonus, and in  
 301 took part in the momentous battle  
 of Ipsus, in which Antigonus was over-  
 thrown. — 70. συνώκισε . . . Ἐφεσίων  
 . . . τὴν νῦν πόλιν: the refounding of  
 Ephesus by Lysimachus took place be-

tween 287 and 281 b.c. Cf. Droysen, II,  
 2, 258, rem. 1. From Croesus to Alex-  
 ander the Great the city had clustered  
 about the temple of Artemis. Lysi-  
 machus built the city on a new site  
 nearer the mountains and by flooding  
 the old city compelled the inhabitants  
 of the former site to move into it. He  
 called the new city Arsinoe after his



Ch. 9, 8

ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν Λεβεδίους τε οἰκήτορας καὶ Κολο-  
 φωνίους, τὰς δὲ ἐκείνων ἀνελὼν πόλεις, ὡς Φοῖνικα ἰάμβων  
 ποιητὴν Κολοφωνίων θρηνηῆσαι τὴν ἄλωσιν. Ἐρμησιάναξ δὲ  
 ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεία γράψας οὐκέτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περιῆν· πάντως γάρ  
 75 που καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐπὶ ἀλούσῃ Κολοφῶνι ᾠδύρατο. Λυσί-  
 μαχος δὲ καὶ ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Πύρρον κατέστη τὸν Λιακί-  
 δον· φυλάξας δὲ ἐξ Ἰπείρου ἀπίοντα, οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλὰ  
 ἐκείνος ἐπλανᾶτο, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐλεηλάτησεν Ἰπείρου καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας ἦλθε τῶν βασιλέων. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐμοὶ ἔστιν  
 80 οὐ πιστά. Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ἔγραψε Καρδιανὸς Λυσίμαχον τὰς  
 θήκας τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνελόντα τὰ ὄστα ἐκρῆψαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰερώνυ-  
 μος οὗτος ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράψαι  
 τῶν βασιλέων πλὴν Ἀντιγόνου, τοῦτω δὲ οὐ δικαίως χαρίζε-  
 σθαι· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Ἰπείρωτων παντάπασι  
 85 ἔστι φανερὸς ἐπηρεία συνθεῖς. ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα θήκας νε-  
 κρῶν ἀνελεῖν. χωρὶς δὲ ἠπίστατο δὴ που καὶ Λυσίμαχος οὐ  
 Πύρρον σφᾶς προγόνους μόνοι ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον τοὺς  
 αὐτοὺς τούτους ὄντας· καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰπείρωτης τε  
 ἦν καὶ τῶν Λιακιδῶν τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἣ τε ὕστερον Πύρρον  
 90 πρὸς Λυσίμαχον συμμαχία δηλοῖ καὶ πολεμήσασιν ἀδιάλ-  
 λακτόν γε οὐδὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι σφίσι. τῷ δὲ Ἰερο-  
 νύμῳ τάχα μὲν που καὶ ἄλλα ἦν ἐς Λυσίμαχον ἐγκλήματα,  
 μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τὴν Καρδιανῶν πόλιν ἀνελὼν Λυσίμαχον  
 αὐτ' αὐτῆς ᾤκισεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Θρακίας χερρονήσου.

wife, but the old name finally prevailed.  
 —72. **Φοῖνικα**: verses of the iambic  
 poet Phoenix are quoted by Athen. 8,  
 p. 359 E; 10, p. 421 D; 11, p. 495 D, E;  
 12, p. 530 E. Cf. Susemihl, *Gesch. d.*  
*gr. Lit. in d. Alex.-Zeit*, I, 229.

80. **Ἰερώνυμος** . . . **Καρδιανός**: Hieronymus the Cardian composed a history of Alexander's successors. He

took a prominent part in the politics of the age. In 320 B.C. he headed an embassy sent by Eumenes to Antipater, and in 319 an embassy from Antigonus to Eumenes. He lived certainly as late as 272 B.C., for he tells of the death of Pyrrhus, αὐτὸς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὄντα (Lucian (Macrob. 22) says he reached the age of 101. Susemihl, I, 560 ff

- 10 Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀριδαίου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὕστερον 1  
 Κασσάνδρου καὶ τῶν παίδων φιλία διέμεινε πρὸς Μακε-  
 δόνας· περιελθούσης δὲ ἐς Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη Λυσίμαχος πολεμήσεσθαι ἤλπιζεν ὑπὸ  
 5 Δημητρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ἡξίου πολέμου, πατρῶον ἐπι-  
 στάμενος ὃν Δημητρίῳ προσπεριβάλλεσθαι (ἀεὶ) τι ἐθέλειν  
 καὶ ἅμα ὀρῶν αὐτὸν παρελθόντα ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετάπεμ-  
 πτον ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Κασσάνδρου, ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, αὐτὸν  
 10 Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. τούτων ἕνεκα Δημητρίῳ συμβαλὼν πρὸς 2  
 Ἀμφιπόλει παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν ἦλθεν ἐκπεσεῖν Θράκης, ἀμύ-  
 ναντος δέ οἱ Πύρρου τήν τε Θράκην κατέσχε καὶ ὕστερον  
 ἐπήρξε Νεστίων [καὶ] Μακεδόνων· τὸ δὲ πολὺ Μακεδονίας  
 αὐτὸς Πύρρος κατεῖχε, δυνάμει τε ἦκον ἐξ Ἡπείρου καὶ πρὸς  
 15 Λυσίμαχον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔχων ἐπιτηδείως. Δημητρίου δὲ  
 διαβάντος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Σελεύκῳ πολεμοῦντος, ὅσον μὲν

10. *Contests of Lysimachus with Demetrius and Pyrrhus — Murder of Agathocles by Arsinoe and its Consequences in the Family of Lysimachus — His Death in the Struggle against Seleucus.*

2. τῶν παίδων: the three sons of Cassander, king of Macedon, who succeeded him one after the other on the throne, were Philip, Antipater, and Alexander. — 3. περιελθούσης . . . ἀρχῆς: Demetrius son of Antigonus, who bore the surname Poliorcetes, or the Besieger, because of the famous siege of Rhodes, became master of Macedonia, October, 294. Alexander, then king of Macedonia, had intended to assassinate Demetrius, but Demetrius anticipated him. Cf. Plut. Dem. 36 ff.; id. Pyrrhus, 6 ff.; Justin, 16, 1; Droysen, II, 2, 265 ff.

11. παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν ἦλθεν: cf. 1, 13, 4, παρ' ὀλίγον ὅμως ἦκοντι. 1, 13, 6, ὀλίγον μὲν ἦλθεν εἰλεῖν . . . τὴν πόλιν. 2, 7, 1, σεισμὸς ὀλίγον τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησεν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον. — ἀμύναντος δέ οἱ Πύρρου κτλ.: in 288 B.C. a joint attack was made on Demetrius by Lysimachus from the east and Pyrrhus from the west. Demetrius's army deserted to Pyrrhus and he had to flee in disguise. The conquerors then divided Macedonia between them, the lion's share falling to Pyrrhus. Cf. Plut. Dem. 44; id. Pyrrhus, 11; Droysen, II, 2, 296–298. In 286 B.C. Demetrius was defeated by Seleucus, and surrendered to him. He died in captivity. Lysimachus compelled Pyrrhus to withdraw from Macedonia after he had held it only seven months. Cf. Plut. Dem.

Ch. 10, 4

χρόνον ἀντείχε τὰ Δημητρίου. διέμεινεν ἡ Πύρρον καὶ Λυσι-  
 μάχου συμμαχία· γενομένου δὲ ἐπὶ Σελεύκῳ Δημητρίου Λυ-  
 σιμάχῳ καὶ Πύρρῳ διελύθη ἡ φιλία. καὶ καταστάντων ἐς  
 20 πόλεμον Λυσίμαχος Ἀντιγόνῳ τε τῷ Δημητρίου καὶ αὐτῷ  
 Πύρρῳ πολεμήσας ἐκράτησε παρὰ πολὺ καὶ Μακεδοῖαν  
 ἔσχεν, ἀναχωρῆσαι Πύρρον βιασάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἑπειρον.  
 εἰώθασι δὲ ἀνθρώποις φύεσθαι δι' ἔρωτα πολλὰ συμφοραί. 3  
 Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ἡλικία τε ἤδη προήκων καὶ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας  
 25 αὐτὸς τε νομιζόμενος εὐδαίμων καὶ Ἀγαθοκλεῖ παίδων ὄντων  
 ἐκ Λυσάνδρας Ἀρσινόην ἔγημεν ἀδελφὴν Λυσάνδρας. ταύ-  
 την τὴν Ἀρσινόην φοβουμένην ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ μὴ Λυσιμά-  
 χου τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' Ἀγαθοκλεῖ γένωνται. τούτων ἕνεκα  
 Ἀγαθοκλεῖ ἐπιβουλεύσαι λέγεται. ἤδη δὲ ἔγραψαι καὶ ὡς  
 30 Ἀγαθοκλέους ἀφίκοντο ἐς ἔρωτα ἡ Ἀρσινόη, ἀποτυγχά-  
 νουσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ . . . βουλεύσαι λέγουσιν Ἀγαθοκλεῖ θάνατον.  
 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς Λυσίμαχος αἰσθόιτο ὕστερον τὰ τολμη-  
 θέντα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, εἶναι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι οἱ πλείον ἡρημο-  
 μένῳ φίλων ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τότε ὁ Λυσίμαχος 1  
 35 ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἀρσινόῃ παρήκε. Λυσάνδρα παρὰ  
 Σέλευκον ἐκδιδράσκει τοὺς τε παῖδας ἅμα ἀγομένη καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς αὐτῆς, . . . οἱ περιελθὼν τοῦτο ἐς Ἡτολεμναίων  
 καταφεύγουσι. τούτοις ἐκδιδράσκουσι παρὰ Σέλευκον καὶ

49-52; id. Pyrrhus, 12; Droysen, II, 2, 307-312.

23. δι' ἔρωτα πολλὰ συμφοραί: for similar commonplaces upon love, cf. 7, 19, 3, μέτεστιν ἔρωτι καὶ ἀνθρώπων συγγχείαι νόμιμα καὶ ἀνατρέψαι θεῶν τιμάς, and 7, 23, 3, where, says our author, if the waters of Seleucus actually bring forgetfulness of love, more precious than great riches to mankind are the waters of Seleucus.—30. ἡ Ἀρσινόη . . . βουλεύσαι . . . Ἀγαθοκλεῖ κτλ.: the murder

of Agathocles seems to have been perpetrated in 284 or 283 B.C. Justin (17, 1, 4) says that Arsinoe poisoned him; Strabo (13, 623) that Lysimachus was compelled to slay him because of domestic troubles; Memnon (Frag. Hist. Gr. III, 532, ed. Müller) that Lysimachus, deceived by Arsinoe, first attempted to poison Agathocles, and then cast him into prison, where Arsinoe's brother Ptolemy Ceraunus murdered him. See Droysen, II, 2, 321 ff.

Ἀλέξανδρος ἠκολούθησεν. υἱὸς μὲν Λυσιμάχου. γεγονὼς δὲ  
 40 ἔξ Ὀδρυσιάδος γυναικός. οὗτοί τε οὖν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀνα-  
 βεβηκότες ἰκέτεον Σέλευκον ἐς πόλεμον πρὸς Λυσίμαχον  
 καταστῆναι· καὶ Φιλέταιρος ἅμα, ᾧ τὰ χρήματα ἐπετέτρα-  
 πτο Λυσιμάχου. τῇ τε Ἀγαθοκλέους τελευτῇ χαλεπῶς φέρων  
 καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς Ἀρσινόης ὑποπτα ἠγούμενος καταλαμβάνει  
 45 Πέργαμον τὴν ὑπὲρ Καΐκου. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα τά τε χρή-  
 ματα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίδου Σελεύκῳ. Λυσίμαχος δὲ ταῦτα πάντα  
 πυνθανόμενος ἔφθη διαβὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄρξας αὐτὸς  
 πολέμου συμβαλῶν τε Σελεύκῳ παρὰ πολὺ τε ἐκρατήθη καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ἀπέθανεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὃς ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς Ὀδρυ-  
 50 σίδος ἐγεγόνει οἱ, πολλὰ Λυσάνδραν παραιτησάμενος ἀνα-  
 ρεῖται τε καὶ ὕστερον τούτων ἐς Χερρόνησον κομίσας ἔθαψεν,  
 ἐνθά ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστίν οἱ φανερὸς ὁ τάφος Καρδίας τε μεταξὺ  
 κόμης καὶ Πακτύης.

11 Τὰ μὲν οὖν Λυσιμάχου τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἰ-  
 εἰκῶν ἐστι καὶ Πύρρου. οὗτος ὁ Πύρρος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προ-  
 σῆκεν οὐδέν. εἰ μὴ ὅσα κατὰ γένος· Αἰακίδου γὰρ τοῦ  
 Ἀρύββου Πύρρος ἦν, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς  
 5 Νεοπτολέμου, Νεοπτολέμῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀρύββα πατὴρ ἦν Ἀλκέ-  
 τας ὁ Θαρύπου. ἀπὸ δὲ Θαρύπου ἐς Πύρρον τὸν Ἀχιλλεύς

48. *συμβαλῶν τε Σελεύκῳ . . . ἀπέ-  
 θανεν*: Lysimachus was defeated and  
 killed in the battle of Corypedion in  
 281 B.C. Appian (Syr. 64) gives two  
 accounts about the finding and care of  
 his body, one that it was found and  
 buried by Thorax, a Pharsalian, the  
 other the account here given by Pau-  
 sanias.

11. *Pyrrhus: his Statue and his  
 Ancestry — The Kingdom of the Epi-  
 rotes — Pyrrhus's Campaigns.*

2. *εικῶν . . . Πύρρου*: this stood, in  
 all probability, among the statues

named in c. 8, before the Odeum. —  
 5. Ἀρύββα: Justin (7, 6, 11; 8, 6) says  
 that Arybbas was expelled from his  
 kingdom and died in exile. According  
 to C. I. A. II, 115, he retired to Athens,  
 where he was placed under public pro-  
 tection. — 6. Θαρύπου: Tharypas is  
 mentioned Thuc. 2, 80, 6, as being still  
 a child (429 B.C.) under the guardian-  
 ship of the regent Sabylinthus. He was  
 educated at Athens and was the first  
 to introduce Greek laws and customs  
 among his people (Justin, 17, 3, 9-13;  
 Plut. Pyrrhus, 1).

Ch. 11, 3

πέντε ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα εἰσὶ γενεαί· πρῶτος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος  
 ἀλούσης Ἰλίου τὴν μὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ὑπερείδεν ἀναχώρησι.  
 ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑπειρον κατάρας ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλένου χρη-  
 10 σμῶν ᾤκησε. καὶ οἱ παῖς ἐκ μὲν Ἑρμῖονης ἐγένετο οὐδέεις.  
 ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης δὲ Μολοσσὸς καὶ Πιέλος καὶ νεώτατος ὁ  
 Πέργαμος. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλένῳ Κεστρίνος· τούτῳ γὰρ  
 Ἀνδρομάχη συνᾔκησεν ἀποθανόντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύρρου.  
 Ἑλένου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα Μολοσσῶ τῷ Πύρρου παραδόντος 2  
 15 τὴν ἀρχὴν Κεστρίνος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν Ἑπειρωτῶν  
 τὴν ὑπὲρ Θύαμιν ποταμὸν χώραν ἔσχε, Πέργαμος δὲ δια-  
 βὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἄρειον δυναστεύοντα ἐν τῇ Τευθραία  
 κτείνει μονομαχήσαντά οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ  
 ὄνομα ἔδωκε τὸ νῦν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης—ἡκολούθει  
 20 γὰρ οἱ—καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡρῶον ἐν τῇ πόλει. Πιέλος δὲ αὐτοῦ  
 κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, καὶ ἐς πρόγονοι τοῦτον ἀνέβαινε  
 Πύρρος τε ὁ Λιακίδου καὶ οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Μολοσ-  
 σόν. ἦν δὲ ἄχρι μὲν Ἀλκέτου τοῦ Θαρύπου ἐφ' ἐνὶ βασιλείᾳ 3  
 καὶ τὰ Ἑπειρωτῶν· οἱ δὲ Ἀλκέτου παῖδες, ὡς σφισι στασιά-  
 25 σασι μετέδοξεν ἐπ' ἴσης ἄρχειν, αὐτοὶ τε πιστῶς ἔχοντες  
 διέμειναν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Νεο-  
 πτολέμου τελευτήσαντος ἐν Λευκαοῖς. Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ διὰ  
 τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φόβον ἐπαυελθούσης ἐς Ἑπειρον, Λιακίδης  
 ὁ Ἀρύββου τά τε ἄλλα διετέλει κατήκοος ὢν Ὀλυμπιάδι  
 30 καὶ συνεστράτευσεν πολεμησῶν Ἀριδαίῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν.

27. Ὀλυμπιάδος . . . ἐπαυελθούσης ἐς  
 Ἑπειρον: straightway after the death  
 of Alexander, Olympias, in obedience  
 to the wishes of her son, did not inter-  
 fere with the plans of Antipater, but  
 retired to Epirus to her brother's court.  
 She was restored to Macedonia in 317  
 B.C. by the joint efforts of Polysperchon  
 and Aeacides. Eurydice, the wife of

Philip Aridaeus the king, attempted  
 to give battle, but her troops deserted  
 to Olympias. Both Philip and Eury-  
 dice and a large number of Macedonian  
 nobles were put to death by Olympias.  
 Hence her death at the hands of Cas-  
 sander was deemed a just retribution.  
 Cf. Diod. 19, 11, 50; Justin. 14, 5;  
 Droysen, II, 1, 238 ff.

οὐκ ἐθέλοντων ἔπεισθαι τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν. Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ὡς <sup>Ch. 11, 4</sup> 4  
ἐπεκράτησεν ἀνόσια μὲν ἐργασαμένης καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀριδαίου  
θάνατον, πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι ἀνοσιώτερα ἐς ἄνδρας Μακεδόνας,  
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνάξια ὕστερον ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παθεῖν  
35 νομισθείσης, Λιακίδην κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ  
Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔχθος ἐδέχοντο Ἡπειρῶται, εὐρομένου δὲ ἀνά  
χρόνον παρὰ τούτων συγγνώμην δεύτερα ἡναντιοῦτο Κάσ-  
σανδρος μὴ κατελθεῖν ἐς Ἡπειρον. γενομένης δὲ Φιλίππου  
τε ἀδελφοῦ Κασσάνδρου καὶ Λιακίδου μάχης πρὸς Οἰνιά-  
40 δαις, Λιακίδην μὲν τρωθέντα κατέλαβε μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ  
χρεῶν· Ἡπειρῶται δὲ Ἀλκέταν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατεδέξαντο. 5  
Ἀρύββου μὲν παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφὸν Λιακίδου πρεσβύτερον,  
ἀκρατῆ δὲ ἄλλως θυμοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐξελασθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ  
πατρός. καὶ τότε ἦκων ἐξεμαίνετο εὐθύς ἐς τοὺς Ἡπειρώτας.  
45 ἐς ὃ νύκτωρ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπαναστάντες ἔκτει-  
ναν. ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοῦτον Πύρρον τὸν Λιακίδου κατά-  
γουσιν· ἦκοντι δὲ εὐθύς ἐπεστράτευε Κάσσανδρος, νέῳ τε  
ἡλικίᾳ ὄντι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ κατεσκευασμένῳ βεβαίως.  
Πύρρος δὲ ἐπιόντων Μακεδόνων ἐς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ Πτο-  
50 λεμαῖον ἀναβαίνει τὸν Λάγου· καὶ οἱ Πτολεμαῖος γυναικὰ  
τ' ἔδωκεν ἀδελφὴν ὁμομητρίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων καὶ στόλῳ  
κατήγαγεν Αἴγυπτίων.

Πύρρος δὲ βασιλεύσας πρώτοις ἐπέθετο Ἑλλήνων Κορκυ- 6  
ραίοις, κειμένην τε ὀρῶν τὴν νῆσον πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας  
55 καὶ ἄλλοις ὀρμητήριον ἐφ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ  
ἀλοῦσαν Κόρκυραν ὅσα μὲν Λυσιμάχῳ πολεμήσας ἔπαθε  
καὶ ὡς Δημήτριον ἐκβαλὼν Μακεδονίας ἤρξεν ἐς ὃ αὐτὸς  
ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου, τάδε μὲν τοῦ Πύρρου μέγιστα ἐς  
ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν δεδήλωκεν ἤδη μοι τὰ ἐς Λυσιμαχὸν  
60 ἔχοντα· Ῥωμαίοις δὲ οὐδένα Πύρρου πρότερον πολεμή- 7  
σαντα ἴσμεν Ἑλληνα. Διομήδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀργείων τοῖς

Ch. 12, 1

σὺν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν ἔτι γενέσθαι πρὸς Λιβύαν λέγεται μάχην·  
 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐλπίζασιν καὶ Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν  
 καταστρέψασθαι τὸ ἐν Συρακούσαις παταῖσμα ἐμποδῶν ἐγέ-  
 65 νετο μὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν πείραν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ  
 Νεοπτολέμου, γένους τε ὦν Ἡύρρω τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡλικία  
 πρεσβύτερος, ἀποθανὼν ἐν Λευκανοῖς ἐβλήθη πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας  
 12 ἐλθεῖν Ῥωμαίους. οὕτω Πύρρος ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλ- 1  
 λάδος τῆς πέραν Ἴονίου διαβὰς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους· διέβη δὲ  
 καὶ οὗτος ἐπαγαγομένων Ταραντίνων. τούτοις γὰρ πρότε-  
 ρον ἔτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνειστήκει πόλεμος· ἀδύνατοι δὲ  
 5 κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν. προὔπαρχούσης μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν  
 εὐεργεσίας ὅτι οἱ πολεμοῦντι τὸν πρὸς Κόρκυραν πόλεμον  
 ναυσὶ συνήραντο, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Ταραντίνων  
 ἀνέπεισαν τὸν Πύρρον, τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν διδάσκοντες ὡς εὐδαι-  
 μονίας εἶνεκα ἀντὶ πάσης εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ὡς οὐχ ὄσιον  
 10 αὐτῷ παραπέμψαι σφᾶς φίλους τε καὶ ἰκέτας ἐν τῷ παρόντι  
 ἤκουσας. ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν πρέσβεων μνήμη τὸν Πύρρον  
 τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐσηῆλθε τῆς Ἰλίου, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα ἠλπιζε

63. Ἀθηναίοις . . . ἐλπίζασιν . . . Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν καταστρέψασθαι: Plutarch (Alcib. 17) says that it was the dream of Alcibiades that the conquest of Sicily should be merely a step toward the conquest of Carthage, Africa, Italy, and Peloponnesus. Again he tells us (Pericles, 20) that in the age of Pericles many Athenians looked forward to the conquest of Etruria and Carthage.

12. *Pyrrhus's War against the Romans — Elephants and Ivory — War against the Carthaginians.*

1. Πύρρος . . . ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους: Pyrrhus's expedition to aid the Tarentines against the Romans occurred 280 B.C. Cf. Plut. Pyrrhus, 13-16; Justin, 18,

1; Droysen, III, 1, 127 ff.—4. ἀδύνατοι δὲ κατὰ σφᾶς ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν κτλ.: this sentence presents a decidedly bad case of anacoluthon. Ταραντίνου is naturally to be understood with ὄντες, and below one would naturally expect μάλιστα δὲ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι διὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀνέπεισαν instead of οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀνέπεισαν. On the coordination of the participle, προὔπαρχούσης μὲν, and the finite verb, μάλιστα δὲ ἀνέπεισαν, cf. c. 9, 1, note.—6. οἱ πολεμοῦντι . . . πόλεμον . . . συνήραντο: πόλεμον here is object of πολεμοῦντι (cf. 1, 4, 6; 29, 14; 4, 10, 7). Pausanias also uses ἀρασθαι πόλεμον, c. 2, 2, 3; 9, 10, but συνάρασθαι τιμὴν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον (1, 6, 6).

χωρήσειν πολεμοῦντι· στρατεύειν γὰρ ἐπὶ Τρώων ἀποίκους  
 Ἀχιλλέως ὦν ἀπόγονος. ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἤρεσκε — διέμελλε 2  
 15 γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ὦν ἔλοιτο — αὐτίκα ναῦς τε ἐπλήρου μακρὰς  
 καὶ πλοῖα στρογγύλα εὐτρέπιζεν ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας ὀπλίτας  
 ἄγειν. ἔστι δὲ ἀνδράσι βιβλία οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγγρα-  
 φήν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα ἔργων ὑπομνήματα εἶναι. ταῦτα  
 ἐπιλεγομένῳ μοι μάλιστα ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι Πύρρου τόλμαν  
 20 τε, ἣν μαχόμενος αὐτὸς [τε] παρείχετο, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ  
 μέλλουσιν ἀγῶσι πρόνοιαν· ὃς καὶ τότε περαιούμενος ναυσὶν  
 ἐς Ἴταλίαν Ῥωμαίους ἐλελήθει καὶ ἦκων οὐκ εὐθὺς ἦν σφισι  
 φανερός, γινομένης δὲ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Ταραντίνους συμβολῆς  
 τότε δὴ πρῶτον ἐπιφαίνεται σὺν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα  
 25 σφίσι προσπεσών, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἐτάραξεν. ἄτε δὲ ἄριστα :  
 ἐπιστάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἀξιομαχος εἶη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, παρε-  
 σκευάζετο ὡς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπαφήσων σφίσιν. ἐλέφαντας  
 δὲ πρῶτος μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκτήσατο  
 Πῶρον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καθελὼν τὴν Ἰνδῶν, ἀποθανόντος  
 30 δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πλείστους ἔσχεν  
 Ἀντίγονος, Πύρρῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐγεγόνει τῆς πρὸς  
 Δημήτριον τὰ θηρία αἰχμάλωτα· τότε δὲ ἐπιφανέντων αὐτῶν

18. ἔργων ὑπομνήματα: this statement has occasioned much conjecture, some writers taking it as referring to memoirs of Pyrrhus, prepared probably by himself or under his orders. It is apparent that in the phrase ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγγραφὴν Pyrrhus is not meant; and that for a history of Pyrrhus the general title ἔργων ὑπομνήματα would not be chosen. It was, doubtless, a general work of biography, perhaps like the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri IX* of Valerius Maximus, in which the exploits of

a number of eminent commanders, among them Pyrrhus, were recounted. — εἶναι: seems superfluous from the English point of view, but the Greek regularly uses this (to us) redundant εἶναι with words of naming and calling. Cf. 8, 31, 7, "Ἥλιος ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων σωτήρ τε εἶναι καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. See note on 1, 5, 1. — 23. γινομένης . . . Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Ταραντίνους συμβολῆς: Pyrrhus's first battle with the Romans was fought near Heraclea in Lucania in 280 B.C. See Plut. Pyrrhus, 16; Justin, 18, 1, etc.; Droysen, III, 1, 140 f.



Ch. 12, 5

δείμα ἔλαβε Ῥωμαίους ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐ ζῶα εἶναι νομίσαντας.  
 ἐλέφαντα γάρ, ὅσος μὲν ἐς ἔργα καὶ ἀνδρῶν χεῖρας. εἰσὶν 1  
 35 ἐκ παλαιοῦ δῆλοι πάντες εἰδότες· αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ θηρία, πρὶν  
 ἢ διαβῆναι Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὐδὲ ἑώρακεσαν  
 ἀρχὴν πλὴν Ἰνδῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ὅσοι πλησιό-  
 χωροι τούτοις. δηλοῖ δὲ Ὅμηρος, ὅς βασιλευσὶ κλίνας μὲν  
 καὶ οἰκίας τοῖς εὐδαιμονεστέροις αὐτῶν ἐλέφαντι ἐποίησε  
 40 κεκοσμημένας, θηρίου δὲ ἐλέφαντος μνήμην οὐδεμίαν ἐποίη-  
 σατο· θεασάμενος δὲ ἢ πεπυσμένος ἐμνημόνευσε ἂν πολὺ  
 γε πρότερον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἢ Πυγμαίων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεράων  
 μάχης. Πύρρον δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπήγαγε πρεσβεία Συρα- 5  
 κουσίων· Καρχηδόσιοι γὰρ διαβάντες τὰς Ἑλληνίδας τῶν  
 45 πόλεων ἐποιοῦν ἀναστάτους, ἢ δὲ ἦν λοιπή. Συρακούσαις  
 πολιορκοῦντες προσεκάθηντο. ἂ τῶν πρέσβεων Πύρρος  
 ἀκούων Τάραντα μὲν εἶα καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχοντας Ἰτα-  
 λιωτῶν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν διαβὰς Καρχηδοσίους ἠνάγκαι-  
 σεν ἀπαναστῆναι Συρακουσῶν. φροηήσας δὲ ἐφ' αὐτῷ  
 50 Καρχηδονίων, οἳ θαλάσσης τῶν τότε βαρβάρων μάλιστα  
 εἶχον ἐμπείρως Τύριοι Φοίνικες τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες, τοιούτων  
 ἐναντία ἐπήρθη ναυμαχῆσαι τοῖς Ἱππειρώταις χρώμενος.  
 οἳ μὴδὲ ἀλούσης Ἰλίον θάλασσαν οἳ πολλοὶ μὴδὲ ἄλλων

38. Ὅμηρος: see Od. δ, 72 ff.; τ, 55; ψ, 199. Pausanias is right in his statement that Homer nowhere mentions the elephant, although ivory is spoken of several times.—39. αὐτῶν: pleonastic repetition of a preceding subject through the oblique cases of αὐτός is very frequent; usually, as here, when the general nature of the preceding plural is qualified by a following adjective. Cf. 1, 7, 2 and 6.—42. Πυγμαίων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεράων μάχης: cf. II. Γ, 3-5 κλαγγὴ γεράων . . . αἱ κλαγγῆ ταί γε πέπονται

ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῦ ῥοάων, ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι. The war between the Pygmies and the cranes is often mentioned in ancient writers as a martial episode of curious interest. Note especially Athen. 9, p. 390 n; Aelian, Nat. Anim. 15, 29; Ovid, Met. 6, 90 ff.; Pliny, N.H. 7, 26.

43. Πύρρον δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπήγαγε: this occurred in the year 278. On this expedition of Pyrrhus to Sicily, cf. Plut. Pyrrhus, 22 ff.; Diod. 22, 7 ff.; Droysen III, 1, 162 ff.; A. Holm,

ἡπίσταντό πω χρηῖσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὀμήρου  
5 ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσεείᾳ·

οἱ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν  
άνερες. οὐδέ θ' ἄλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν.

13 τότε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος, ὡς ἠττήθη, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τάραντα ἀνή- 1  
γετο ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἐνταῦθα προσέπταισε μεγάλως καὶ τὴν  
ἀναχώρησιν — οὐ γὰρ ἀμαχεὶ Ῥωμαίους ἡπίστατο ἀφήσον-  
τας — πορίζεται τρόπον τοῦτον. [ὡς ἐπανήκων ἐκ Σικελίας  
5 ἠττήθη,] πρῶτον διέπεμψε γράμματα ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ  
πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, τοὺς μὲν στρατιὰν τῶν βασιλέων, τοὺς δὲ  
χρήματα. Ἀντίγονον δὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα αἰτῶν· ἀφικομένων  
δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὥς οἱ γράμματα ἀπεδόθη, συναγαγὼν τοὺς  
ἐν τέλει τῶν τε ἐξ Ἠπείρου καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων, ὧν μὲν εἶχε  
10 τὰ βιβλία ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ ἤξειν συμμαχίαν ἔλεγεν  
ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἦλθε φήμη Μακεδόνας καὶ  
ἄλλα ἔβνη περαιούσθαι τῶν Ἀσιαίων ἐς τὴν Πύρρον βοή-  
θειαν· Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες ἠσύχαζον, Πύρρος  
δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν περαιούται νύκτα πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν  
15 ὄρων ἃ Κεραῦνια ὀνομάζουσι.

Gesch. Sicil. II, 277 ff. — 54. Ὀμήρου  
ἔπος: see Od. λ, 122 ff.

13. *Pyrrhus leaves Italy — Conquers  
Antigonus — Makes expedition against  
the Lacedaemonians — His death at Ar-  
gos — Similar end of the three Aeacids.*

2. *προσέπταισε μεγάλως*: at the bat-  
tle of Beneventum in 275 B.C., whither  
he had marched to attack the Romans.  
This expression, repeated 13, 6, is He-  
rodotian. Cf. Hdt. 1, 16; 5, 62; 6, 95;  
7, 170, 210. 2, 161, *προσέπταισε μεγα-  
λωστί*. — 5. *ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς  
Ἀντίγονον*: cf. Justin, 25, 3, 1-4. The  
position of *τε* after the preposition is the  
more frequent, e.g. 1, 1, 3; 1, 4, 1 and

3; 2, 9, 2; 10, 5; 3, 3, 8; 8, 51, 8. Yet  
*τε* now and then stands after the sub-  
stantive. Cf. 10, 12, 5, *ἐς Δηλὸν τε καὶ  
ἐς Δελφούς*. So 2, 7, 5; 19, 5; 9, 6, 4.  
— 9. *ὧν μὲν . . . ὁ δέ*: after a negative  
sentence with *μὲν*, the following clause  
is frequently introduced after the man-  
ner of the poets and Herodotus with  
*ὁ δέ*, as if a new subject were opposed  
to that of the preceding sentence, while  
the contrast lies much more in the verb  
or object. Cf. Hdt. 1, 17, and Paus. 1,  
14, 5; 2, 13, 6; 3, 6, 8, etc. — 10. *ἀνε-  
γίνωσκεν*: exceptionally used instead  
of the more usual *ἐπιλέγασθαι*. Cf. 1,  
19, 3; 22, 7; 37, 4, etc.

Ch. 13, 4

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πληγὴν ἀναπαύσας τὴν δύναμιν  
 προεῖπεν Ἀντιγόνῳ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε ποιούμενος ἐγκλήματα  
 καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐς Ἰταλίαν βοηθείας διαμαρτίαν. κρατή-  
 σας δὲ τὴν τε ἰδίαν παρασκευὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ  
 20 Γαλατῶν ξενικὸν ἐδίωξεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλεις, αὐτὸς  
 δὲ Μακεδονίας τε τῆς ἄνω καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐπεκράτησε. διη-  
 λοῖ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν Πύρρον νίκην,  
 ὡς παρὰ πολὺ γένοιτο, τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὄπλα τῶν Κελτῶν ἐς  
 τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναῶν ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰωνίας Φερῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Λαρίσης  
 25 καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς·

Τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθήνῃ

Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,

πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν. οὐ μέγα θαῦμα  
 αἰχμηταὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Λιακίδαί.

30 τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα, τῷ δὲ ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὶ Μακεδόνα  
 ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ καὶ ταύταις·

Αἶδε ποτ' Ἀσίδα γαίαν ἐπόρθησαν πολύχρυσον,

αἶδε καὶ Ἑλλασιν δουλοσύναν ἔπορον.

νῦν δὲ Διὸς ναῶ ποτὶ κίονας ὄρφανὰ κείται

35 τὰς μεγαλαυχῆτῳ σκῦλα Μακεδονίας.

Πύρρῳ δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐς ἅπαν μὴ καταστρέψασθαι παρ' ἄλλῃ  
 γον ὁμοῦς ἤκουτι ἐγένετο Κλεόνυμος αἴτιος. ἑτοιμοῦμα καὶ  
 ἄλλως ὄντι ἐλέσθαι τὰ ἐν χερσὶ. Κλεόνυμος δὲ αὐτός, ὁ τοῦ

18. κρατήσας . . . τὴν τε ἰδίαν παρασκευὴν Ἀντιγόνου: see Plut. Pyrrhus, 26; Droysen, III, 1, 20, on this victory of Pyrrhus over Antigonus and his Gallic mercenaries (274 B.C.).—  
 23. τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὄπλα: cf. Plut. Pyrrhus, 26; Diod. Exc. Vat. 1, 22, 3. In both passages the first epigram is cited,

also in Anthol. Pal. 6, 130. In the Anthol. note τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i.e. of Leonidas. Against this assignment nothing can be urged. Cf. Susemihl, II, 727 rem. 81. The second epigram, occurring only in Pausanias, Susemihl likewise ascribes to Leonidas, but on insufficient grounds.

Πύρρον ἀπολιπόντα τὰ Μακεδόνων πείσας ἐς Πελοπόννησον  
 40 ἐλθεῖν. Λακεδαιμόνιος ὢν Λακεδαιμονίοις στρατὸν ἐς τὴν  
 χώραν πολέμιον ἐπήγε δι' αἰτίαν ἦν ἐγὼ τοῦ γένους ὕστερον  
 τοῦ Κλεωνύμου δηλώσω. Πausανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἡγησαμένου Πλειστοάναξ υἱὸς ἐγένετο, τοῦ  
 δὲ Πausανίας, τοῦ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος, ὃς ἐναντία Ἐπαμεινώνδα  
 45 καὶ Θηβαίοις μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἐν Λεύκτροις· Κλεομβρό-  
 του δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης. Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ  
 ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος Κλεομένης τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε.  
 Κλεομένει δὲ παῖδες γίνονται πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀκρότατος, 5  
 νεώτερος δὲ Κλεώνυμος. Ἀκρότατον μὲν οὖν πρότερον κατέ-  
 50 λαβεν ἢ τελευτή· Κλεομένους δὲ ἀποθανόντος ὕστερον ἐς  
 ἀμφισβήτησιν κατέστη περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκρο-  
 τάτου, καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ μετελθὼν ἐπάγει  
 Πύρρον ἐς τὴν χώραν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῆς ἐν  
 Λεύκτροις <μάχης> οὐδὲν ἐγεγόνει πταιῖσμα, ὥστε οὐδὲ συνε-  
 55 χῶρον ἀγωνίῳ πω κεκρατῆσθαι πεζῶ· Λεωνίδα μὲν γὰρ νι-  
 κῶντι οὐκ ἔφασαν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐς τελείαν ἐξαρκέσαι φθορὰν  
 τῶν Μήδων, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Δημοσθένους ἔργον πρὸς  
 τῇ νήσῳ Σφακτηρίᾳ κλοπὴν εἶναι πολέμου καὶ οὐ νίκην.  
 πρώτης δὲ γενομένης σφίσι συμφορᾶς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, ὕστερον 6  
 60 Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· τρίτος  
 δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου πόλεμος κακὸν ἀνέλπιστον ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν  
 γῆν. Πύρρου δὲ ἐσβαλόντος τέταρτον δὴ τότε στρατὸν  
 ὀρῶντες πολέμιον αὐτοῖ τε παρετάσσοντο καὶ Ἀργείων ἦκον-  
 τες καὶ Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι· Πύρρος δὲ ὡς ἐπεκράτησεν,  
 65 ὀλίγου μὲν ἦλθεν ἐλεῖν αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν πόλιν, δηώσας δὲ τὴν

60. Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσι μεγά-  
 λως προσέπταισαν: the battle referred  
 to is that of Megalopolis, in 330 B.C.,  
 when the Peloponnesians took up arms  
 against the Macedonian supremacy and

were utterly routed by Antipater. King  
 Agis was among the slain. Note use  
 of dat. Ἀντιπάτρῳ. The usual construc-  
 tion is προσπταίειν πρὸς τινα. So Hdt.  
 1, 65; 6, 45.

Ch. 13, 9

γῆν καὶ λείαν ἐλάσας μικρὸν ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ ἐς πολιορκίαν  
 εὐτρεπίζοντο. πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου  
 τοῦ πρὸς Δημήτριον τάφροις τε βαθείαις καὶ σταυροῖς τετε-  
 χισμένης ἰσχυροῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐπιμαχώτατα καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν.  
 70 ὑπὸ δὲ τούτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Λακωνι-  
 κῆς τριβῆν Ἄντιγονος τὰς πόλεις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνασώσα-  
 μενος ἠπέιγετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἷα ἐπιστάμενος Πύρρον.  
 ἦν Λακεδαίμονα καταστρέφεται καὶ Πελοποννήσου τὰ πολλὰ.  
 οὐκ ἐς Ἑπειρον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε Μακεδοῦν ἀνθις καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ  
 75 πόλεμον ἤξοντα· μέλλοντος δὲ Ἄντιγόνου τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ  
 Ἄργους ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἐληλύ-  
 θει Πύρρος. κρατῶν δὲ καὶ τότε συνεσπίπτει τοῖς φεύγουσιν  
 ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ οἱ διαλύεται κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἢ τάξις· μαχο-  
 μένων δὲ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἤδη καὶ οἰκίαις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενω-  
 80 πούς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο ἄλλων τῆς πόλεως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πύρρος  
 ἐμονώθη καὶ τιτρώσκειται τὴν κεφαλὴν. κεράμῳ δὲ βλη-  
 θέντα ὑπὸ γυναικὸς τεθνάναι φασὶ Πύρρον· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ οὐ  
 γυναιῖκα τὴν ἀποκτείνασαν. Δήμητρα δὲ φασιν εἶναι γυναικὶ  
 εἰκασμένην. ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πύρρου τελευτὴν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν  
 85 Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐξηγητῆς Λυκίας ἐν ἔπεισι  
 εἶρηκε· καὶ σφισιν ἔστι τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσιμος, εἴθις ὁ Πύρρος  
 ἐτελεύτησεν, ἱερὸν Δήμητρος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Πύρρος  
 τέθαιπται· θαῦμα δὴ ποιοῦμαι τῶν καλοῦμένων Λιακιδῶν  
 90 τρισὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν. εἴ-  
 γε Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν Ὅμηρος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου φησὶ τοῦ Πριά-  
 μου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπολέσθαι, Πύρρον δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 ἢ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποκτεῖναι Δελφοῖς. τῷ δὲ Λιακιδῶν  
 συνέβη τὰ ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν οἷα Ἀργεῖοι τε λέγουσι καὶ

81. On Pyrrhus's Peloponnesian expedition and his death (272 B.C.) cf. Plut. Pyrrhus, 26-34; Justin, 25, 4, 6-5,

1, etc. Also Droysen, III, 1, 209-219.

90. Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν Ὅμηρος κτλ.: see Pl. X, 359 ff.

Λυκίας ἐποίησε. διάφορα δὲ ὁμῶς ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα ὧν Ἱερῶ-  
 15 νυμος ὁ Καρδιανὸς ἔγραψεν· ἀνδρὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖ συνόντα  
 ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐς χάριν συγγράφειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Φίλιστος  
 αἰτίαν δικαίαν εἴληφεν, ἐπελπίζων τὴν ἐν Σύρακούσαις κάθο-  
 δον, ἀποκρίψασθαι τῶν Διονυσίου τὰ ἀνοσιώτατα, ἧ̃ που  
 100 πολλή γε Ἱερωνύμῳ συγγνώμη τὰ ἐς ἡδονὴν Ἀντιγόνου  
 γράφειν.

14 Ἢ μὲν Ἰππειρωτῶν ἀκμὴ κατέστρεψεν ἐς τοῦτο· ἐς δὲ τὸ  
 Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὀιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος κείται  
 θέας ἄξιος. πλησίον δέ ἐστι κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν  
 Ἐννεάκρουνον. οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου· φρέ-  
 5 ατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη  
 μόνη. ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποιήται

14. *Odeum* — *Enneacrunus* — *Temples of Demeter and Persephone, and of Triptolemus* — *Epimenides and Thales* — *Temple of Euclēia* — *Temple of Perphaestus* — *Temple of Aphrodite Urania.*

2. Ὀιδεῖον κτλ.: see Excursus III. — 3. κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον: for the question as to the site of this fountain and adjacent monuments, and the discussion of what is known as “the Enneacrunus Episode,” see Excursus III. — 5. πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη μόνη: Pausanias speaks of the fountain (κρήνη) Enneacrunus as being the only “spring” (πηγή), while there are wells (φρέατα) διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως. Yet he mentions I, 21, 4, the κρήνη at the Asclepieum and I, 28, 4, the πηγὴ which is known under the name Κλεψύδρα. Leake (I, 131) explains the inconsistency by saying that Pausanias meant only such springs as were desirable for drinking-water; for according to Vitruv. 8, 3, 6, most of the spring water in Athens was bad and used for wash-

ing merely, while the well-water served for drinking purposes. πηγὴ signifies a natural spring (2, 7, 4; 4, 34, 4, etc.); κρήνη is an artificially constructed fountain (1, 40, 1; 2, 2, 8, etc.) usually fed by a natural spring; φρέατα are wells, the water of which must be drawn (Hdt. 6, 19). — 6. ναοὶ . . . Ἐλευσί- νιον: the sanctuary Eleusinium doubtless included the two temples mentioned above, the one of Demeter and Persephone, the other of Triptolemus. Plutarch (de exilio, 17) mentions the Eleusinium along with the Parthenon as one of the preëminently sacred places of Athens. It was a precinct that could be securely closed (Thuc. 2, 17). On the day after the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries a sacred assembly of the Council of the 500 met in the Eleusinium (Andoc. I, 3; C. I. A. II, 4, 31; III, 2). Decrees relating to the Mysteries were here set up (C. I. A. II, 315; III, 5). On the site of the Eleusinium, see Excursus III.

Ch. 14, 4

καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμον κείμεόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα·  
 τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια λέγεται γράψω. παρὲς ὅποσον ἐς  
 Δηϊόπην ἔχει τοῦ λόγου. Ἑλλήνων οἱ μάλιστα ἀμφισβη-  
 10 τοῦντες Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ἀρχαιότητα καὶ δῶρα. ἅ παρὰ θεῶν  
 φασιν ἔχειν. εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι. καθάπερ βαρβάρων Φρυξῶν  
 Αἰγύπτιοι. λέγεται οὖν ὡς Δήμητρα ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθούσας  
 Πελασγὸς δέξαιτο οἴκῳ καὶ ὡς Χρυσαιθὶς τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐπι-  
 15 φάντην φυγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀγήνορος ἐλθεῖν  
 φασιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναῖκά τε ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος γῆμαι  
 καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Εὐβουλέα καὶ Τριπτόλεμον. ὅδε  
 μὲν Ἀργείων ἐστὶ λόγος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ τοῖ-  
 20 τοις ἴσασι . . . Τριπτόλεμον τὸν Κελκοῦ πρῶτον σπείραι καρ-  
 πὸν ἤμερον. ἔπη δὲ ἄδεται Μουσαίου μιν. εἰ δὴ Μουσαίου :  
 καὶ ταῦτα, Τριπτόλεμον παῖδα Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι.  
 Ὀρφείως δέ, οὐδὲ ταῦτα Ὀρφείως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα. Εὐβουλί-  
 καὶ Τριπτολέμῳ Δυσαύλην πατέρα εἶναι, μηνύσασι δὲ σφισι  
 25 περὶ τῆς παιδὸς δοθῆναι παρὰ Δήμητρος σπείραι τοὺς καρ-  
 πούς· Χοιρίλῳ δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ δράμα ποιήσαντι Ἀλόπην εἶναι  
 εἰρημένα Κερκυνά εἶναι καὶ Τριπτόλεμον ἀδελφούς. τεκεῖν  
 δὲ σφῶς θυγατέρα Ἀμφικτύονος. εἶναι δὲ πατέρα Τριπτο-  
 30 λέμῳ μὲν Ῥᾶρον. Κερκυνίῳ δὲ Ποσειδῶνα. πρῶτω δὲ εἶναι  
 με ὠρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὅποια ἐξήγησιν . . . ἔχει  
 τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερόν. καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον. ἐπίσχευ ὄφης  
 ὀνειράτος· ἅ δὲ ἐς πάντας ὅσιον γράψω. ἐς ταῦτα ἀποτρέ-  
 ψομαι. πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ  
 ἄγαλμα, ἐστὶ βούς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος. πεποιή-  
 ται δὲ καθήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος. ὅν ἐλλόγηται ἐς

31. Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος: Epime-  
 nides, mentioned in connection with  
 Triptolemus and the bronze steer, was  
 originally identical with the Attic

hero Bouzyges, the first driver of oxen  
 (Hesych. s.v. βουζύγης; Serv. ad Georg.  
 1, 19). The mythical form of this first  
 ox tamer was, in the consciousness of

35 ἀγρὸν κοιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν ἐσελθόντα ἐς σπήλαιον· ὁ δὲ  
 ὕπνος οὐ πρότερον ἀνήκεν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἢ οἱ τεσσαρακοστὸν  
 ἔτος γενέσθαι καθεύδοντι, καὶ ὕστερον ἔπη τε ἐποίει καὶ  
 πόλεις ἐκάθηρεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων. Θάλης δὲ ὁ  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν νόσον παύσας οὔτε ἄλλως προσήκων  
 40 οὔτε πόλεως ἦν Ἐπιμενίδῃ τῆς αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κνώσσιος.  
 Θάλητα δὲ εἶναί φησι Γορτύνιον Πολύμναστος Κολοφώνιος  
 ἔπη Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς αὐτὸν ποιήσας. — ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω 5  
 ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων, οἱ τῆς χώρας  
 Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον. φρονῆσαι δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ  
 45 ταύτῃ μάλιστα εἰκάζω· καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὡς οἱ τοῦ βίου  
 προσεδοκᾶτο ἡ τελευταίη, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδε-  
 νός, δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦκων ἐπὶ ποιήσει καὶ πρὸς Ἄρτε-  
 μισίῳ καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας· ὁ δὲ τό τε ὄνομα  
 πατρόθεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψε καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας  
 50 ἔχοι τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἄλλος καὶ Μήδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας.

a later time, blended with that of the Cretan priest Epimenides, about whom two traditions were extant—one that he had freed Athens from the Cylonian ἄγος (Ar. Resp. Ath. 1; Plut. Solon 12, etc.), the other that, coming to Athens ten years before the Persian War, he engaged in certain religious rites and prophesied the war (Plat. Legg. I, 642D). On the story of Epimenides, the Greek Rip Van Winkle, cf. Theopompus, frag. 69, in Fr. Hist. Gr. I, 288; Diog. Laert. I, 10, 109; Pliny, N. H. 7, 175.—38. Θάλης . . . τὴν νόσον παύσας: Thales or Thaletas; in obedience to the Delphic oracle, is said to have stopped by his music the plague at Sparta (Plut. de Mus. 42; Aelian, Var. Hist. 12, 50). Lycurgus is said to have studied music under him (Plut. Lyc. 4).

43. ναὸς Εὐκλείας: the question of the identity of Eucleia with Artemis is closely bound up with the discussion of the site of this temple, and is therefore reserved for Excursus III.—45. Αἰσχύλος . . . ναυμαχήσας: the current tradition regarding the death of Aeschylus was that he was killed near Gela in Sicily by a tortoise which was dropped on his bald head by an eagle, which mistook it for a stone. Cf. Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 120; Aelian, Nat. An. 7, 16; Pauly-Wissowa, I, 1068. His epitaph was as follows:

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον ἦδε κέυθει  
 μνήμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας  
 ἀλκῆν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλλος ἀ-  
 εἴποι  
 καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μήδος ἐπιστάμενος.

—Poet. Lyr. Gr., ed. Bergk, II, 571.



Ch. 14, 7

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην βασιλέ-  
 λειον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμά οἱ παρή-  
 στηκεν Ἀθηναῖς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐποιούμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ  
 ἐπιστάμενος λόγον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὀρθῶν τῆς Ἀθηναῖς γλαυ-  
 55 κούς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς Λιβύων τὸν μῦθον ὄντα εὑρίσκον·  
 τούτοις γὰρ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον Ποσειδῶνος καὶ λίμνης Τριτων-  
 νίδος θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γλαυκοὺς εἶναι ὡς περ  
 καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν  
 Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας. πρότοις δὲ ἀνθρώπων Ἀσσυρίους

52. ναὸς . . . Ἡφαίστου: for a discussion of the identity of the temple of Hephaestus with the so-called The-seum, and a description of the temple, see Excursus IV. — ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμά οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηναῖς κτλ.: the joint worship of Hephaestus and Athena was very ancient in Attica (Plat. Critias, p. 109c); their temple is also mentioned by Augustine (Civ. Dei, 18, 12). Pausanias refers to the Erichthonius legend as the link between Hephaestus and Athena (Apollod. 3, 14, 6; Schol. Hom. Il. B, 547; Aug. l.c.), while others hold that the link was not Erichthonius but Apollo the Paternal, who was said to be a son of Hephaestus and Athena (Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1, 22, 55; 23, 57; Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, 28, p. 24, ed. Potter). — 51. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα . . . τῆς Ἀθηναῖς γλαυκοὺς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς: this remark about the γλαυκοὶ ὀφθαλμοί suggests that the eyes of ancient statues were set in, or that they were painted. Homer's favorite epithet of Athena is γλαυκῶπις, "blue-eyed." Dr. Schliemann (Troy, p. 54, 112 ff.) would translate the epithet "owl-faced," deriving the word from γλαῦξ "owl" and ὄψ "face," supposing

the goddess was originally represented with the face of an owl. R. Hildebrandt, Philol. XLVI (1888), 201 ff., derives it from γλαυκός "bright" or "blue" and a root vor, "water," making the compound designate a goddess of the bright blue sea. Pausanias' statement indicates that the Greeks understood "blue-eyed" by the term, which hypothesis is confirmed by Cicero (de Nat. Deor. 1, 30, 83), who says the color of Minerva's eyes was bluish-gray, and of Neptune's sky-blue.

58. πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας: as this sanctuary was near the temple of Hephaestus, it probably stood on the Colonus Agoraeus or Market Hill. The worship of the goddess whom the Greeks called Aphrodite Urania was derived from the Semitic peoples of Asia, being the counterpart of the Baals of the various cities, and known as Baalat or Astarte. Like the male deity, Astarte was regarded as the giver of fertility to plants, animals, and men, and as the goddess of heaven. Jeremiah (7, 18; 44, 18) calls her "the queen of heaven." In her double aspect as goddess of love and of heaven, the Greeks

60 κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανίαν, μετὰ δὲ Ἀσσυρίους Κυ-  
 πρίων Παφίους καὶ Φοινίκων τοῖς Ἀσκάλωνα ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ  
 Παλαιστίνῃ, παρὰ δὲ Φοινίκων Κυθήριοι μαθόντες σέβου-  
 σιν· Ἀθηναίους δὲ κατεστήσατο Λιγεύς, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ εἶναι  
 παῖδας νομίζων — οὐ γάρ πω τότε ἦσαν — καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς  
 65 γενέσθαι τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκ μηνίματος τῆς Οὐρανίας. τὸ δὲ  
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἄγαλμα λίθου Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου·  
 δῆμος δὲ ἔστιν Ἀθηναίους Ἀθμονέων, οἱ Πορφυρίωνα ἔτι  
 πρότερον Ἀκταίου βασιλεύσαντα τῆς Οὐρανίας φασὶ τὸ  
 παρὰ σφίσιν ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. λέγουσι δὲ ἀνὰ τοὺς δῆ-  
 70 μους καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες.  
 15 Ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοὰν ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ 1

represented her as the Heavenly Aphro-  
 ditite. See Roscher, *Lex. s.v. Aphro-*  
*ditite Urania*; Preller-Robert, I, 349,  
 rem. 5.

15. *The Stoa Poikile and its Paint-*  
*ings.*

1. στοὰν . . . Ποικίλην . . . Ἑρμῆς  
 . . . Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον: after  
 describing in c. 14, 6-7, the temples etc.  
 on the Market Hill to the west of the  
 Agora, Pausanias now describes some  
 objects of especial interest within the  
 market-place, notably the Painted Col-  
 onnade, the Hermes of the Market, and  
 a market-gate. As the site of the three  
 is a disputed question, the consideration  
 of it is reserved for Excursus II. The  
 Stoa Poikile or Painted Colonnade was  
 originally named Πεισιανάκτειος στοὰ  
 after its founder Peisianax, son-in-law  
 of Cimon (Plut. Cim. 4; Diog. Laert.  
 7, 5). It was built probably after 457  
 B.C. Just as its site is not definitely  
 known, so also its form is uncertain.  
 Since it was intended to serve as a  
 Lesche, i.e. as a lounging-place for the

public, we may ascribe to it the custo-  
 mary form for Leschae, a long rectan-  
 gular hall inclosed on three sides and  
 open on one long side fronted with col-  
 umns. Here Zenon met his disciples, who  
 thus acquired the name of Stoics or  
 "men of the Stoa" (Diog. Laert. 7, 1, 5).  
 Lucian (Jupp. Trag. 16; Icarom. 34;  
 Dial. Meretr. 10, 1; Pisc. 13) and Alci-  
 phron (Ep. 1, 3; 3, 53, 64) tell of philo-  
 sophers and their followers discoursing  
 and wrangling within or before the Col-  
 onnade. — ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν: the Col-  
 onnade was embellished with paintings  
 by Polygnotus and his associates Mi-  
 con and Panaenus (Plut. Cim. 4; Pliny  
 25, 58; Harpocr. s.v. Πολύγνωτος). It is  
 a mooted question whether the paint-  
 ings were on the wall itself or on  
 wooden tablets. Since Synesius (Ep. 54  
 and 135) toward the end of the fourth  
 century uses the expression *σανίδες* in  
 stating that paintings had been re-  
 moved from the colonnade by a Roman  
 proconsul, some have regarded them  
 as easel paintings, but the evidence

Cl. 15, 1

τῶν γραφῶν ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος  
καὶ πύλη πηλείων· ἔπεστι δέ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἵππομα-  
χία κρατησάντων Πλείσταρχον· ὃς τῆς ἵππου Κασσιάνῳρου  
5 καὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφὸς ἦν ἐπετέτραπτο· αὕτη  
δὲ ἡ στοὰ πρῶτα μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἔχει τεταγμένους ἐν Οἰνῳίῳ

that Polygnotus and his contemporaries painted generally on walls is so convincing that there is but little doubt that they were fresco paintings (cf. Pliny N. H. 35, 59, 123; Paus. 6, 26, 3 and Frazer's note).—2. Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος: the statue of Hermes Agoraeus or Hermes of the Market stood in the Agora beside the Painted Colonnade (Lucian, Jupp. Trag. 33 and schol.). It is known to have dated from before the Persian War (Hesych. s.v. ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς), and Lucian (l.c.) states that it was of archaic style—εὐγραμμος, ἐνπερίγραπτος, ἀρχαῖος τὴν ἀνάδειξιν τῆς κόμης. Some have conjectured that the statue seen by Pausanias was a copy of the bronze original. Whether the original or a copy, the statue was a much-admired specimen of archaic art, and artists (Lucian l.c.) were continually making casts of it, so that it was never quite free from pitch. This Hermes was a very popular deity. The Aristophanic sausage-seller swears νῆ τὴν Ἑρμῆν τὸν Ἀγοραῖον (Eq. 397). Lucian (l.c.) represents him rushing up among the gods to tell them of the impious things that were said in the Agora.—6. πρῶτα μὲν . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων: Pausanias describes at length four paintings in the Colonnade, the battles of Oenoe, of Marathon, of the Amazons, and of the Sack of Troy. As to the disposition of the paintings, it seems likely from

Pausanias' statement that the first two were on the two short walls and the last two on the long back wall. There were other pictures in the Colonnade, as e.g. a portrait of Sophocles with his lyre (Biog. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 127) and a picture by Pamphilus or Apollodorus of the Heracleids seeking the protection of the Athenians (Schol. Ar. Plutus, 385). The paintings were still in existence up to the fourth century, for Himerius (Or. 10, 2) speaks of the painting of the battle of Marathon as still extant in his time (A.D. 315-386), and Synesius' statements (ll. cc.) show that in 402 A.D. their removal had but recently taken place.

Ἀθηναίους . . . τεταγμένους ἐν Οἰνῳίῳ κτλ.: the subject of this painting has occasioned discussion. The battle of Oenoe, in which Athenians defeated Spartans, is mentioned again by Pausanias, 10, 10, 4, but by no other writer. Pausanias states (l.c.) that a group of statuary executed by the artists Hypatodorus and Aristogiton was set up by the Argives in honor of the joint victory gained by Argives and Athenians against the Spartans at Oenoe in Argolis. From a Delphic inscription (C. I. G. 25), it is clear that these artists belong to the first half of the fifth century B.C. This gives an approximate date for the battle. The Athenian-Argive alliance was formed 463 B.C., after the breach with Sparta at Ithome

τῆς Ἀργείας ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων· γέγραπται δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἀκμὴν ἀγῶνος οὐδὲ τολμημάτων ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τὸ ἔργον ἤδη προῆκον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχομένη τε ἡ μάχη καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι συνι-  
 10 ούτες. ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θησεὺς 2  
 Ἀμαζόσι μάχονται. μόναίς δὲ ἄρα (ταύταις) ταῖς γυναιξὶν οὐκ ἀφήρει τὰ πταισμάτα τὸ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδές. εἴ γε Θεμισκύρας τε ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἱρακλέους καὶ ὕστερον φθα-  
 15 ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθον Ἀθηναίους τε αὐτοῖς μαχόμενοι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλησιν. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν Ἑλληνές εἰσιν ἤρη-  
 κότες Ἴλιον καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἠθροισμένοι διὰ τὸ Αἴαντος ἐς Κασσάνδραν τόλμημα· καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γραφὴ τὸν Αἴαντα ἔχει  
 20 τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσιν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι· 3

(Thuc. 1, 102). The final victory of the Spartans over the allies occurred at Tanagra 458 B.C. Hence the battle of Oenoe doubtless occurred between these dates.

10. Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θησεὺς Ἀμαζόσι μάχονται: from other sources we know this painting was by Micon (Arr. Anab. 7, 13, 10), and that the Amazons were depicted fighting on horseback (Ar. Lys. 678 and Schol.). Pausanias alludes to all three battles in which Amazons were engaged: (1) fight of Heracles with the Amazons in their own country (1, 2, 1); fight of Athenians against the Amazons at Athens (Plut. Thes. 26); and fight of Achilles with the Amazons before Troy.—16. Ἑλληνές εἰσιν ἤρηκότες Ἴλιον: Plutarch (Cim. 4) mentions the current report that Polygnotus introduced the likeness of Cimon's sister Elpinice into the painting as Laodice, who also

appeared in Polygnotus's great picture of the capture of Ilium in the Lesche at Delphi (10, 26, 7).

20. τελευταῖον δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσιν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι: this painting seems to have been the joint work of Micon and Panaenus (cf. Paus. 5, 11, 6; Arr. Anab. 7, 13, 10). From Pausanias's description, the action fell into three scenes: (1) The Greeks and Persians in conflict; (2) the flight of the Persians; (3) the attempted embarkation of the Persians. Pausanias mentions by name seven figures—Athena and Heracles, Theseus, Marathon and Echelus, Callimachus and Miltiades. Pliny (N.H. 35, 57), who argues that the portraits of the leaders were real likenesses, adds the names of one Athenian, Cynegirus (Hdt. 6, 14), and two Persians, Datis and Artaphernes. Many fancied they saw the phantom of Theseus charging the Persians

Ch. 16, 1

- Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσων ἦν Ἀττικὸν ἴασι  
 ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἕτα ἱτά  
 παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον· τὸ δὲ ἔσω τῆς μάχης φεύ-  
 γοντές εἰσι· οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους.  
 25 ἔσχαται δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆές τε αἱ Φοῖμισσαι καὶ τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες.  
 ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένος ἐστὶν ἦρωσ. ἀφ' οὗ τὸ  
 πεδῖον ὠνόμασται. καὶ Θησεὺς ἀπὸντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος  
 Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Πρακλῆς· Μαραθωνίοις γάρ, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγου-  
 30 σιν, Πρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεὸς πρώτοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ  
 δῆλοι μάλιστά εἰσι ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Καλλίμαχος τε, ὃς Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις πολεμαρχεῖν ἤρητο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατηγούν-  
 των, ἦρωσ τε Ἐχέτλος καλούμενος, οὗ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι  
 μνήμην. ἐνταῦθα ἀσπίδες κεῖνται χαλκαῖ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν  
 35 ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα ἀπὸ Σκιωναίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων εἶναι.  
 τὰς δὲ ἐπαλλημιμένας πίσσῃ, μὴ σφῆας ὅ τε χρόνος λιμνίη-  
 ται καὶ ὁ ἰός. Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι λέγεται τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν  
 τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ.  
 16 Ἀνδριάντες δὲ χαλκοῖ κεῖνται πρὸ μὲν τῆς στοᾶς Σόλων

(Plut. Thes. 35). Miltiades was represented in front of all the other Athenian generals, extending his hand toward the enemy and cheering on his forces (Aeschin. 3, 186 and schol.; Aristid. Or. 46, p. 232).

34. ἀσπίδες . . . χαλκαῖ . . . ἀπὸ Σκιωναίων κτλ.: the successful revolt of Scione from Athens occurred 423 B.C., but two years later the Athenians recaptured it, slaughtered the men, and sold into slavery women and children (Thuc. 4, 120; 5, 132). Thucydides (4, 131) recounts the part their allies took in the fate of the unfortunate city. The captured shields were preserved in the

Painted Colonnade. — 37. Λακεδαιμονίων . . . τῶν ἀλόντων ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ: the capture of the two hundred and ninety-two Lacedaemonians on the island of Sphacteria occurred 425 B.C. (Thuc. 4, 38). Their shields, together with the sword of Marstonius, were regarded as among the most glorious trophies of Athens (Dio. Chrys. 2, p. 27); probably here too was the shield of Brasidas lost at Pylus (Thuc. 4, 12; Diod. 12, 6, 2).

16. *Digression on Scleneus.*

1. Ἀνδριάντες δὲ χαλκοῖ κτλ.: the bronze statue of Solon is mentioned also by Dem. 26, 24 and Aelian, Var.

ὁ τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίοις γράψας, ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος, ᾧ καὶ πρότερον ἐγένετο ἐς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν μέλουσαν σημεῖα οὐκ ἀφανῆ. Σελεύκῳ γάρ, ὡς ὠρμάτο ἐκ  
 5 Μακεδονίας σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θύοντι ἐν Πέλλῃ τῷ Διὶ τὰ ξύλα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ κείμενα προύβη τε αὐτόματα πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἄνευ πυρὸς ἤφθη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Σέλευκος Ἀντίγονον ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφικόμενον δείσας καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου φυγὼν τὸν Λάγου κατήλθεν αὐθις ἐς  
 10 Βαβυλῶνα, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐκράτησε μὲν τῆς Ἀντιγόνου στρατιᾶς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀντίγονον, εἶλε δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ὕστερον Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου. ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα 2 προκεχωρήκει καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ Λυσιμάχου κατείργαστο, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ  
 15 παιδί, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἠπείγετο. στρατιὰ μὲν καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἦν παρὰ Σελεύκῳ· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἀδελφὸς μὲν Λυσάνδρας καὶ παρὰ Λυσιμάχου παρ' αὐτὸν πεφευγώς, ἄλλως δὲ τολμῆσαι πρόχειρος καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Κεραυνὸς καλούμενος, οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς προσιῶν ὁ Σελεύκου στρατὸς ἐγένετο κατὰ Λυσιμάχειαν, λαθὼν Σέλευκον κτείνει, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ χρήματα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐβασίλευσε Μακεδονίας, ἐς ὃ Γαλάταις πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν βασιλέων ἀντιτάξασθαι τολμήσας ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν Ἀντίγονος ἀνεσώσατο ὁ Δημητρίου.

Hist. 8, 16. — 8. Σέλευκος . . . παρὰ Πτολεμαίου φυγών: this occurred in 316 B.C. Consult Diod. 19, 55; Appian, Syr. 53; Droysen, Gesch. d. Hell. II, 1, 312. — 10. ἐκράτησε . . . Ἀντίγονον: in the battle of Ipsus, cf. 1, 6, 7, note.

19. οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος . . . λαθὼν Σέλευκον κτείνει: cf. 10, 19, 7. The assassination of Seleucus by Ptolemy Ceraunus occurred 281 B.C. Cf. App.

Syr. 62 ff.; Justin, 17, 23; Droysen, II, 2, 329 ff. — 21. τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν: here the guards are meant, "the Kings" being a complimentary title given to the Life Guards or palace troops (see Kayser, Ztsch. f. d. Alt.-Wiss. VI (1848), 499). — 23. ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων: Ptolemy Ceraunus was defeated and slain by the Gauls in 280 B.C. Cf. Justin, 24, 5, 17; Polyb. 9, 35, 4; Droysen, II, 2, 343 ff.

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- 25 Σέλευκον δὲ βασιλέων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πείθονται καὶ ἄλλως γενέσθαι δίκαιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῶν εὐσεβῆ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Σελευκός ἐστιν ὁ Μιλησίοις τὸν χαλκοῦν καταπέμψας Ἀπόλλωνα ἐς Βραγχίδας. ἀνακομισθέντα ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ὑπὸ Ξέρξου· τοῦτο δὲ Σελεύκειαν οἰκίσας ἐπὶ Τίγρητι ποταμῷ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους οὗτος ἐπαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν συνοίκους ὑπέλιπετο μὲν τὸ τεῖχος Βαβυλῶνος. ὑπέλιπετο δὲ τοῦ Βῆλ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ τοὺς Χαλδαίους οἰκεῖν.
- 17 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἐλέου βωμός. ᾧ μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὄντι ὠφελίμῳ μόνου τιμὰς

27. τὸν χαλκοῦν . . . Ἀπόλλωνα ἐς Βραγχίδας: on the bronze Apollo of Branchidae, cf. Paus. 2, 10, 5; 7, 5, 4; 8, 46, 3; 9, 10, 2, and Frazer's notes. — 29. Σελεύκειαν οἰκίσας ἐπὶ Τίγρητι ποταμῷ: the foundation of Seleucia as the seat of government of the dynasty led to the rapid decline of Babylon. Strabo (16, p. 738) speaks of it as larger than Babylon, whole sections of which lay desolate. Pliny (N. H. 6, 122) puts the population of Seleucia at 600,000. About the beginning of the Christian era, its inhabitants were mostly Greeks, with many Macedonians and Syrians (Joseph. 18, 9, 8). It was still a powerful city in Tacitus's time (Ann. 6, 42).

17. *Altar of Eleos*—*Altars of Aidos, of Pheme, and of Horne*—*Gymnasium of Ptolemy and statues therein*—*Temple of Theseus and its Paintings*—*Minos and Theseus*—*Various Traditions about the End of Theseus.*

1. οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα: cf. 1, 27, 3, οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας γνώριμα; 1, 4, 6,

οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας κεχώρηκεν ἡ φήμη; 5, 18, 4, ὅπλα ἐς ἅπαντας.— 2. Ἐλέου βωμός: Wilamowitz (Aus Kydathen, p. 201, rem. 4) conjectures that the altar of Mercy is identical with the altar of the Twelve Gods, not mentioned by Pausanias. This conjecture is adopted by Miss Harrison, pp. 141–142. The altar of Mercy is frequently mentioned, because it served as a place of refuge. Statius (Theb. 12, 481 ff.) describes it as standing in a grove of laurel and olives. Adrastus, after the War of the Seven against Thebes, is said to have fled to Athens and taken refuge at the altar of Mercy (Apoll. 3, 7, 1). Likewise the children of Heracles, when persecuted by Eurystheus, fled to this altar (Apoll. 2, 8, 1; Schol. Ar. Eq. 1151). Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 436–440.— 3. μόνου.

Ἀθηναίοι: this statement is not precisely true. Diodorus (13, 22, 7) says the Athenians were the first to set up an altar of Mercy; and Wachsmuth, II, 436 cites an Ἐλέου βωμός found in the precinct of Aesclepius at Epidaurus.

Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. τούτοις δὲ οὐ τὰ ἐς φιλανθρω-  
 5 πῖαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων  
 πλέον. καὶ γὰρ Αἰδοῦς σφισι βωμός ἐστι καὶ Φήμης καὶ  
 Ὀρμῆς· δῆλά τε ἐναργῶς, ὅσοις πλέον τι ἐτέρων εὐσεβείας  
 μέτεστιν, ἴσον σφίσι παρὸν τύχης χρηστῆς. ἐν δὲ τῷ γυ- 2  
 μνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ. Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ  
 10 τοῦ κατασκευασαμένου καλουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θεάς

Cf. Wachsmuth l.c. on the *φιλανθρωπία* of the Athenians.—5. *θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων πλέον*: cf. Acts 17, 22: *κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ἡμᾶς θεωρῶ*.—6. *Αἰδοῦς σφισι βωμός ἐστι καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὀρμῆς*: Eustathius (ad II. K, 451, p. 1279, 39) locates the altar of Modesty on the Acropolis *παρὰ τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηναίων νεών* (cf. Hesych. s.v. *Αἰδοῦς βωμός*). Perhaps the other two altars mentioned were likewise located there. Cf. Wachsmuth, II, 440. *Αἰδώς* is the personification of good conduct, and is first mentioned by Hesiod, *Opp.* 200; upon the entrance of the Iron Age she flees with Nemesis from the earth; her daughter is *Σωφροσύνη* (C.I.A. II, 2339). A priestess of Modesty had a seat in the theatre (C.I.A. III, 367). With *Φήμη* cf. *Ὅσσα Διὸς ἄγγελος* II. B, 94; *Od.* ω, 413. Aeschines (1, 128) mentions the altar of Rumor and says, *τῇ μὲν Φήμη δημοσίᾳ θύομεν ὡς θεῶ* (2, 145). Cf. Schol. Aeschin. 1, 128, where it is said that the altar of Rumor was erected shortly after the battle of the Eurymedon because the rumor of that great victory reached Athens the same day.

8. *ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ κτλ.*: Pausanias again leaves the Agora and describes two buildings "not far from it" and near each other. The first is the gymna-

sium of Ptolemy, the second the sanctuary of Theseus. The gymnasium was doubtless, like similar structures elsewhere, a spacious edifice with various apartments, colonnades, and open courts for recreation and exercise. The founder was probably Ptolemy Philadelphus. The Ephebi here attended lectures on philosophy (C.I.A. II, 479, l. 19). Cicero and his friends here listened to the philosopher Antiochus (*De fin.* 5, 1, 1). The site of this building was doubtless to the east or north of the Agora, judging from the lie of the ground and the buildings later mentioned. Miss Harrison locates it to the northeast between the existing Colonnades of Attalus and Hadrian (Athens, p. 145 f.).—10. *Ἑρμαῖ . . . εἰκὼν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῆ . . . Ἰόβας . . . Χρύσιππος κτλ.*: Pausanias mentions within the gymnasium stone Hermae, a bronze statue of Ptolemy, a statue of Juba the Libyan, and a statue of Chrysippus of Soli. Pausanias does not say which Juba was meant, but it was doubtless Juba II, who was patronized by Augustus and was the author of historical treatises. Cicero (*De fin.* 1, 11, 39) and Diogenes Laertius (7, 7, 182) mention a statue of Chrysippus in the market-place of Athens. There is nothing to show this was the one seen by Pausanias.—



Ch. 17, 3

ἄξιοι καὶ εἰκὼν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῆ· καὶ ὁ τε Λίβυς Ἴόβας  
ἐνταῦθα κεῖται καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς.

Πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν· γραφαὶ δὲ  
εἰσι πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναῖοι μαχόμενοι· πεποιήται δὲ  
15 σφισιν ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ  
τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τῷ βάρθῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ  
Θησέως ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ Λαπιθῶν μάχη· Θησεὺς  
μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονώς ἐστὶν ἤδη Κένταυρον. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ  
ἴσου καθέστηκεν ἔτι ἡ μάχη. τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τῶν τοίχων ἡ  
20 γραφὴ μὴ πυθομένοις ἄ λέγουσιν οὐ σαφής ἐστὶν. τὰ μεί-

13. **Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν**: this sanctuary is said to have been expressly constructed to hold the bones of Theseus when they were brought (469 B.C.) from Scyros to Athens by Cimon after the Persian War (cf. Plut. Thes. 36; Thuc. 1, 98; Diod. 4, 62; 11, 60). It was surrounded by an extensive precinct (*τέμενος τῆς Θησέως*, C. I. A. II, 446, l. 13) which served as asylum for the fugitive (Ar. Eq. 1311; Diod. 4, 62; Plut. Thes. 36), sometimes also as a place of assembly (Thuc. 6, 61, Arist. Resp. Ath. 15). Certain elections to office by lot regularly took place here (Aesch. 3, 130 and schol., Arist. Resp. Ath. 62). With regard to the site Plutarch (Thes. 36) says: *κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον*—doubtless the gymnasium of Ptolemy. The site was somewhere between the Colonnade of Attalus and the northwest slope of the Acropolis. See Excursus IV on the identity of the so-called Theseum with this sanctuary.—**γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι κτλ.**: it appears that the painter of the three pictures, namely (a) the fight of the Athenians and Amazons, (b) the fight

of Centaurs and Lapiths, and (c) the story of Theseus and Amphitrite, was Micon, though Harpocration and Suidas (s.v. Πολύγνωτος) give Polygnotus the credit for them. It is probable that Polygnotus's overshadowing reputation caused the works of Micon later to be ascribed to himself. The subject of the first painting, the Battle of the Amazons, was also that of one of the paintings in the Painted Colonnade (c. 15, note) and was represented on the shield of Athena Parthenos (5, 24, 7) and on the pedestal of the statue of Zeus at Olympia (cf. 5, 11, 7).—17. **ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ Λαπιθῶν μάχη**: as Pausanias states later that the third painting was on the third wall of the temple, this was probably on the second or rear wall of the temple, not on the same wall with the first painting.

19. **ἡ γραφὴ . . . Μίνως . . . Θησεία . . . Ἀμφιπρίτης κτλ.**: this story is told by Hyginus (Astron. 2, 5) and is the theme of the Sixteenth (Seventeenth) Ode of Bacchylides. It is also depicted on four well-known ancient vases that have come down to us: (1) a vase found at Caere, now in the Louvre, ascribed to

που διὰ τὸν χρόνον, τὰ δὲ Μίκων οὐ τὸν πάντα ἔγραψε λό-  
 γον. Μίνως ἤνικα Θησέα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον τῶν παίδων  
 ἦγεν εἰς Κρήτην. ἔρασθῆεις Περιβοίας, ὡς οἱ Θησεὺς μάλιστα  
 ἠναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀπέρριψεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ  
 25 παῖδα οὐκ ἔφη Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν  
 σφραγίδα, ἣν αὐτὸς φέρων ἔτυχεν, ἀφέντι εἰς θάλασσαν ἀνα-  
 σῶσαί οἱ. Μίνως μὲν λέγεται ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀφείναι τὴν  
 σφραγίδα· Θησέα δὲ σφραγιδά τε ἐκείνην ἔχοντα καὶ στέ-  
 φανον χρυσοῦν, Ἀμφιτρίτης δῶρον, ἀνελθεῖν λέγουσιν ἐκ  
 30 τῆς θαλάσσης. εἰς δὲ τὴν τελευταίην τὴν Θησεῶς πολλὰ ἤδη 4  
 καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα εἴρηται· δεδέσθαι τε γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγου-  
 σιν εἰς τόδε ἕως ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀναχθείη, πιθανώτατα δὲ ὦν  
 ἦκουσα· Θησεὺς εἰς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐμβαλὼν, τοῦ βασιλέως  
 τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν γυναῖκα ἀρπάσων, τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς  
 35 οὕτως ἀπόλλυσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε καὶ Πειρίθους — Πειρίθους  
 γὰρ καὶ τὸν γάμον σπεύδων ἐστράτευνε — ἤλωσαν, καὶ σφᾶς  
 ὁ Θεσπρωτὸς δῆσας εἶχεν ἐν Κιχύρῳ. γῆς δὲ τῆς Θεσπρω- 5  
 τίδος ἔστι μὲν που καὶ ἄλλα θεᾶς ἄξια. ἱερόν τε Διὸς ἐν

Euphronius; (2) a vase found at Girgenti, now in the National Library at Paris; (3) a vase in the Civic Museum at Bologna; and (4) a red figured vase found at Truvo (M. d. arch. Inst., Röm. Abth., IX (1894), 229 ff. and Pl. VIII). These are described and discussed by Frazer, II, 159-160. They were doubtless derived from the painting of Micon. — 25. ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν σφραγίδα: a sentence introduced by ἐπεὶ in oratio obliqua often has its verb in the infinitive. Cf. 1, 22, 6; 5, 26, 1; 7, 23, 8; 10, 7, 3. The same construction occurs with ὦς and relatives in oratio obliqua, as e.g. 3, 4, 4; 8, 53, 2; 9, 33, 4; 10, 4, 4; 10, 4, 6. This construction is frequent in Hdt., Thuc., and Plato.

30. εἰς δὲ τὴν τελευταίην τὴν Θησεῶς: the legend of Theseus's descent into Hades with his friend Pirithous and his rescue by Heracles is told by Diod. 4, 63; Hyginus, Fab. 79; Mythog. Gr., ed. R. Wagner, I, 181 ff., etc. Cf. Paus. 59, 31, 5; 10, 29, 9.

38. ἱερόν τε Διὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ: on the excavations on the site of ancient Dodona, see Carapanos, Dodone et ses ruines, 1878. The ruins lie seven miles to the southwest of Janina in Epirus. The rustling of the leaves of the sacred oak was regarded as the voice of Zeus, and these mysterious sounds were interpreted by priestesses. Cf. Hom. Od. ξ, 327, τ, 219; Aesch. Prom. 851; Steph. Byz. and Suid. s.v.

Ch. 17, 6

Δωδώνη καὶ ἱερά τοῦ θεοῦ φηγός· πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχίρω λίμνῃ  
 40 τέ ἐστὶν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων· ῥεῖ δὲ  
 καὶ Κωκυτὸς ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον. Ὀμηρὸς τέ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα  
 ἑωρακῶς ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην ποιήσιν ἀποτολμῆσαι τῶν ἐν Ἄι-  
 δου καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Θησ-  
 πρωτίδι θέσθαι. τότε δὲ ἐχομένου Θησέως στρατεύουσιν  
 45 ἐς Ἀφιδναν οἱ Τυνδάρειοι παῖδες καὶ τὴν τε Ἀφιδναν αἰρούσι  
 καὶ Μενεσθέα ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατήγαγον· Μενεσθέως δὲ τῶν  
 μὲν παίδων τῶν Θησέως παρ' Ἐλεφήνορα ὑπεξελλόντων ἐς  
 Εὐβοίαν εἶχεν οὐδένα λόγον. Θησέα δέ, εἴ ποτε παρὰ Θησ-  
 πρωτῶν ἀνακομισθήσεται, δυσανταγώνιστον ἠγοούμενος διὰ  
 50 θεραπείας τὰ τοῦ δήμου καθίστατο, ὡς Θησέα ἀνασωθέντα  
 ὕστερον ἀποσωθῆναι. στέλλεται δὲ Θησεὺς παρὰ Δεικαλί-  
 ωνα ἐς Κρήτην, ἐξενεχθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐς Σκύ-  
 ρον τὴν νῆσον λαμπρῶς περιεῖπον οἱ Σκύριοι κατὰ γένοις  
 δόξαν καὶ ἀξίωμα ὧν ἦν αὐτὸς εἰργασμένος· καὶ οἱ θάνατον  
 55 Λυκομήδης διὰ ταῦτα ἐβούλευσεν.

Ὁ μὲν δὲ Θησέως σηκὸς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγένετο ὕστερον ἢ Μῆδου  
 Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου Σκυρίου ποιήσαν-  
 τος ἀναστάτους—δίκην δὲ τοῦ Θησέως θανάτου—καὶ τὰ ὅσα

Δωδώνη. — 39. λίμνη . . . Ἀχερουσία κτλ.: on the identification of these mythological sites, see Frazer's note, II, 160-162. — 44. στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἀφιδναν οἱ Τυνδάρειοι παῖδες: the incursion of the Dioscuri into Aphidna to rescue Helen is often mentioned. Cf. 1, 41, 4; 2, 22, 6; 3, 17, 2; 18, 4, 5; and Pldt. 9, 73; Isoc. 10, 19; Diod. 4, 63; Plut. Thes. 31, etc. Aphidna is now identified with the hill of Kotrone, six miles east of Decelea, and thirteen miles from Oropus.

56. Ὁ μὲν δὲ Θησέως σηκός: this is the only passage in which the term

σηκός is used by Pausanias; also the construction of σηκός Ἀθηναίοις ἐγένετο is unusual. Pollux, 1, 6 thus defines σηκός: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβέστερον σηκὸν τῶν (νεῶν) τῶν ἡρώων λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ καὶ τὸν τῶν θεῶν. In Plut. Cimon, 8, the tomb of Theseus on Skyros is called σηκός. — 58. τὰ ὅσα κομίσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας: for the story of the bringing back of Theseus's body, see Plut. Thes., 36; id. Cimon, 8; Paus. 3, 7; Diod. 4, 62. The oracle, in 476-475 B.C., had commanded the Athenians to bring back the bones of Theseus. Accordingly they conquered Scyros in

18 κομίσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἰ  
 ἀρχαῖον, αὐτοὶ τε ἐστῶτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοὶ σφισιν  
 ἐφ' ἵππων· ἐνταῦθα Πολύγυωτος μὲν ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς  
 ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου, Μίκων δὲ  
 5 τοὺς μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐς Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς  
 γραφῆς ἡ σπουδὴ μάλιστα ἐς Ἄκαστον καὶ τοὺς ἵππους  
 ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Διοσκούρων τὸ ἱερὸν ∴  
 Ἀγλαύρου τέμενός ἐστιν. Ἀγλαύρῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς

470-469, under the leadership of Cimon, and brought back the relics the following year.

18. *Sanctuary of the Dioscuri—Precinct of Aglaurus—Prytaneum—Sanctuary of Serapis; of Ilithyia—Statues and Sanctuaries in the Peribolus of the Temple of Olympian Zeus—Isocrates—Temple of Olympian Zeus—Buildings of Hadrian in Athens.*

1. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων: the sanctuary of the Dioscuri was also called Ἀνάκειον. Cf. Thuc. 8, 93; Andoc. 1, 45; Dem. 45, 80. Its site can be approximately determined, as it was near the Aglaurus precinct (Paus. 1, 18, 2), and this is definitely located on the north slope of the Acropolis (see below). This is confirmed by Polyæn. 1, 21, 2, who states that Pisistratus, wishing to disarm the Athenians, bade them assemble in the Anaceum, whence their weapons were conveyed to the Aglaurus precinct. Lucian (Pisc. 42) represents the needy philosophers clambering up into the Acropolis on ladders planted in this sanctuary. Its extent is indicated by the fact that troops of infantry and of cavalry assembled there (Thuc. 8, 93; Andoc. 1, 45). The Ἄνακες were here worshiped under the name of Saviors

(Ael. Var. Hist. 4, 5, etc.).—2. καὶ οἱ παῖδες κτλ.: the sons of Castor and Pollux were by name Anaxis and Mnasinus (Paus. 2, 22, 5) or Anogon and Mnesileos (Apollod. 3, 11, 2). The reliefs on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (Paus. 3, 18, 3) also represented the sons on horseback.—3. Πολύγυωτος . . . ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου: Hilaera (or Elaera) and Phoebe, daughters of Leucippus, were betrothed to Lynceus and Idas, the sons of Aphareus. But the Dioscuri, who were invited to the wedding, carried off the maidens from Messene, Castor marrying Hilaera and Pollux Phoebe. Cf. Schol. Pind. Nem. 10, 112; Apollod. 3, 10, 3; 11, 2.—4. Μίκων: it is not known what scene from the Argonautic expedition was selected by Micon, but most authorities think that the subject was the funeral games celebrated by Acastus in honor of his father Pelias. Cf. Miss Harrison, Ancient Athens, p. 162, and Murray, Handbook of Gk. Arch. p. 370.

8. Ἀγλαύρου τέμενος: the site of the precinct of Aglaurus is a cavern about 70 yards from the Cave of Pan on the northwest corner of the Acropolis (cf. 1, 28, 40 n.) and about 70 yards west of the Erechtheum. It is in the region

Ch. 18, 3

Ἔρση καὶ Πανδρόσῳ δοῦναί φασιν Ἀθηναίων Ἐριχθόνιον  
 10 καταθεῖσαν ἐς κιβωτόν, ἀπειποῦσαν ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκημ  
 μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν· Πάνδρῳσον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι πείθεσθαι.  
 τὰς δὲ δύο—ἀνοίξει γὰρ σφᾶς τὴν κιβωτόν—μαίνεσθαι τε,  
 ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἐνθα ἦν  
 μάλιστα ἀπότομον, αὐτὰς ῥύβαι. κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπαναβάντες  
 15 Μῆδοι κατεφόνευσαν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πλέον τι ἐς τὸν χρη-  
 σμὸν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰδέναι νομίζοντας καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολι  
 ξύλοις καὶ σταυροῖς ἀποτειχίσαντας. πλησίον δὲ Πρυτανεῖόν :

of the Long Rocks (*Μακράι* sc. *Πέτραι*), mentioned Eur. Ion, 492 ff. A secret staircase, some steps of which remain, led down from the Acropolis into this cavern. It has been suggested that by this staircase the Persians gained access to the Acropolis (cf. Ildt. 8, 53; Paus. 1, 18, 2). In this sanctuary the Ἐρθεβι took the oath of allegiance (Lyc. c. Leocr. 76; Plut. Alcib. 15; Dem. 19, 303). — Ἀγλαύρῳ . . . Ἐριχθόνιον: the myth has varying features with different writers. According to Eur. Ion, 22, Athena gives over Erichthonius to the Aglaurides, daughters of Aglaurus, wife of Cecrops; according to Apollod. 3, 14, 6, she assigns him to Pandrosus alone; in Hyg. Astron. 2, 13, to the daughters of Erechtheus. According to Antigonus of Carystus, Hist. Mir. 12, the obedient sister was not Pandrosus but Herse. In Apollod. l.c. the maidens were destroyed by the snake which protected the child. Erichthonius and Erechtheus were originally identical (cf. Schol. Hom. Il. B, 547; Etym. Magn. p. 371 s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς), and were doubtless appellations of the sacred serpent of Athena, guardian of the Acropolis, who lived

in the Erechtheum and was fed with honey cakes once a month (cf. Ildt. 8, 4; Plut. Them. 10; Ar. Lys. 758 ff. and schol.). — 10. καταθεῖσαν ἐς κιβωτόν, ἀπειποῦσαν: noteworthy is the lack of a connective between the two participles. If Pausanias had δοῦναί φασιν or some such expression the passage would have been normal. Cf. Apollod. l.c. καὶ καταθεῖσα αὐτὸν εἰς κίστην Πανδρόσῳ τῇ Κέκροπος παρακατέθετο, ἀπειποῦσα τὴν κίστην ἀνοίγειν. — 12. ἀνοίξει γάρ: very frequently in Pausanias, as in Thucydides, a clause introduced by γάρ is parenthetically thrown in for the explanation of a statement. So e.g. in Book 1: 1, 2; 2, 2; 12, 2; 13, 1; 20, 3; 21, 2; 22, 5; 23, 10; 25, 7; 26, 5; 27, 10; 31, 3; 33, 7; 43, 3; 43, 7. — 14. ἐπαναβάντες Μῆδοι κτλ.: with this compare the account in Herodotus. 7, 141-143; 8, 51-53, which Pausanias probably had before his eyes.

17. πλησίον δὲ Πρυτανεῖόν ἐστιν: the Prytaneum was the sacred centre of the life of the state, the town hall. When Theseus established the *synoikismos*, the Prytaneum of Athens became the Prytaneum of Attica (Thuc. 2, 15; Plut. These. 21). Its essential

ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι καὶ θεῶν  
 Εἰρήνης ἀγάλματα κείμενα καὶ Ἔστιας, ἀνδριάντες δὲ ἄλλοι  
 20 τε καὶ Αὐτόλυκος ὁ παγκρατιαστής· τὰς γὰρ Μιλτιάδου καὶ  
 Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνας ἐς Ῥωμαίων τε ἄνδρα καὶ Θραῦκα μετέ-  
 γραψαν. ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως Σαράπιδός 4

feature was its hearth, where the perpetual fire burned, spoken of repeatedly as "the hearth of the city," or "the common hearth" (Pollux 1, 7; 9, 40; Arist. Resp. Ath. 6, 8, etc.). In the Prytaneum was the statue of the goddess Hestia, counterpart of the Roman Vesta. Here foreign ambassadors and illustrious citizens were entertained at the public expense (Ar. Ach. 124; Eq. 709; Dem. 7, 20, etc.). Socrates fixed his penalty as perpetual maintenance in the Prytaneum (Plat. Apol. 36). As regards the site, Pausanias says the Prytaneum was near the Aglaurus precinct, and as he was going eastward it probably lay on the north slope of the Acropolis to the east of the Aglaurus precinct. It was certainly on high ground, for Pausanias speaks (1, 18, 4) of going thence ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως. Near the Prytaneum was the Bucoleum, in which, before Solon's time, the magistrate called *Basilcus* resided (Arist. Resp. Ath. 3), and in which the sacred marriage of the King Archon's wife to Dionysus continued to take place at least to the fourth century B.C. (Arist. l.c.). — 18. ἐν ᾧ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνος κτλ.: these copies of the laws of Solon were engraved on quadrangular wooden tablets called *axones*, which turned on pivots so that they could be easily read. Copies of Solon's laws engraved on tablets called *kurbeis* stood in the Royal Colonnade (1, 3, 1).

It is a disputed question whether the *kurbeis* and *axones* were similar. Cf. Harpocr. s.v. "Ἄξονι; Etym. Magn. s.v. *Κύρβεις*. — 20. Αὐτόλυκος ὁ παγκρατιαστής: cf. 9, 32, 8 and Frazer's note. The statue was by the son and pupil of Myron (Pliny N. H. 34, 79, with Jex-Blake's note). Autolycus was winner in the pancratium at the Panathenaic festival in 422 B.C., and was murdered in 404 by the Thirty Tyrants. He is a character in Xen. Symp. 1, 1. — τὰς γὰρ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκόνας: the practice of altering the inscriptions on old Greek statues so as to pass them off as the portraits of later personages seems to have been common under the Romans. Cf. Paus. 1, 2, 4; 2, 9, 8; 17, 3; 8, 9, 9. Dio Chrys. 37, p. 304, tells of a statue of Alcibiades inscribed with the name of Alhenobarbus, and Plutarch (Anton. 60) of statues of Eumenes and Attalus inscribed with the name of Mark Antony.

22. ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσιν: leaving the Prytaneum on the northern slope of the Acropolis, Pausanias now proceeds eastward as far as the stadium. It seems likely, therefore, that the sanctuary of Serapis was situated somewhere to the northeast of the Acropolis, probably in the neighborhood of the new Metropolitan church. Serapis was the dead Apis, or sacred bull, honored under the attributes of Osiris; he was

Ch. 18, 6

ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεῖον ἐσηγά-  
 γοντο. Αἰγυπτίους δὲ ἱερὰ Σαράπιδος ἐπιφανέστατον μί-  
 25 ἐστὶν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν. ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἐν Μέμφει· ἐς τοῦτο  
 ἐσελθεῖν οὔτε ξένους ἔστιν οὔτε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι. πρὶν ἂν τὸν  
 Ἄπιν θάπτωσι. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σαράπιδος οὐ πόρρω χωρίον  
 ἐστίν. ἔνθα Πειρίθουν καὶ Θησέα συνθεμένους ἐς Λακεδαί-  
 μονα καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς σταλῆναι λέγουσι. πλησίον  
 30 δὲ ὠκοδόμητο ναὸς Εἰλειθυίας. ἣν ἐλθούσαν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων  
 ἐς Δῆλον γενέσθαι βοηθὸν ταῖς Λητοῦς ὠδίσι. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους  
 παρ' αὐτῶν φασι τῆς Εἰλειθυίας μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ θίγουσί  
 τε Εἰλειθυία Δῆλιοι καὶ ὕμνον ᾄδουσιν Ὀλῆνος. Κρήτες δὲ  
 χώρας τῆς Κνωσσίας ἐν Ἀμνισῶ γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλει-  
 35 θυιαν καὶ παῖδα Ἥρας εἶναι· μόνους δὲ Ἀθηναίους τῆς Εἰλει-  
 θυίας κεκάλυπται τὰ ξόανα ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας. τὰ μὲν δὴ  
 δύο εἶναι Κρητικὰ καὶ Φαίδρας ἀναθήματα ἔλεγον αἱ γυναῖ-  
 κες, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Ἐρυσίχθονα ἐκ Δῆλον κομίσει.

Πρὶν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν ἰέναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου — Ἀδρια-  
 40 νὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν τε ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα

lord of the under world and was identi-  
 fied with the Greek Hades. His wor-  
 ship was a combination of Egyptian  
 and Greek cults, and became popular  
 in Greece and Rome. — 27. χωρίον . . .  
 ἔνθα Περίθουν κτλ.: the agreement was  
 to carry off Helen from Sparta, to draw  
 lots for her, and he to whom she fell  
 should aid the other in winning a  
 wife. Cf. Plut. Thes. 31, according  
 to whom the oath was taken in the  
 neighborhood of Marathon. Soph.  
 O. C. 1590 puts the site in the grove  
 of the Eumenides at Colonus. There  
 was a place in Athens near the These-  
 um called the Horcomosium, so named  
 because on this spot Theseus had sworn  
 peace with the Amazons (Plut. Thes.

25); this may have been the spot to  
 which Pausanias refers. — 29. πλησίον  
 δὲ ὠκοδόμητο ναὸς Εἰλειθυίας: the site  
 is not definitely known, but it was  
 doubtless northeast of the Acropolis, in  
 the neighborhood of the present Metro-  
 politan church, confirmed to some ex-  
 tent by the discovery at this point of the  
 base of a statue dedicated to Ilithyia  
 (C. I. A. II, 1586). The goddess of  
 childbirth had also a sanctuary in the  
 suburbs of Agrae to the southeast of  
 Athens, as we learn from the inscrip-  
 tion on one of the seats of the Theatre  
 of Dionysus (C. I. A. III, 319).

39. ἐς τὸ ἱερόν ἰέναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ  
 Ὀλυμπίου: on the temple of Olympian  
 Zeus, see Excursus V. — 40. τὸ ἄγαλμα

θέας ἄξιον, οὐ μέγεθτι μὲν, ὅτι μὴ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις  
 εἰσὶν οἱ κολοσσοί, τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγάλματα ὁμοίως ἀπολείπεται.  
 πεποιήται δὲ ἕκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἔχει τέχνης εὖ  
 πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὀρώσων — ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνες Ἀδριανοῦ δύο  
 45 μὲν εἰσι Θιασίου λίθου, δύο δὲ Αἰγυπτίου· χαλκαὶ δὲ ἐστᾶσι  
 πρὸ τῶν κίωνων ἅς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποίκους πόλεις. ὁ  
 μὲν δὴ πᾶς περίβολος σταδίων μάλιστα τεσσάρων ἐστίν,  
 ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης· ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης εἰκὼν  
 Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκειται, καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλλοντο  
 50 Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὀπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ θέας  
 ἄξιον. ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαία ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ 7  
 ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ τέμενος Γῆς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ὀλυμπίας.  
 ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐς πῆχυν τὸ ἔδαφος διέστηκε, καὶ λέγουσι  
 μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβᾶσαν ὑπορ-  
 55 ρυῆναι ταύτη τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐσβάλλουσί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος  
 ἄλφιστα πυρῶν μέλιτι μάζαντες. κείται δὲ ἐπὶ κίονος Ἴσοκρά- 8  
 τους ἀνδριάς, ὃς ἐς μνήμην τρία ὑπὲρλίπετο, ἐπιπονώτατον

θέας ἄξιον: the statue was doubtless copied from the famous Zeus of Phidias at Olympia, and the type is in turn reproduced on Athenian coins. These represent the god sitting, nude to the waist, with a Nike in his right hand and the sceptre in his left. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, pp. 137, 138, with pl. BB, iv.

52. ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας: the language of Pausanias would imply that this temple also was in the peribolus of the Olympieum. Yet cf. Bekk. Anec. I, 275, 20, Κρόνιον τέμενος τὸ παρὰ τὸ νῦν Ὀλύμπιον μεχρὶ τοῦ μητροῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀγορᾷ, where the editors, following Wachsmuth, Rh. Mus. XXIII, 17, read for ἀγορᾷ, ἐν Ἀγορᾷ. So the sanctuary probably stretched up to the

Ilissus and in part outside the peribolus. — τέμενος Γῆς: this precinct and cult of Ge Olympia are closely associated with the sanctuary of Zeus Olympius near the Ilissus, and are to be distinguished from the sanctuary of Ge surnamed Kourotrophos just west or southwest of the Acropolis referred to by Thuc. 2, 15 and Paus. 1, 22, 3. Plut. Thes. 27 locates a hieron of Ge in the neighborhood of the stele of the Amazon Antiope, which we have seen was near the Itonian gate. See on Paus. 1, 2, 1. On the site of the various sanctuaries of Ge, see Excursus III.

56. Ἴσοκράτους ἀνδριάς κτλ.: according to Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or., p. 839b, this statue of bronze was set up by Aphareus, the adopted son of the



Ch. 18, 9

μὲν ὅτι οἱ βιώσαντι ἔτη δυοῖν δέοιτα ἑκατὸν οὐποτε κατελίθη  
 μαθητὰς ἔχειν, σωφρονέστατον δὲ ὅτι πολιτείας ἀπεχόμενος  
 60 διέμεινε καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πολυπραγμονῶν. ἐλευθερώτατον δὲ  
 ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀλγήσας  
 ἐτελεύτησεν ἐθελοντῆς. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ λίθου Φρυγίου Πέρσαι  
 χαλκοῦν τρίποδα ἀνέχοντες. θεῶν ἄξιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ  
 τρίπους. τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα οἰκοδομηῆσαι  
 65 λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν, σημεῖον ἀποφαίνοντες ὡς Δευκα-  
 λίων Ἀθήνησιν ᾤκησε τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολὺ  
 ἀφεστηκότα. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἢ  
 Ἀθηναίοις, ναὸν Ἰρας καὶ Διὸς Παρελληνίου καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς  
 πᾶσιν ἱερόν κοινόν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατὸν εἰσι κίονες  
 70 Φρυγίου λίθου· πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ  
 οἱ τοῖχοι. καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ὀρόφω τε ἐπιχρίσῳ  
 καὶ ἀλαβάστρω λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ

orator. What follows is the traditional story of Isocrates's death, but is contradicted by the apparently genuine letter (No. 3) to King Philip, in which Isocrates sees in the career of the victor the fulfillment of a united Hellas at war against the Persians. See L. Blau, *Rh. Mus.*, N.F., XX (1865), 109-116; Jebb, *Attic Orators*, II, 31 ff. — 62. *λίθου Φρυγίου Πέρσαι κτλ.*: Phrygian marble was a hard limestone, known to-day under the name of *Pavonazzetto*. See Blümner, *Technol.* III, 52 f. It was used in architecture in Hellenistic times, but not in sculpture before the Roman period. This work therefore was probably a present of Hadrian's. Phrygian marble "is characterized by a very irregular venation of dark-red with bluish and yellowish tints, ramifying through a translucent alabaster-like base, which is sometimes

almost opaline in its play of colors" (*Century Dictionary*).

67. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις κτλ.: the other buildings of Hadrian at Athens, from the words of Pausanias, seem to be as follows: (1) the *Panhellenion*—in which Hadrian and the Empress Sabina were worshiped as Zeus and Hera; cf. Dio Cass. 19, 16; (2) the *Pantheon*, already referred to (I, 5, 5) as containing the catalogue of all the buildings of Hadrian in Greek and other cities; (3) the *Colonnade* of 100 columns—with the *Library*, singled out by Jerome as a wonderful work (*Euseb. Chron.* vol. 2, p. 167, ed. Schöne); (4) the *Gymnasium*, also with 100 columns. The ruins known as the stoa of Hadrian could belong either to the gymnasium or the library, more probably to the latter.

γραφαῖς· κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία. καὶ γυμνάσιόν  
 ἐστὶν ἐπάνωμον Ἀδριανοῦ· κίονες δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἑκατὸν  
 75 λιθοτομίας τῆς Λιβύων.

19 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ἄγαλμά 1  
 ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερόν Ἀπόλλω-  
 νος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Δελφινίου. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐξείργασμένον τοῦ  
 ναοῦ πλὴν τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀγνώως ἔτι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφίκοιτο Θη-  
 5 σεὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν· οἶα δὲ χιτῶνα ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ποδήρη καὶ  
 πεπλεγμένης ἐς εὐπρεπές οἱ τῆς κόμης, ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν  
 τοῦ Δελφινίου ναόν, οἱ τὴν στέγην οἰκοδομοῦντες ἤρροντο σὺν  
 χλευασία ὅτι δὴ παρθένος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου πλανᾶται μόνη·  
 Θησεὺς δὲ ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσεν οὐδέν, ἀπολύσας δὲ ὡς  
 10 λέγεται τῆς ἀμάξης τοὺς βούς, ἣ σφισὶ παρήγε τὸν ὄροφον,  
 ἀνέρριψεν ἐς ὑψηλότερον ἢ τῷ ναῷ τὴν στέγην ἐποιοῦντο.—  
 ἐς δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ὃ Κήπους ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδί- 2  
 τῆς τὸν ναὸν οὐδεὶς λεγόμενός σφισίν ἐστὶ λόγος· οὐ μὴν  
 οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἣ τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον ἔστηκε. ταύτης  
 15 γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετράγωνον κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς,  
 τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα σημαίνει τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν

19. *Temple of Apollo Delphinus* —  
*Aphrodite in the Gardens*—*Cynosarges*  
 —*Lyceum*—*Ilissus and Eridanus*—  
*Artemis Agrotora*—*Stadium of Hero-*  
*des Atticus.*

1. ἄγαλμα . . . Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου:  
 the image was doubtless in a sanctuary  
 of Pythian Apollo, in this quarter.  
 An altar was erected in the Pythium  
 by Pisistratus, son of Hippias (Thuc.  
 6, 54); the inscription once upon this  
 was found in 1877, and, where intact,  
 exactly agrees with Thucydides' copy  
 of it. The Pythium was probably lo-  
 cated where the inscription was discov-  
 ered, namely, on the right bank of the

Ilissus, below the spring Callirrhoe and  
 to the southwest of the Olympieum.  
 There was also a Pythium on the  
 Acropolis slope. See Excursus III.—  
 2. ἱερόν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Δελφι-  
 νίου: the Delphinium is said to have  
 been founded by Aegeus, who dedicated  
 it to the Delphinian Apollo and Arte-  
 mis (Pollux, 8, 19). We have no monu-  
 mental evidence as to the site, but we  
 are doubtless justified in concluding  
 that it lay to the east of the Olympieum.

12. Κήπους: the district called *The*  
*Gardens* is usually identified with the  
 low ground to the east of the Olym-  
 pieum, on the right bank of the Ilissus.

Ch. 19, 3

καλουμένων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν Κήποις ἔργον ἐστὶν Ἀλκαμένους καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ὀλίγοις θεάς ἄξιον. ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλέους :  
 20 ἱερὸν καλούμενον Κυνόσαργες· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν κῆρα εἰδέναι τὴν λευκὴν ἐπιλεξαμένους ἔστι τὸν χρῆσμον. βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Ἴβης. ἣν Διὸς παῖδα οἶσαν συνουκεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ νομίζουσιν· Ἀλκμήνης τε βωμὸς καὶ Ἰολαίου πεποιήται, ὃς τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συνεπόνησε τῶν ἔργων.  
 25 Λύκειον δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίοδος ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα.

This section is still green and luxuriant.—17. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν Κήποις ἔργον . . . Ἀλκαμένους: Lucian (Imag. 4, 6) speaks of the Aphrodite as the most beautiful of all the works of Alcamenes; he admired particularly the cheeks and the front of the face, the graceful turn of the wrists, and the delicate tapering of the fingers. Pliny (N. H. 36, 16) also speaks of it as a famous statue, and adds that Phidias is said to have given the finishing touches to it. The style of this statue is best represented in the Venus Genetrix of the Louvre, of which the work of Alcamenes is now generally supposed to be the prototype. It represents the goddess lightly draped, holding an apple in her left hand, and gracefully lifting her robe above her shoulder with her right hand.

19. Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν: *Cynosarges*, as is known from references in ancient authors, was situated outside the city walls (Plut. Them. 1), not far from the gate (Diog. Laert. 6, 1, 13), in the deme Diomea (Schol. Ar. Ran. 651), near the deme Alopece. It was therefore northeast of Athens in the direction of the modern *Ampelokipi*,

near the site of the American and English schools. *Cynosarges* included a gymnasium as well as a sanctuary, and was surrounded by a grove. The use of the gymnasium was reserved for youths without the full rights of citizenship. Themistocles, as the son of an alien mother, used to exercise here, but he lessened the disgrace by persuading some well-born youths to join with him (Plut. Them. 1). Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school of philosophy, lectured here, and according to some the sect derived its name from *Cynosarges* (Diog. Laert. 6, 1, 13).—25. Λύκειον: the sanctuary of Apollo called *Lyceum* took its name from the epithet *Λύκειος* applied to the god (Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 7) not from an imaginary *Lycus*, as Pausanias would have it. Wolves were dear to Apollo and appear frequently in the myths told of him. Here was the most famous gymnasium at Athens; the date of the foundation is disputed. Here Aristotle discussed with his disciples his philosophy, pacing the shady walks of the *Lyceum*, and from this habit his followers were called the *Peripatetics*. The site is known to

Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε εὐθὺς καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνομι-  
 ζετο. Λύκειός τε ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα ὠνομάσθη πρῶτον· λέγεται  
 δὲ ὅτι καὶ Ἐρμίλαις, ἐς οὓς ἦλθεν ὁ Λύκος φεύγων Λιγέα,  
 καὶ τούτοις αἰτιός ἐστι Λυκίους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖσθαι. ἔστι δὲ 4  
 30 ὅπισθεν τοῦ Λυκείου Νίσου μνήμα, ὃν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Μίνω  
 βασιλεύοντα Μεγάρων κομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι ταύτῃ θάπτου-  
 σιν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Νίσον ἔχει λόγος τρίχας ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ  
 οἱ πορφυρᾶς εἶναι, χρῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ ταύταις  
 ἀποκαρείσαις· ὡς δὲ οἱ Κρήτες ἦλθον ἐς τὴν γῆν, τὰς μὲν  
 35 ἄλλας ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἤρουν τὰς ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι πόλεις. ἐς δὲ  
 τὴν Νίσαιαν καταφεύγοντα τὸν Νίσον ἐπολιόρκουν· ἐνταῦθα  
 τοῦ Νίσου λέγεται θυγατέρα ἐρασθῆναι Μίνω καὶ ὡς ἀπέ-  
 κειρε τὰς τρίχας τοῦ πατρός.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι· ποταμοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοις 5  
 40 ρέουσιν Ἴλισός τε καὶ Ἐριδανῶ τῷ Κελτικῷ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ  
 ὄνομα ἔχων, ἐκδιδοὺς ἐς τὸν Ἴλισόν. ὁ δὲ Ἴλισός ἐστιν οὗ-  
 τος ἔνθα παίζουσαν Ὠρείθυιαν ὑπὸ ἀνέμου Βορέου φασὶν  
 ἀρπασθῆναι· καὶ συνοικεῖν Ὠρειθυία Βορέαν καὶ σφισι διὰ  
 τὸ κῆδος ἀμύναντα τῶν τριήρων τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἀπολέσαι  
 45 τὰς πολλὰς. ἐθέλουσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερὸν  
 εἶναι τὸν Ἴλισόν. καὶ Μουσῶν βωμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐστὶν Ἴλισιά-  
 δων· δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἔνθα Πελοποννήσιοι Κόδρον τὸν Με-  
 λάνθου βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηναίων κτείνουσι. διαβάσι δὲ τὸν 6

have been east of Athens, and outside the walls, but the exact locality has not been determined.

39. **ποταμοί**: the Ilissus rises in Mt. Hymettus to the east of Athens, flows on the southern side of the city, and, after passing between the Museum hill and a rocky height rising on its southern bank, disappears in the plain. There are now no plane-trees on its banks, as when Socrates discoursed with Phae-

drus (Plat. Phaedrus, 230 b, c). The Eridanus is identified by Dr. Dörpfeld (A.M. XIII (1888), 211 ff.; XIV (1889), 414) as a stream formed by one or more springs at the foot of Mt. Lycabettus, which flowed through the city north of the Acropolis westwardly, passed through the city wall a little south of the Dipylum, and, bending round the northwest spur of the Pnyx, joined the Ilissus (cf. Plato, Critias, p. 112 a).

Ch. 20, 1

- Ἴλισσον χωρίον Ἄγραι καλούμενον καὶ ναὸς Ἀγροτέρας ἐστὶν·  
 50 Ἀρτέμιδος· ἐνταῦθα Ἄρτεμιν πρῶτον θηρέῦσαι λέγουσιν·  
 ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκ Δήλου, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τόξον· τὸ  
 δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ' ἰδοῦσι·  
 στάδιόν ἐστι λευκοῦ λίθου· μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆδε ἂν τις  
 55 μάλιστα τεκμαίροιτο· ἄνωθεν ὄρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴλισσον ἀρχό-  
 μενον ἐκ μνηοειδῶς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην  
 εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν· τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἰερώδης ὠκοδό-  
 μησε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντελῆσιν ἐς τὴν  
 οἰκοδομὴν ἀνηλώθη.  
 20 Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες· 1  
 ἀφ' οὗ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναὸν ὅσον ἐς τοῦτο μέγαλοι . . . καί

49. **χωρίον Ἄγραι**: the district Agrae was situated on the left bank of the Ilissus, and was known indifferently as Agrae or Agra. Every year on the anniversary of the battle of Marathon five hundred goats were here sacrificed to Artemis Agrotera. The Lesser Mysteries of Demeter were performed at Agrae in Anthesterion. The site of the shrine of Artemis Agrotera has not been determined, nor has that of the shrine of Demeter in Agrae. —  
 53. **στάδιον**: the stadium is situated on the left bank of the Ilissus, about six hundred yards east of the Olympieum, in a valley between two parallel slopes, running from southeast to northwest; at the eastern extremity it is closed by a semicircular artificial embankment. The stadium was first built by Lycurgus, shortly before 330 B.C.; in the third century B.C. it was repaired or improved by a certain Heraclitus; in the second century A.D. Herodes Atticus fitted up the entire stadium with marble. The total length was

two hundred and four meters, and breadth thirty-three and thirty-six hundredths meters. A marble parapet ran round the outer edge of the race-course. There seem to have been sixty tiers of seats, with room for 50,000 persons.

20. *Street of Tripods — Praxiteles and Phryne — Temple of Dionysus — Capture of Athens by Sulla.*

1. **Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς**: the line of this street to the east of the Acropolis is determined by the surviving choregic monument of Lysicrates, one of the temples described by Pausanias as lining the street. This monument stands on level ground, one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty yards from the eastern cliff of the Acropolis. As the inscription faces southeast, the street must have run on this side. It is a small circular temple of the Corinthian order, resting on a quadrangular base thirteen feet high. The circular part of the monument is twenty-one and a half feet high by nine feet in

σφισιν ἐφεστήκασι τρίποδες χαλκοῖ μὲν. μνήμης δὲ ἄξια  
 μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα. σάτυρος γάρ ἐστιν ἐφ' ᾧ  
 5 Πραξιτέλην λέγεται φρονῆσαι μέγα· καί ποτε Φρύνης  
 αἰτούσης ὅτι οἱ κάλλιστον εἴη τῶν ἔργων, ὁμολογεῖν μὲν  
 φασιν οἷα ἐραστὴν διδόναι, κατειπεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὅτι  
 κάλλιστον αὐτῷ οἱ φαίνοιο. ἐσδραμῶν οὖν οἰκέτης Φρύνης  
 10 ἔφασκεν οἴχεσθαι Πραξιτέλει τὸ πολὺ τῶν ἔργων πυρὸς  
 ἐσπεσότος ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, οὐ μὲν οὖν πάντα γε ἀφανισθῆ-  
 ναι· Πραξιτέλης δὲ αὐτίκα ἔθει διὰ θυρῶν ἕξω καὶ οἱ καμόντι·  
 οὐδὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πλέον, εἰ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σάτυρον ἢ φλόξ  
 καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα ἐπέλαβε· Φρύνη δὲ μένειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέ-  
 λευε· παθεῖν γὰρ ἀνιαρὸν οὐδέν, τέχνη δὲ ἀλόντα ὁμολογεῖν  
 15 τὰ κάλλιστα ὧν ἐποίησε. Φρύνη μὲν οὕτω τὸν Ἔρωτα αἰρεῖ-  
 ται· Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Σάτυρός ἐστι παῖς  
 καὶ δίδωσιν ἕκπωμα· Ἔρωτα δ' ἐστήκῳτα ὁμοῦ καὶ Διόνυσον  
 Θυμίλος ἐποίησεν.

diameter, and is of Pentelic marble. Six Corinthian columns support the entablature, consisting of the architrave, a frieze ten inches high depicting the punishment of the pirates by Dionysus, and the circular roof surmounted by the base on which the tripod stood.

3. *μνήμης δὲ ἄξια μάλιστα περιέχοντες εἰργασμένα*: the statue was placed on top of the monument, underneath the tripod, so that the three legs of the latter enclosed it and the caldron served as a roof. Cf. Paus. 3, 18, 8; 4, 14, 2.—4. *σάτυρος*: Athenaeus, 13, p. 591 b, tells how Praxiteles gave Phryne her choice of the statue of Eros or the statue of the Satyr in the street of Tripods, and that she chose the Eros; but he does not tell of the ruse. Pliny, N. H. 34, 69, mentions a bronze statue of a satyr known as

*periboētos* or "celebrated," but it was part of a group. Possibly a replica of this is seen in the Marble Faun of the Capitoline Museum in Rome, made famous by Hawthorne, one of a series of copies of an antique work thoroughly Praxitelean in style. The finest copy is a torso in the Louvre, which the late H. Brunn sought to identify as an original work of Praxiteles.

16. *Διονύσῳ*: some archaeologists have held that this is the same satyr mentioned above, but this is not consonant with the phrase ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον. There is nothing to show that this satyr, which formed part of a group, was by Praxiteles. Furtwängler is inclined to identify a wine-pouring satyr extant with this statue described by Pausanias as offering a drink, to attribute the original to Praxiteles, and to

Ch. 20, 3

- Τοῦ Διονύσου δέ ἐστι πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον  
 20 ἱερόν· δύο δέ εἰσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσου.  
 ὁ τε Ἐλευθερεὺς καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ  
 χρυσοῦ. γραφαὶ δὲ αὐτόθι Διόνυσός ἐστιν ἀνάγων Ἡφαι-  
 στον ἐς οὐρανόν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ὡς Ἴρα  
 ῥάψαι γενόμενον Ἡφαιστον, ὃ δέ οἱ μνησικακῶν πέμψαι  
 25 δῶρον χρυσοῦν θρόνον ἀφανεῖς δεσμοὺς ἔχοντα, καὶ τῆν  
 μὲν ἐπεὶ τε ἐκαθέζετο δεδέσθαι, θεῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων  
 οὐδενὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστον ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι. Διόνυσος δὲ—  
 μάλιστα γὰρ ἐς τοῦτον πιστὰ ἦν Ἡφαιστῷ— μεθύσας αὐ-  
 τὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε· ταῦτά τε δὴ γεγραμμένα εἰσὶ καὶ  
 30 Πενθεὺς καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὃν ἐς Διόνυσον ὕβρισαν διδόντες

make it a group with Thymilus's Eros and Dionysus.

19. Τοῦ Διονύσου δέ ἐστι πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν: on the identification of the most ancient sanctuary of Dionysus, see Excursus III. It is necessary to identify or distinguish (1) this precinct beside the theatre, (2) the sanctuary of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις, and (3) the Lenaeum. On the theatre of Dionysus, see Excursus VI.—20. Δύο δέ εἰσιν . . . ναοί: immediately south of the stage-buildings of the theatre are the remains of two small temples, doubtless those mentioned here. The older abuts on the south wall of the stage-building at its western end, and its orientation is east and west. In this temple was probably the image of Eleutherian Dionysus, doubtless the ancient wooden one said to have been brought to Athens from Eleutheræ (1, 38, 8) by Pegasus (1, 2, 5). A few feet south of this temple are the remains of the later temple, larger in size, and with somewhat different orientation, consisting

of a *cella* with a fore-temple and an antechamber. In the *cella* are the remains of a large base, which probably supported the gold-and-ivory image of Dionysus by Alcamenes. The date of this temple was probably not earlier than 420 B.C. The statue is inferred to have been a seated figure of colossal size.—29. ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε: the return to heaven of Hephaestus is depicted on many red-figured Attic vases, and the manner of representing it was probably influenced by the picture in the temple here described. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 643-645; Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 2054-2056. Homer gives two different versions of the fall of Hephaestus from heaven, one that he was flung over the ramparts by Zeus for interference in a family quarrel with Hera (Il. A, 590 ff.), the other that Hera at his birth, in disgust at his lameness, cast him from heaven into the sea, where Thetis and Eurynome received him (Il. Σ, 394 ff.)—30. Πενθεὺς καὶ Λυκοῦργος: the murder

δίκας, Ἀριάδην δὲ καθεύδουσα καὶ Θησεὺς ἀναγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσος ἦκων ἐς τῆς Ἀριάδνης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν.

Ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου 4  
κατασκευάσμα, ποιηθῆναι δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτὸ ἐς μίμησιν  
35 τῆς Ξέρξου λέγεται· ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον, τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον  
στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἐνέπρησε Σύλλας Ἀθήνας ἐλών. αἰτία  
δὲ ἦδε τοῦ πολέμου. Μιθριδάτης ἐβασίλευε βαρβάρων τῶν  
περὶ τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνιον. πρόφασις μὲν δὴ δι' ἦντινα  
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησε καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη καὶ  
40 ὅσας ἢ πολέμῳ βιασάμενος πόλεις ἔσχεν ἢ φίλας ἐποιή-  
σατο. τάδε μὲν τοῖς ἐπίστασθαι τὰ Μιθριδάτου θέλουσι  
μελέτω· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἔχει  
δηλώσω. ἦν Ἀριστίων Ἀθηναῖος, ᾧ Μιθριδάτης πρεσβεύειν 5  
ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἐχρήτω· οὗτος ἀνέπεισεν Ἀθη-  
45 ναίους Μιθριδάτην θέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ἐπίπροσθεν. ἀνέπεισε

of Pentheus by the Maenads for his insolence to Dionysus is the theme of the Bacchae of Euripides. It is frequently represented on vase-paintings and sculptured reliefs. Various stories are told as to the punishment of Lycurgus, king of the Edonians in Thrace. Hömer (Il. Z, 130) says he was blinded by Zeus and died soon after; according to others Dionysus himself blinded and crucified him (Diod. 3, 65), or exposed him to panthers (Hyg. Fab. 132); Sophocles (Antig. 955) has him immured by the offended god in a rocky prison.—31. Ἀριάδην δὲ καθεύδουσα: this incident is the subject of other paintings described in ancient writers, and figures largely in vase-paintings. Thus Philostratus, Imag. 14 (15), describes a similar picture in more detail. It also forms the subject of one of the Pompeian wall-paintings. From

the nature of the subjects Helbig thinks these paintings could not date earlier than the time of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, nor later than towards the end of the fourth century B.C. (Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei, p. 257).

34. κατασκευάσμα: this was the Odeum of Pericles, said to have been built in imitation of the tent of Xerxes (Plut. Pericles, 13). It was a round building with a conical roof. The comic poet Cratinus compared the high peak-shaped head of Pericles to the Odeum. It was built by Pericles to be the scene of the musical contests at the Panathenaic festival (Plut. l.c.). Here too, the tragedies which were to be exhibited at the Great Dionysiac festival were rehearsed. The situation was doubtless immediately east of the theatre.



Ch. 20, 7

δὲ οὐ πάντας. ἀλλ' ὅσον δῆμος ἦν καὶ δῆμου τὸ παραχωῶδες·  
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὦν τις λόγος παρὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκπίπτου-  
 σιν ἐθέλονταί. γενομένης δὲ μάχης πολλῶ περιῆσαν οἱ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ φεύγοντας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐς  
 50 τὸ ἄστυ καταδιώκουσιν. Ἀρχέλαον δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους  
 ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ· Μιθριδάτου δὲ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν  
 πρότερον τούτων Μάγνητες οἱ τὸν Σίπυλον οἰκοῦντες σφᾶς  
 ἐπεκδραμόντα αὐτόν τε τιτρώσκουσι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων  
 φονεύουσι τοὺς πολλούς. Ἀθηναίους μὲν δὴ πολιορκία  
 55 καθειστήκει. Ταξίλος δὲ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐτύχαιε  
 μὲν περικαθήμενος Ἐλάτειαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι, ἀφικομένῳ  
 δὲ ἀγγέλων ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦγει.  
 ἂ πυνθανόμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἀθήνας μὲν τοῦ  
 στρατοῦ μέρει πολιορκεῖν ἀφήκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ταξίλω τὸ πολὺ  
 60 τῆς δυνάμεως ἔχων ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἀπαιτᾶ. τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον  
 ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦλθον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τὰ στρατόπεδα  
 ἄγγελοι, Σύλλα μὲν ὡς Ἀθηναίους εἶη τὸ τεῖχος ἐαλωκός, τοῖς  
 δὲ Ἀθήνας πολιορκήσασι Ταξίλον κεκρατῆσθαι μάχῃ περὶ  
 Χαιρώνειαν. Σύλλας δὲ ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπαρῆλθε, τοὺς  
 65 ἐναντιωθέντας Ἀθηναίων καθείρξας ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν τὸν  
 λαχόντα σφῶν ἐκ δεκάδος ἐκάστης ἐκέλευσεν ἄγεσθαι τὴν  
 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Σύλλου δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέντος ἐς Ἀθηναίους τοῦ θυμῶ  
 λαθόντες ἐκδιδράσκουσιν ἄνδρες ἐς Δελφοὺς· ἐρομένοις δὲ  
 σφισιν εἰ καταλαμβάνοι τὸ χρεῶν ἤδη καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐρη-  
 70 μωθῆναι, τούτοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία τὰ ἐς τὸν ἄσκον ἔχοντα.  
 Σύλλα δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐπέπεισε ἡ νόστος ἢ καὶ τὸν Σύριον  
 Φερεκύδην ἀλῶναι πυνθάνομαι. Σύλλα δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐς  
 τοὺς πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀγριώτερα ἢ ὡς ἄνδρα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐργά-  
 σασθαι Ῥωμαίων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα δὴ αἰτίαν γενέσθαι οἱ  
 75 δοκῶ τῆς συμφορᾶς. Ἰκεσίου δὲ μῆριμα, ὅτι καταφειγόντα ἐς  
 τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναῶν ἱερὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀποσιπάσας Ἀριστίωνα

Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακωθεῖσαι τοῦ Ἐρω-  
 21 μαίων ἀδελφῆς Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἤρθησαν· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀθη- 1  
 ναίοις εἰκόνες ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τραγωδίας καὶ κωμωδίας  
 ποιητῶν. αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων· ὅτι μὴ γὰρ Μέναν-  
 δρος, οὐδεὶς ἦν ποιητῆς κωμωδίας τῶν ἐς δόξαν ἠκόντων.  
 5 τραγωδίας δὲ κείνται τῶν φανερῶν Εὐριπίδης καὶ Σοφοκλῆς.  
 λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττι-  
 κὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἠγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπι-  
 στάντα οἱ Διόνυσον κελεύειν τιμαῖς, ὅσαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς τεθνεῶσι, τὴν Σειρήνα τὴν νέαν τιμᾶν· καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄναρ  
 10 ἐς Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὴν Σοφοκλέους ποιήσιν ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν,  
 εἰόθασι δὲ καὶ ἰὺν ἔτι ποιημάτων καὶ λόγων τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν  
 Σειρήνῃ εἰκάζειν. τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα τὴν Λίσχυλου πολλῶ τε 2  
 ὕστερον τῆς τελευτῆς δοκῶ ποιηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἢ τὸ  
 ἔργον ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι. ἔφη δὲ Λίσχυλος μεράκιον ὦν  
 15 καθεύδειν ἐν ἀγρῶ φυλάσσων σταφυλᾶς, καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον  
 ἐπιστάντα κελεύσαι τραγωδίαν ποιεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα —

21. *Statues of comic and tragic Poets in the theatre*—Gorgoneum on the south wall of the Acropolis—Cavern above the theatre with Tripod—Niobe—Callos and Daedalus—Temple of Asclepius—The Sarmatians—Linen corselets in the Apollo temple at Gryneum.

2. εἰκόνες: the statue of Astydarnas, a writer of numerous tragedies, set up by himself, is an example of this practice (Diog. Laert. 2, 5, 43). Athenaeus (1, p. 19E) mentions the statue of an obscure Euryclides which stood with the statues of Aeschylus and his fellows. Here too were statues of Themistocles and Miltiades, and beside each that of a Persian captive (Aristides, Or. 47, vol. 2, pp. 215 ff., ed. Dindorf). Twelve statues of the emperor

Hadrian were set up by the twelve Attic tribes, and of these the inscriptions of four have been found (C.I.A. III, 466-469).—ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ: for a historical sketch and description of the theatre at Athens, see Excursus VI.—5. τραγωδίας: the statues seen by Pausanias were probably the bronze statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, set up on the motion of Lycurgus (Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 84 f.). After telling parenthetically the anecdote about Sophocles, Pausanias mentions the statue of Aeschylus. The Sophocles story is told more fully by the anonymous author of the life of Sophocles (Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 130), who says that the poet was buried in the family tomb near Declea.

Ch. 21, 4

- πείθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλειν — ῥᾶστα ἤδη πειρώμενος ποιῶν.  
 οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Νοτίου καλουμένου  
 20 τείχους, ὃ [τῆς ἀκροπόλεως] ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἔστι τετραμμέ-  
 νον, ἐπὶ τούτου Μεδούσης τῆς Γοργόνης ἐπίχρυσος ἀνάκει-  
 ται κεφαλὴ, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν αἰγὴς πεποιήται. ἐν δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ  
 τοῦ θεάτρου σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πέτραις ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρό-  
 πολιν· τρίπους δὲ ἔπεστι καὶ τούτῳ· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ  
 καὶ Ἄρτεμις τοὺς παῖδάς εἰσιν ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς Νιόβης.  
 25 ταύτην τὴν Νιόβην καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸν Σίπυλον  
 τὸ ὄρος· ἡ δὲ πλησίον μὲν πέτρα καὶ κρημνός ἐστιν οὐδὲν  
 παρόντι σχῆμα παρεχόμενος γυναικὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε πει-  
 θούσης· εἰ δέ γε πορρωτέρω γένοιο. δεδακρυμένην δόξεις  
 ὄρᾶν καὶ κατηφῆ γυναικᾶ.  
 30 Ἴόντων δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου  
 τέθραπται Κάλως· τούτων τὸν Κάλων ἀδελφῆς παῖδα ὄντα καὶ

20. **Μεδούσης τῆς Γοργόνης ἐπίχρυσος ἀνάκειται κεφαλὴ**: this was set up by king Antiochus. See 5, 12, 4. Frazer suggests that the Gorgon head was thus placed in a prominent position on the wall of the Acropolis to serve as a charm against the evil eye. — 22. **σπήλαιον**: this cave is still to be seen in the Acropolis rock, directly above the theatre, and has long been used as a chapel dedicated to the Virgin of the Cave (Panagia Spiliotissa). Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, its mouth was adorned by a Doric portico, forming the choregic monument of Thrasyllus, an elegant structure about twenty-nine feet five inches high by twenty-five feet wide, consisting of three Doric pilasters resting on two steps and supporting an epistyle, which is in turn surmounted by a frieze. Above the frieze were

three pedestals of gray marble, the central one of which once supported a seated statue now in the British Museum. An inscription sets forth that the monument was dedicated by Thrasyllus of Decelea, in commemoration of a victory which he had won with a chorus in the archonship of Neaechmus (320-319 B.C.). The other two pedestals bear inscriptions commemorating victories of Thrasycles, son of Thrasyllus. The monument doubtless supported a bronze tripod, and the statue was probably inclosed within the legs of the tripod. The group of Apollo, Artemis, and the children of Niobe was probably in the portico.

31. **τέθραπται Κάλως**: the nephew of Daedalus is commonly called Calos by ancient writers, but Clement of Alexandria (Protrept. 4, 47, p. 41, ed. Potter) and Suidas (s.v. *Περόκος ἱερός*)

τῆς τέχνης μαθητὴν φονεύσας Δαίδαλος ἐς Κρήτην ἔφυγε,  
 χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐς Σικελίαν ἐκδιδράσκει παρὰ Κώκαλον.  
 τοῦ δὲ Ἄσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔς τε τὰ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν, ὅποσα  
 35 τοῦ θεοῦ πεποίηται καὶ τῶν παίδων, καὶ ἐς τὰς γραφὰς θέας  
 ἄξιον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνη. παρ' ἧ λέγουσι Ποσειδῶνος  
 παῖδα Ἄλιρρόθιον θυγατέρα Ἄρεως Ἀλκίππην αἰσχύναντα  
 ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἄρεως, καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φόνῳ γενέ-  
 σθαι πρῶτον. ἐνταῦθα ἄλλα τε καὶ Σαυροματικὸς ἀνάκειται 5  
 40 θώραξ· ἐς τοῦτόν τις ἰδὼν οὐδὲν ἦσσον Ἑλλήνων τοὺς βαρ-  
 βάρους φήσει σοφοὺς ἐς τὰς τέχνας εἶναι. Σαυρομάταις γὰρ  
 οὔτε αὐτοῖς σίδηρός ἐστιν ὀρυσσόμενος οὔτε σφίσιν ἐσά-  
 γουσιν· ἄμικτοι γὰρ μάλιστα τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων εἰσὶ.  
 πρὸς οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν ταύτην ἐξεύρηται σφισιν· ἐπὶ μὲν

agree with Pausanias in naming him *Calos*. Others give him the name of *Perdix* ("partridge"). See Ovid, *Met.* 8, 236; Pylginius, *Fab.* 39, 244, and 274. Daedalus is said to have murdered him by throwing him from the Acropolis, because Calos had surpassed him in mechanical ingenuity by inventing the saw, compasses, and potter's wheel. The grave of Calos was on the southern slope of the Acropolis between the theatre and the sanctuary of Asclepius. — 34. **τοῦ δὲ Ἄσκληπιοῦ:** the sanctuary of Asclepius was just west of the theatre precinct, bounded by the rock of the Acropolis on the north, and by a retaining-wall still extant on the south. There still exist considerable monumental remains of a colonnade within the precinct; and through an arched doorway in the back wall of the colonnade admission is given to a small round chamber hewn in the Acropolis rock, with a dome-shaped

roof, in which is a spring of pure water, doubtless the fountain mentioned by Pausanias. The colonnade was doubtless intended for the patients of the god, who slept here with the hope of revelations in dreams and of marvelous cures (cf. *Ar. Plutus*, 659 ff.). South of the west end of the colonnade are the foundations of what was probably the temple of Asclepius. Somewhat to the west are the foundations of a building which was probably the house of the priests and other officials of the sanctuary. Two long inscriptions furnish interesting lists of votive offerings found on the site (*C. I. A.* II, 835, 836), as gold and silver representations of hands, feet, teeth, ears, and the like. It is noteworthy that in describing the south side of the Acropolis Pausanias makes no mention of (1) the Colonnade of Eumenes, and (2) the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus, two important extant monuments.

Ch. 22, 1

- 45 τοῖς δόρασιν αἰχμὰς ὀστέϊνας ἀντὶ σιδήρου φοροῦσι, τόξα τε κρανείνα καὶ ὀστούς καὶ ὀστέϊνας ἀκίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀστοῖς· καὶ σειραῖς περιβαλόντες τῶν πολεμίων ὀπόσους καὶ τύχοιεν, τοὺς ἵππους ἀποστρέψαντες ἀνατρέπουσι τοὺς ἐνσχεθέντας ταῖς σειραῖς. τοὺς δὲ θώρακας ποιοῦνται τὸν τρόπον 60 τοῦτον. ἵππους πολλὰς ἕκαστος τρέφει, ὡς ἂν οὔτε ἐς ἰδιωτῶν κλήρους τῆς γῆς μεμερισμένης οὔτε τι φεροῦσης πληρῆ ὕλης ἀγρίας ἅτε ὄντων νομάδων· ταύταις οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον χρῶνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῖς θύουσιν ἐπιχωρίους καὶ ἄλλοις σιτοῦνται. συλλεξάμενοι δὲ τὰς ὀπλὰς ἐκκαθήραντές τε καὶ 65 διελόντες ποιοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμφερῆ δρακόντων φολίσιν· ὅστις δὲ οὐκ εἶδέ πω δράκοντα, πίτυός γε εἶδε καρπὸν χλωρὸν ἔτι· ταῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῆς πίτυος φαινομένης ἐντομαῖς εἰκάζων τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὀπλῆς οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι. ταῦτα διατρήσαντες καὶ νεύροις ἵππων καὶ βοῶν συρράψαντες 60 χρῶνται θώραξιν οὔτε εὐπρεπεῖα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποδέουσιν οὔτε ἀσθενεστέροις· καὶ γὰρ συστάδην τυπτόμενοι καὶ βληθέντες ἀνέχονται. οἱ δὲ θώρακες οἱ λινοῖ μαχομένοις τὸν σίδηρον· θηρεύοντας δὲ ὠφελοῦσιν, ἐναποκλῶνται γὰρ 65 σφισι καὶ λεόντων ὀδόντες καὶ παρδάλεω. θώρακας δὲ λινοῦς ἰδεῖν ἐν τε ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς ἔστιν ἀνακειμένους καὶ ἐν Ἐρμινείῳ, ἐνθα Ἀπόλλωνος κάλλιστον ἄλγος δένδρῳ καὶ ἡμέρῳ καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀκάρπων ὀσμῆς παρέχεται τινα ἢ θείας ἡδοῖν.
- 22 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ταύτῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσι Θέμιδος ναὸς ἔστι. κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ

22. *Temple of Themis*—*Hippolytus and Phaedra*—*Temple of Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe*—*The Propylaea*—*Temple of Nike Apteros*—*Death of Aegeus*—*Pinakothekē*—*Musaeus*—*Hermes Propylaeus and the Graces of Socrates.*

2. *Θέμιδος ναός*: the temple of Themis, together with the sanctuaries of Aphrodite Pandemos, Ge, and Demeter Chloe, mentioned below, were doubtless situated at the southwestern foot of the Acropolis, somewhere between the Odeum of Herodes Atticus

μνήμα Ἴππολύτου· τοῦ δέ οἱ βίου τὴν τελευταίην συμβῆναι  
 λέγουσιν ἐκ καταρῶν. δῆλα δέ, καὶ ὅστις βαρβάρων γλώσ-  
 5 σαν ἔμαθεν Ἑλλήνων, ὅ τε ἔρωσ τῆς Φαίδρας καὶ τῆς τρο-  
 φῶν τὸ ἐς τὴν διακονίαν τόλμημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίους  
 Ἴππολύτου τάφος· ἔχει δὲ σφισιν ὧδε ὁ λόγος. Θησεὺς ὡς 2  
 ἔμελλεν ἀξεσθαι Φαίδραν, οὐκ ἐθέλων εἶ οἱ γένοιτο παῖδες  
 οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι τὸν Ἴππόλυτον οὔτε βασιλεύειν αὐτ' αὐτῶν.  
 10 πέμπει παρὰ Πιπθία τραφησόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ βασιλεύσοντα  
 Τροιζῆνος. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Πάλλας καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐπανέ-  
 στησαν Θησεῖ· τούτους κτείνας ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἔρχεται καθαρ-  
 σίων εἵνεκα, καὶ Φαίδρα πρώτη ἐνταῦθα εἶδεν Ἴππόλυτον καὶ  
 τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον ἐρασθεῖσα ἐβούλευσε. μυρσίνη δὲ ἐστι  
 15 Τροιζηνίους τὰ φύλλα διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα τετρυπημένα· φῦ-  
 ναι δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιαύτην λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον γεγε-  
 νῆσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα ἄσης καὶ τῆς περόνης ἣν ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 θριξίν εἶχεν ἡ Φαίδρα. Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πάνδημον, ἐπεὶ 3  
 τε Ἀθηναίους Θησεὺς ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δῆμων πόλιν,  
 20 αὐτὴν τε σέβεσθαι καὶ Πειθῶ κατέστησε· τὰ μὲν δὲ παλαιὰ  
 ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τεχνιτῶν ἦν οὐ

and the Acropolis entrance, but the exact site of none of them has as yet been determined.—3. **μνήμα Ἴππολύτου**: for the story of Hippolytus and Phaedra, see Euripides, Hippolytus, especially 43 ff., 887 ff., 1166 ff.

18. **Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πάνδημον**: Apollodorus quoted by Harpocr. s.v. **πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη** says that this was "the name given at Athens to the goddess whose worship had been established somewhere near the ancient agora." This indicates, in conjunction with the statement of Pausanias, that the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemus was close to the west slope of

the Acropolis. Inscriptions and statuettes belonging to her cult have been found on this site. No trace of the actual sanctuary remains. Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 105–110, defends this Aphrodite against the slurs cast on the title Pandemus, and shows that she was a great and holy goddess, giver of increase, one of the ancient Oriental Trinity (Paus. 9, 16, 3), of which the other two were Heavenly Aphrodite and Aphrodite the Averter.—20. **Πειθῶ**: the Athenians annually offered a sacrifice to the goddess Persuasion (Isocrates, 15, 249), and a special seat was, it seems, assigned to her

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τῶν ἀφανεστάτων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔστιν αὐτῶν διδασθῆναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐλθόντα ἐς λόγους.

25 Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστιν ἔσδος μία· ἑτέραν δὲ οὐ παρέχεται, πᾶσα ἀπότομος οὔσα καὶ τεῖχος ἔχουσα ἐχρὸν. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γε καὶ ἐμοῦ προεῖχε. τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν ἰππέων οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν. εἴτε οἱ παῖδες

priestess in the theatre (C.I.A. III, 351). — 22. Γῆς Κουροτρόφου: Solon spoke of Earth as the "buxom Nursing-Mother" (Frag. 43 in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*<sup>3</sup>, II, 438). According to Suidas s.v. *κουροτρόφος*, Erichthonius was the first to sacrifice to Earth the Nursing-Mother on the Acropolis; and the Ephēbi seem to have kept up the custom (C.I.A. II, 481, l. 58 sq.). This sanctuary was either at the southwest corner or else due west of the Acropolis, and somewhere along the winding road followed by Pausanias. — Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης: from the evidence of ancient passages and of inscriptions it is clear that the sanctuary of Demeter Chlōe was close to the western entrance to the Acropolis. Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 831 sq.) describes a man hurrying up the Acropolis slope beside the sanctuary of the Verdant Goddess. Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 1600 locates this sanctuary "near or beside the Acropolis," and quotes a passage from Eupolis, "I will go straight to the Acropolis; for I must sacrifice a ram to Verdant Demeter." The name had reference to the natural hue of foliage.

25. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν: the Acropolis of Athens is a long and precipitous

mass of rock extending east and west. The north and east sides are naturally steep and inaccessible; the south side slopes more gradually, and needed especially strong fortifications, while on the western side the Acropolis slopes gently toward the Areopagus, this forming the natural approach. The Acropolis surface is a plateau, rising toward the east with its highest point (five hundred and twelve feet above the sea) to the northeast of the Parthenon. Its length from east to west is about three hundred and twenty-eight yards; its greatest breadth from north to south is about one hundred and forty-eight yards. See *Excursus VII*. — 26. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια: for description of the Propylaea, see *Excursus VIII*. — 28. τὰς . . . εἰκόνας τῶν ἰππέων κτλ.: portions of the inscribed bases and pedestals of statues of horsemen have been found, which faced each other on opposite sides of the way leading up to the Acropolis. An inscription shows that they were dedicated in honor of a cavalry victory, and mentions the names of three cavalry officers, among them a Xenophon; and it is clear that the original statues were not set up later than 437 B.C. Another inscription on one of the pedestals shows that the

30 εἰσιν οἱ Ξενοφῶντος εἴτε ἄλλως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν πεποιημένοι·  
 τῶν δὲ προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν Ἀπτέρου ναός.  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἢ θάλασσά ἐστι σύνοπτος, καὶ ταύτῃ ρύψας Λιγεύς  
 ἐαυτὸν ὡς λέγουσιν ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀνήγετο μὲν γὰρ ἢ ναῦς 5  
 μέλασιν ἰστίοις ἢ τοὺς παῖδας φέρουσα ἐς Κρήτην, Θησεύς  
 35 δὲ — ἔπλει γὰρ τόλμης τι ἔχων ἐς τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον  
 ταῦρον — πρὸς τὸν πατέρα προεῖπε χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ἰστίοις  
 λευκοῖς, ἣν ὀπίσω πλῆρ τοῦ ταύρου κρατήσας· τούτων λήθην  
 ἔσχεν Ἀριάδην ἀφηρημένος· ἐνταῦθα Λιγεύς ὡς εἶδεν  
 ἰστίοις μέλασι τὴν ναῦν κομιζομένην, οἶα τὸν παῖδα τεθνά-  
 40 ναι δοκῶν, ἀφείς αὐτὸν διαφθείρεται· καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις  
 ἐστὶ καλούμενον ἡρῶν Λιγέως. — ἔστι δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν 6  
 προπυλαίων οἶκημα ἔχον γραφάς· ὅποσαι δὲ μὴ καθέστηκεν

horseman was later converted into a statue of Germanicus. Pausanias's conjecture was the merest guesswork, showing that he did not carefully read the inscription. The sons of Xenophon were not yet born, and the date is too early for the Xenophon of the inscription to be the historian. — 31. **Νίκης** . . . **Ἀπτέρου ναός**: on the temple of Athena Victory, see Excursus IX.

38. **Λιγεύς**: the story of the death of Aegeus is similarly told by Diodorus (4, 61), Plutarch (Thes., 17 and 22) and Servius (ad Verg. Aen. 3, 74). At the southern foot of the bastion on which the temple of Athena Victory rests, a quadrangular space on the Acropolis rock has been leveled as if to receive some building. This was doubtless the site of the heroum of Aegeus.

42. **οἶκημα ἔχον γραφάς**: this chamber still preserves its walls with the cornice, though the roof is gone. There has been much discussion whether the paintings in this chamber were wall-

paintings or easel-paintings. There are no indications whatever that the walls were painted; nor are there any holes in the walls to show that the paintings were hung from nails. The title of Polemo's treatise on the pictures in the Propylaea, *περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις πίνακων*, in its use of *πίναξ* rather than *γραφή*, is in favor of the view that the pictures were easel-pieces rather than wall-paintings. The careless style of Pausanias makes it impossible to determine with exactness the list of paintings mentioned, and their authorship, but the list seems to be as follows: (1) Rape of Pallas's image by Diomedes; (2) Odysseus carrying off the bow of Philoctetes; (3) Slaying of Aegisthus by Orestes, and of sons of Nauplius by Pylades; (4) Sacrifice of Polyxena; (5) Achilles among the maidens of Scyros; (6) Odysseus and Nausicaa with her maidens; (7) Portrait of Alcibiades with trophies of victory at Nemea; (8) Perseus carrying the head of



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ὁ χρόνος αἴτιος ἀφανέσιν εἶναι. Διομήδης ἦν καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 ὁ μὲν ἐν Λήμνῳ τὸ Φιλοκτήτου τόξον. ὁ δὲ (Διομήδης) τὴν  
 45 Ἀθηνᾶν ἀφαιρούμενος ἐξ Ἰλίου. ἐνταῦθα [ἐν ταῖς γρα-  
 φαῖς] Ὀρέστης ἐστὶν Αἴγισθον φονεύων καὶ Ηυλάδης τοὺς  
 παῖδας τοὺς Ναυπλίου βοηθοὺς ἐλθόντας Αἰγίσθῳ· τοῦ δὲ  
 Ἀχιλλέως τάφου πλησίον μέλλουσά ἐστι σφάζεσθαι Πολυ-  
 ξένη. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ εὖ μὲν παρείθη τόδε τὸ ὠμὸν οὕτως ἔργον·  
 50 εὖ δέ μοι φαίνεται ποιῆσαι Σκύρον ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀλου-  
 σαν, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ ὅσοι λέγουσιν ὁμοῦ ταῖς παρθένους  
 Ἀχιλλέα ἔχειν ἐν Σκύρῳ δίαιταν. ἃ δὴ καὶ Πολύγυρωτες  
 ἔγραψεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ ταῖς ὁμοῦ Ναυ-  
 σικᾶ πλυνούσαις ἐφιστάμενον Ὀδυσσεῖα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ  
 55 δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε. γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι καὶ

Medusa; (9) Boy with water-pots; (10) Wrestler, by Timaeus; (11) Portrait of Musæus.—43. **Διομήδης ἦν καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς**: the language of Pausanias implies that Odysseus carried off the bow of Philoctetes. This is the story as told by the Attic tragedians, Sophocles in the *Philoctetes*, and Aeschylus and Euripides in their lost dramas on the same subject (Dio Chrys. Or. 52). But the older tradition followed by Lesches in his *Little Iliad* ascribes this achievement to Diomedes (Proclus in *Epic. Græc. Fragm.*, ed. Kinkel, p. 36). As to the carrying off of the Palladium, the common tradition represents Diomedes as playing the chief part but assisted by Odysseus. So Lesches in the *Little Iliad*. Thus Diomedes on the *Tabula Iliaca* is seen carrying the Palladium, while Odysseus follows him. Other versions and monuments give Odysseus the chief part in this achievement.—52. **Ἀχιλλέα ἔχειν ἐν Σκύρῳ δίαιταν**: the story

that the young Achilles wore female attire and lived among the daughters of Lycomedes, king of Scyros, is told by Hyginus, *Fab. 96*; Bion, 2, 15 sq.; Schol. Hom. Il. I, 968.—53. **Ναυσικᾶ**: see Homer, *Od. ζ, 85 sqq.*, for the account of the meeting of Odysseus and Nausicaa.

55. **γραφαὶ . . . καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης**: Athenæus, 12, p. 534 D, E, quoting Satyrus, states that Alcibiades dedicated two pictures by Aglaophon, one representing himself crowned by Olympias and Pythias, personifying Olympia and Delphi, the other Nemea seated with Alcibiades on her lap. Plutarch (*Alcibiades*, 16) mentions a painting by Aristophon of Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms. Both doubtless refer to the picture here mentioned by Pausanias. It is necessary, therefore, to account for the discrepancy in authorship. Aristophon was brother of Polygnotus: their father was named Aglaophon. He probably had a grandson

Ἀλκιβιάδης. ἵππων δέ οἱ νίκης τῆς ἐν Νεμέᾳ ἐστὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ· καὶ Περσεύς ἐστὶν ἐς Σέριφον κομιζόμενος, Πολυδέκτη φέρων τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Μεδούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς Μέδουσαν οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς σημήναι· ἔτι  
 60 δὲ τῶν γραφῶν παρέντι τὸν παῖδα τὸν τὰς ὑδρίας φέροντα καὶ τὸν παλαιστὴν ὃν Τιμαίητος ἔγραψεν, ἐστὶ Μουσαῖος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔφη μὲν ἐπελεξάμην ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ πέτεσθαι Μουσαῖον ὑπὸ Βορέου δῶρον, δοκεῖν δέ μοι πεποιήκεν αὐτὰ Ὀνομάκριτος καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβαίως ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς  
 65 Δῆμητρα ὕμνος Λυκομίδαις.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν 8  
 ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσιν, ᾧ σοφῶ γενέσθαι μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἢ Πυθία μάρτυς, ὃ μὴδὲ Ἀνάχαρσιν ἐθέ-  
 70 λοντα ὅμως καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενον προσεῖπεν.

of the same name, and Pliny (N.H. 35, 60) mentions a painter of this name who flourished 420–417 B.C., a date that accords with this explanation. He probably painted the Alcibiades. — 57. Περσεύς: for the story of Perseus, see Schol. Pindar, Pyth. 10, 72; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1515; Strabo, 10, p. 487; Ovid, Met. 5, 242 sqq.; Hyginus, Fab. 64.— 63. πεποιήκεν αὐτὰ Ὀνομάκριτος: Onomacritus, invited to edit the so-called oracles of Musaeus, was expelled by Hipparchus from Athens for having been convicted of forging an oracle, and fled to the coast of Persia (Hdt. 7, 6). He is also said to have forged poems in the name of Orpheus (Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, 21, 131, p. 397, ed. Potter). See Epic. Graec. Fragm., ed. Kinkel, pp. 238 ff.

66. Ἑρμῆν . . . καὶ Χάριτας: also mentioned by Pausanias in 9, 35, 7,

Σωκράτης τε ὁ Σωφρονίσκου πρὸ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔσοδου Χαρίτων εἰργάσατο ἀγάλματα Ἀθηναίους. Diog. Laert. 2, 5, 19, speaks of Socrates as having been a sculptor, and refers to these same figures of the Graces. See also Pliny, N. H. 36, 32, and Schol. Ar. Nub. 773. The Chiaramonti relief in Rome is supposed to be a copy of the relief attributed to Socrates. There are also other copies, a fact which suggests a celebrated original. Compare also an archaic relief in the Acropolis Museum representing Hermes and the Graces. Considerable doubt rests on the relation of any of these to the work ascribed to Socrates.— 67. Σωκράτην: see Plato, Apology, 20E–21A; Diog. Laert. 2, 5, 37; E. Zeller, Die Philosophie der Griechen<sup>3</sup>, II, 50, concerning the story of the response of the oracle.

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23 Ἕλληνες δὲ ἄλλα τε λέγουσι καὶ ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ γενέσθαι  
σοφούς. τούτων καὶ τὸν Λέσβιον τύραννον καὶ Περιάνδρου  
εἶναί φασι τὸν Κυψέλου· καίτοι Περιάνδρου Πεισιστρατος καὶ  
ὁ παῖς Ἰππίας φιλόφρονες μᾶλλον καὶ σοφώτεροι τὰ τε  
5 πολεμικὰ ἦσαν καὶ ὅσα ἤκεν ἐς κόσμον τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐς ὃ  
διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον Ἰππίας ἄλλα τε ἐχρήσατο θιμῶ  
καὶ ἐς γυναῖκα ὄνομα Λέαιναν. ταύτην γάρ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀπέθαιεν  
Ἰππαρχος — λέγω δὲ οὐκ ἐς συγγραφὴν πρότερον ἤκοιτα.  
πιστὰ δὲ ἄλλως Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πολλοῖς — Ἰππίας εἶχεν ἐν  
10 αἰκίᾳ ἐς ὃ διέφθειρεν, οἷα ἐταίραν Ἀριστογείτονος ἐπιστά-  
μενος οὖσαν καὶ τὸ βούλευμα οὐδαμῶς ἀγνοῆσαι δοξάζων·  
ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων, ἐπεὶ τυραννίδος ἐπαύθησαν οἱ Πεισιστρατί-  
δαι, χαλκῇ λέαινα Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐς μνήμην τῆς γυναικός.  
παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης, ὃ Καλλίου τέ φασι  
15 ἀνάθημα εἶναι καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος.

23. *The Seven Sages of Greece — Hippias and Leana — Diitrephes — Other objects of interest on the Acropolis, among them the Temple of Brauronian Artemis and the Wooden Horse — Thucydides — Phormio.*

1. *ἑπτὰ . . . σοφούς*: for a list of the Seven Sages, see Paus. 10, 24, 1, who names Thales of Miletus, Bias of Priene, Pittacus of Mitylene, Cleobulus of Lindus, Solon of Athens, Chilon of Sparta, and as the seventh, in the place of Periander of Corinth, follows Plato (Protag. 343A) in naming Myson the Chenian. Periander was discredited by Hdt. 5, 92, but he is usually counted among the Seven Sages. Cf. Diog. Laert. 1, 13; Anthol. Pal. 7, 81. — 7. *Λέαιναν*: Pausanias was evidently not aware that the story about Leana had already been told by Pliny (N. H. 34, 72) and Plutarch (De garrulitate,

8). Cicero also seems to have told the story and mentioned the lioness in his lost work "On Glory" (see Philargyrius, ad Verg. Ecl. 2, 63). The anecdote also appears in Polyaeus, 8, 45; Clem. Alex. Strom. 4, 19, 122, p. 618, ed. Potter; Athen. 13, p. 596 f.; and Lactantius Divin. Institut. 1, 20. Plutarch and Polyaeus mention that the lioness stood in the Propylaea, and that she had no tongue to commemorate the fact that Leana betrayed none of her associates. From the order in which it is mentioned, the statue probably stood in the southern end of the eastern portico of the Propylaea.

14. *ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης*: what is probably the pedestal of this statue has been found on the Acropolis. It bears the inscription, *Καλλίας Ἰππο-νίκου ἀνέθηκε[εν]* (C. I. A. 1, 392), in old Attic characters, and dates from some

Πλησίον δέ ἐστι Διτρέφους χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ὁιστοῖς βε- :  
 βλημένος. οὗτος ὁ Διτρέφης ἄλλα τε ἔπραξεν ὅποσα λέγου-  
 σιν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θραῶκας μισθωτοὺς ἀφικομένους ὕστερον  
 ἢ Δημοσθένης ἐς Συρακούσας ἐξέπλευσε, τούτους ὡς ὑστέρη-  
 20 σαν ὁ Διτρέφης ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω. καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν Χαλκιδικὸν  
 ἔσχεν Εὐριπον. ἔνθα Βοιωτῶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλις Μυκαλησ-  
 σὸς ἦν· ταύτην ἐπαναβὰς ἐκ θαλάσσης ὁ Διτρέφης εἶλε.  
 Μυκαλησσίων δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μάχιμον οἱ Θραῶκες ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 γυναικας ἐφόνευσαν καὶ παῖδας. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι· Βοιωτῶν  
 25 γὰρ ὅσους ἀνέστησαν Θηβαῖοι, ὠκοῦντο αἱ πόλεις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ,  
 διαφυγόντων ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ καὶ  
 Μυκαλησσίους οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ πᾶσιν ἀποκτείναντες ἐπέξῃλ-  
 θον, ὕστερον ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέλαβον οἱ λειφθέντες. τοσοῦ- 4  
 του μὲν παρέστη μοι θαῦμα ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Διτρέφους,  
 30 ὅτι ὁιστοῖς ἐβέβλητο, Ἐλλησιν ὅτι μὴ Κρησὶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον  
 ὄν τοξεύειν· Λοκροὺς γὰρ τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ὀπλιτεύοντας  
 ἤδη κατὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἴσμεν, οὓς Ὀμηρος ἐποίησεν ὡς φερό-  
 μενοι τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας ἐς Ἴλιον ἔλθοιεν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ  
 Μαλιεῦσι παρέμεινε μελέτη τῶν τόξων, δοκῶ δὲ οὔτε πρότε-  
 35 ρον ἐπίστασθαι σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ Φιλοκτῆτην, παύσασθαί τε οὐ  
 διὰ μακροῦ· τοῦ δὲ Διτρέφους πλησίον — τὰς γὰρ εἰκόνας  
 τὰς ἀφανεστέρας γράφειν οὐκ ἐθέλω — θεῶν ἀγάλματά ἐστιν  
 Ὑγιείας τε, ἣν Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς

time between 476 and 456 B.C. On Cal-  
 lias, see Plut. Aristides, 5. On Cala-  
 mis, see Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech.*  
*Künstler*, I, 129 sq.

16. **Διτρέφους χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς**: on  
 Diitrephes see Thuc. 7, 29 sq. The  
 episode of the Thracian mercenaries  
 took place in 413 B.C. The pedestal  
 for this statue has also been found,  
 bearing the inscription Ἐρμούλκος Δι-  
 τρέφος ἀπαρχέν. Κρέσιλας ἐπέθεσεν (C.I.A.

I, 402). Pliny, N. H. 34, 74, says that  
 Cresilas made a statue representing a  
 wounded man swooning, doubtless the  
 one here mentioned. This also was  
 probably within the eastern portico of  
 the Propylaea.

38. Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν . . . Ὑγιείας:  
 Plutarch, Pericles, 13, says that this  
 image was dedicated to commemorate  
 the restoration to health of a favorite  
 workman of Pericles, who was injured

Ch. 23, 7

ἐπίκλησιν καὶ ταύτης Ὑγιείας. ἔστι δὲ λίθος οὐ μέγας, 5  
 40 ἀλλ' ὅσον καθίζεσθαι μικρὸν ἄνδρα· ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγουσιν.  
 ἠνίκα Διόνυσος ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἀναπαύσασθαι τὸν Σιλη-  
 νόν. τοὺς γὰρ ἠλικία τῶν Σατύρων προήκοντας ὀνομάζουσι  
 Σιληνοὺς· περὶ δὲ Σατύρων, οἵτινές εἰσιν, ἐτέρου πλέον ἐθέ-  
 λων ἐπίστασθαι πολλοῖς αὐτῶν τούτων ἔνεκα εἰς λόγους ἦλ-  
 45 θον. ἔφη δὲ Εὐφρημος Κὰρ ἀνὴρ πλέων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀμαρτεῖν  
 ὑπὸ ἀνέμων τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἕξω θάλασσαν, εἰς ἣν οὐκέτι  
 πλέουσιν, ἐξενεχθῆναι. νήσους δὲ εἶναι μὲν ἔλεγεν ἐρήμους  
 πολλὰς, ἐν δὲ ἄλλαις οἰκεῖν ἄνδρας ἀγρίους· ταύταις δὲ  
 οὐκ ἐθέλειν νήσοις προσίσχειν τοὺς ναύτας οἷα πρότερόν τε 6  
 50 προσσχόντας καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων οὐκ ἀπείρως ἔχοιτας.  
 βιασθῆναι δ' οὖν καὶ τότε. ταύτας καλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ναυτῶν Σατυρίδας, εἶναι δὲ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας καπυροὺς καὶ  
 ἵππων οὐ πολὺ μείους ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσχύοις οὐράς. τούτους,  
 ὡς ἦσθοντο, καταδραμόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν φωνὴν μὲν οὐδε-  
 55 μίαν ἰέναι. ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν ταῖς ἐν τῇ νηί· τέλος  
 δὲ δεῖσαντας τοὺς ναύτας βάρβαρον γυναικὰ ἐκβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν  
 νῆσον· εἰς ταύτην οὖν ὑβρίζειν τοὺς Σατύρους οὐ μόνον ἦ  
 καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως σῶμα.

Καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει θεασάμενος οἶδα, 7  
 60 Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος χαλκοῦν παῖδα, ὃς τὸ περιρραπτήριον

by a fall from the Propylaea. Athena, according to the legend, communicated to Pericles in a dream the treatment by which the man was cured. Pliny, N. H. 22, 44, tells a similar story, associated however with the Parthenon. The pedestal is still in place, just outside the eastern portico of the Propylaea, with the inscription Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τῷ Ὑγιεῖαι Ἱέρως ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος (C. I. A. I, 335). Pliny also mentions a statue of Athena Hygieia by

Pyrrhus (N. H. 34, 80). The inscription and the discrepancies throw doubt on the story of Plutarch. On representations of the goddess Hygieia in ancient art, see W. Wroth, "Hygieia," J. H. S. V (1884), 82-101; F. Koepf, "Die Attische Hygieia," A. M. X (1885), 255-271.

60. χαλκοῦν παῖδα: after leaving the Propylaea, Pausanias goes southeastward to the precinct of Artemis Brauronia. As the *perirrhanterion* was a

ἔχει, καὶ Μύρωνος Περσέα τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν ἔργον εἶργασμένοι. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν ἐστι Βραυρωνίας, Πραξιτέλους μὲν τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα, τῇ θεῷ δέ ἐστιν ἀπὸ Βραυρωνῶνος δήμου τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξόανόν ἐστιν ἐν Βραυρωνί. Ἄρτεμις ὡς λέγουσιν ἡ Ταυρικὴ. ἵππος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Δούριος ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦς. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὸ ποίημα τὸ Ἐπειοῦ μηχάνημα ἦν ἐς διάλυσιν τοῦ τείχους, οἶδεν ὅστις μὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς Φρυξὶν εὐθήθειαν· λέγεται δὲ ἔς τε ἐκείνον τὸν ἵππον ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔνδον ἔχοι τοὺς ἀρίστους. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα· καὶ Μεισεσθεὺς καὶ Τεῦκρος ὑπερκύπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, προσέτι δὲ

basin containing water which stood at the entrance of every sanctuary that worshipers might sprinkle themselves before entering the precinct (Pollux, 1, 8; 1, 25; 1, 32), it has been conjectured that this bronze statue of the boy with the basin may have been placed for this purpose at the entrance to the precinct of Brauronian Artemis.—61. **Μύρωνος Περσέα**: cf. 2, 27, 2. Pliny mentions a statue of Perseus by Myron (N. H. 34, 57), which may be the same as this. Furtwängler (Meisterw. pp. 382–388) conjectures that two extant heads of Perseus, one in Rome and one in the British Museum, are replicas of this common original.—62. **Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν**: southeast of the Propylaea is a terrace in the shape of an irregular quadrangle, one hundred and fifty-seven and one half feet from east to west, which was doubtless the ancient precinct of Artemis. There is no evidence of the existence of a temple. It was probably merely a precinct with images and an altar.—**Πραξιτέλους**: the image of the Tauric

Artemis, which Iphigenia was said to have brought from the Thracian Chersonese to Brauron in Attica, was equally claimed by Brauron, Sparta, Comana in Cappadocia, and Laodicea in Syria. See 1, 33, 1; 3, 16, 7–11; 8, 46, 3. Pausanias himself elsewhere locates the real image at Sparta (3, 16, 7–11). Inscriptions indicate that as early as 346–345 B.C. there were two images in the Brauronian sanctuary at Athens (C.I.A. II, 751, 754, 755–758), one designated the idol (*hedos*), the other the image (*agalma*). The latter was the statue attributed to Praxiteles.

65. **ἵππος . . . Δούριος**: this statement is confirmed by Hesychius (s.v. *δούριος ἵππος*), who also mentions the four men peeping out of the wooden horse. Aristophanes (*Aves*, 1128) speaks of “horses as big as the Wooden Horse,” and the scholia mention the Acropolis statue. Blocks of the pedestal have been found on the Acropolis, bearing an inscription which states that it was dedicated by Chaeredemus of Coele and made by Strongylion.

Ch. 23, 10

καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θησέως. ἀνδριάντων δὲ ὅσοι μετὰ τὸν ἵππον ἐστήκασιν Ἐπιχαρίνου μὲν ὀπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε Κριτίας, Οἰνοβίω δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐς  
 75 Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου χρηστόν· ψήφισμα γὰρ ἐνίκησεν Οἰνόβιος κατελθεῖν ἐς Ἀθήνας Θουκυδίδην, καὶ οἱ δολοφονηθέντι ὡς κατῆι μνημᾶ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω πυλῶν Μελιτίδων. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἑρμόλυκον τὸν παγκρατιαστὴν καὶ Φορμίωνα  
 10 τὸν Ἀσωπίχου γραψάντων ἐτέρων παρήμι· ἐς δὲ Φορμίωνα  
 80 τοσόδε ἔχω πλέον γράψαι. Φορμίωσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐπεικέσιν Ἀθηναίων ὄντι ὁμοίω καὶ ἐς προγόνων δόξαν οὐκ ἀφανεῖ συνέβαινε ὀφείλειν χρέα· ἀναχωρήσας οὖν ἐς τὸν Παιανία δῆμον ἐνταῦθα εἶχε δίαιταν. ἐς ὃ ναύαρχον αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων αἰρουμένων ἐκπλεύσεσθαι οὐκ ἔφασκεν· ὀφείλειν τε γὰρ καὶ

Pausanias elsewhere (9, 30, 1) speaks of Strongylion as extremely skillful in modeling oxen and horses.

73. **Ἐπιχαρίνου**: the base of this statue has been found, bearing an inscription (C. I. A. I, 376), which records that it was dedicated by Epicharinus himself and was made by Critius and Nesiotus, the sculptors of the group of the tyrannicides (1, 8, 5). Inscriptions show that the true spelling was *Κρίτιος*, not *Κριτίας*, as the manuscripts have it here and in 6, 3, 5. — 74. **Οἰνοβίω**: Pausanias implies, without expressly saying, that there were on the Acropolis statues of Oenobius, Hermolycus, and Phormio. Thucydides was banished in 424 B.C., and was in exile twenty years (Thuc. 4, 104; 5, 26), so that his return was in 404 B.C. Pausanias' statement implies that he did not return under the general amnesty of that year, but by a special decree secured by Oenobius. He may have

been excepted from the general amnesty. (Cf. Classen, Thucydides, Einleitung<sup>3</sup>, pp. xxiii ff.) The accounts of Thucydides' death are discrepant: one says that he died in Thrace (Plut. Cimon, 4), a second that he was murdered in Athens (Marcellinus, Vit. Thucyd. 31-33, 55), a third that he died a natural death in Athens (Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, pp. 202 sq.).

78. **Ἑρμόλυκον τὸν παγκρατιαστὴν**: Herodotus (9, 105) tells of Hermolycus the pancratiast who distinguished himself at the battle of Mycale, and was afterward killed in battle at Cyrnus in Euboea and buried at Geraestus. — 79. **ἐς δὲ Φορμίωνα**: this anecdote about Phormio is related with some variations in Schol. Ar. Pac. 347, on the authority of Androtion in the third book of his Attica; Androtion was a pupil of Isocrates and a contemporary of Demosthenes (Suidas, s.v. Ἀνδροτίων; Frag. Hist. Gr., ed. Müller, I, lxxxiii)

- 85 οἱ. πρὶν ἂν ἐκτίσῃ. πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ εἶναι παρέχε-  
σθαι φρόνημα. οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι — πάντως γὰρ ἐβούλοντο  
ἄρχειν Φορμίωνα — τὰ χρέα ὁπόσοις ὤφειλε διαλύουσιν.
- 24 Ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηναῖα πεποιήται τὸν Σιληνὸν Μαρσύαν παίονσα. 1  
ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀνέλοιτο. ἐρρίφθαι σφᾶς τῆς θεοῦ  
βουλομένης. — τούτων πέραν ὧν εἶρηκα ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη  
Θησεύς μάχη πρὸς τὸν ταῦρον τὸν Μίνω καλούμενον. εἶτε  
5 ἀνὴρ εἶτε θηρίον ἦν ὁποῖον κεκράτηκεν ὁ λόγος· τέρατα  
γὰρ πολλῶ καὶ τοῦδε θαυμασιώτερα καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτικτον  
γυναῖκες. κείται δὲ καὶ Φρίξος ὁ Ἀθάμαντος ἐξενηνεγμένος 2  
ἐς Κόλχους ὑπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ· θύσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὄψω δὴ θεῶ. ὡς  
δὲ εἰκάσαι (Διὶ) τῷ Λαφυστίῳ καλουμένῳ παρὰ Ὀρχομενίοις,  
10 τοὺς μηροὺς κατὰ νόμον ἐκτεμὼν τὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐς αὐτοὺς  
καιομένους ὄρα. κείνται δὲ ἐξῆς ἄλλαι τε εἰκόνες καὶ Ἡρα-  
κλέους· ἄγχει δέ. ὡς λόγος ἔχει. τοὺς δράκοντας. Ἀθηναῖα τέ  
ἐστὶν ἀνιούσα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦρος

24. *Athena striking Marsyas, and other statues of gods and men on the Acropolis—Worship of Zeus Polieus—The Parthenon—Statues of Athena in the Parthenon—Apollo Parnopius.*

1. Ἀθηναῖα . . . Μαρσύαν παίονσα: the story is that Marsyas picked up the pipes which Athena had thrown away in disgust, and afterwards attained such skill in playing upon them that he challenged Apollo himself to a musical contest. See Hyg. Fab. 165; Plut. de cohib. ira, 6; Athen. 14, p. 616 E, F. It has been conjectured that this group was identical with a work of Myron, mentioned by Pliny, N. H. 33, 57. There are several representations of the satyr which are doubtless copies of some famous original, probably the one here mentioned. The best of these is

the Marsyas of the Lateran.—4. Θησεύς μάχη: Theseus's fight with the Minotaur is frequently represented on coins and vase-paintings, both red-figured and black-figured; also in one of the metopes of the so-called Theseum. The Minotaur is portrayed regularly with the body of a man and the head of a bull.

7. Φρίξος: probably the statue by Naucydes of a man sacrificing a ram, mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 34, 80), is the one here mentioned.—11. Ἡρακλέους . . . τοὺς δράκοντας: cf. Pind. Nem. 1, 50; Theoc. 24, 1; Apoll. 2, 4, 8.—12. Ἀθηναῖα: on the representations of the birth of Athena, which was the subject of the sculptures on the east pediment of the Parthenon, see Excursus X.—13. ταῦρος ἀνάθημα:



Ch. 24, 3

ἀνάθημα τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνέ-  
 15 θηκεν ἡ βουλή· πολλὰ δ' ἄν τις ἐθέλων εἰκάζῃ. λέλεκται ἢ  
 δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναίοις περισσώτερόν τι ἢ τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς· πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖν  
 ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δ' ἀκόλους Ἐρμῆς. . . ὁμοῦ δέ  
 20 σφισιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ . . . σπουδαίων δαίμων ἐστίν. ὅστις δὲ τὰ  
 ἡκόντων, καὶ τάδε ἔστιν οἱ θεάσασθαι. κράνος ἐστὶν ἐπικέ-  
 μενος ἀνῆρ . . . Κλεοίτου. καὶ οἱ τοὺς ὄνυχας ἀργυροῦς ἐνε-  
 ποίησεν ὁ Κλεοίτας· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης

the bull was of bronze, and was generally known as "the bull on the Acropolis" (cf. Athen. 9, p. 396 D; Hesych. s.v. βοῦς ἐν πόλει). Near by was the figure of a ram in silver bronze, coupled with the Wooden Horse by the comic poet Plato on account of its size (Hesych. s.v. κριὸς ἀσελγόκερος).

17. Ἀθηναῖν . . . Ἐργάνην: this remark was probably elicited by the sight of an image, altar, or temple of Athena Ergane, or the Worker, an epithet applied to the goddess as patroness of the useful arts. There is much discussion as to the site of this image, altar, or temple, some authorities locating it between the Artemis Brauronia precinct and the Parthenon, others to the north of the Acropolis. Five inscriptions have been found containing dedications to Athena the Worker (C.I.A. II, 1428, 1429, 1434, 1438; IV, 373<sup>271</sup>, 205). — 18. ἀκόλους Ἐρμῆς: cf. 4, 33, 3. Thuc. 4, 27 mentions the stone images of Hermes, shaped like square pillars, commonly placed in the doorways of private houses and of sanctuaries in Attica. — 19. σπουδαίων δαίμων: this image is mentioned as a third

instance of the piety of the Athenians. There is much dispute as to the correctness of the text and as to the temple here alluded to. The natural implication is that there was a temple of Athena Ergane between the precinct of Artemis Brauronia and the Parthenon along the road followed by Pausanias, but there is no monumental evidence of this. Here actual remains of a building known as the *Chalkotheke* or "storehouse for bronzes" (C.I.A. II, 61) have been laid bare. On this whole question, see Dörpfeld, A.M. XIV (1889), 304-313, "Chalkothek and Ergane-Tempel," and Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 306. — 22. Κλεοίτου: according to 6, 20, 4, where the inscription on this statue is quoted, Cleoetas was famous for having invented a method for starting horses at the Olympic games. His ingenuity was shown in silvering the nails of the statue. — 23. Γῆς ἄγαλμα: an inscription, Γῆς καρποφόρον κατὰ μαντεῖαν, cut in the rock about thirty feet north of the seventh column on the north side of the Parthenon, counting from the west, determines the site of this image. The

ὑσαί οἱ τὸν Δία, εἴτε αὐτοῖς ὄμβρου δεῆσαν Ἀθηναίοις εἴτε  
 25 καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλησι συμβὰς αὐχμός. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Τιμό-  
 θεος ὁ Κόνωνος καὶ αὐτὸς κείται Κόνων· Πρόκνην δὲ τὰ ἐς  
 τὸν παῖδα βεβουλευμένην αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ἀνέθηκεν  
 Ἀλκαμένης. πεποιῆται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηναῖ  
 καὶ κῦμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν· καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα τό τε  
 30 Λεωχάρους καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολιεύς, ᾧ τὰ καθεστηκότα

date of the inscription, judged from the style of the letters, was the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D. On vase-paintings Earth is usually represented as a woman rising from the ground, her lower limbs not appearing, and this may have been the form of the image.— 25. Τιμόθεος κτλ.: the two statues stood on a single pedestal composed of four blocks of Pentelic marble, two of which have been found on the Acropolis, bearing the inscription, Κόνων Τιμ[ο]θέου. Τιμόθεος Κονω[νος] (C. I. A. II, 1360).— 26. Πρόκνην: Michaelis thinks we have this group in a statue discovered in 1836, now in the Acropolis Museum. It represents a woman standing, clothed in long flowing robes; against her right knee a naked boy is pressing. The workmanship is decidedly inferior, but Pausanias states that Alcamenes “dedicated” it, not that he made it. Then it may not be the great Alcamenes. The style points to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century. See A.M. I (1876), pp. 304–307.— 28. τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας: on coins of Athens this subject is represented in two different ways: (a) in the one there is the actual contest, as in the strife (ἔρις) represented in the western pediment of the Parthenon; (b) in the other

there is nothing more than a peaceful colloquy. Probably the group mentioned here by Pausanias was of the latter type. In this the two deities show their tokens and calmly await the issue. Poseidon has his left foot advanced and resting on a rock, while with his right hand he grasps his trident; Athena rests her right hand upon the olive tree, and behind her are her serpent and shield. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Num. Comm. on Paus., pp. 130 ff. with pl. Z, xi–xvi. This group closely resembles a marble relief now in Smyrna (see Frazer, II, 302, Fig. 23).

29. τό τε Λεωχάρους καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολιεύς: coins also probably preserve the types of these two statues, the older being the xoanon, or an archaic copy of it in stone, the later by Leochares an idealized copy of it. In the one, Zeus strides forward, the left hand extended, the right drawn back and grasping the thunderbolt in the act of hurling it; in the other, Zeus stands in an easy attitude, the left knee bent, the right hand holding the thunderbolt half down, the left extended over an altar round which is entwined a serpent. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Num. Comm. on Paus., pp. 137 ff. with pl. BB, i, ii, iii.— 30. τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν κτλ.: this account

Ch. 24, 7

- ἐς τὴν θυσίαν γράφων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην αἰτίαν οὐ  
 γράφω. τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως κριθὰς καταθέτες ἐπὶ τὸν  
 βωμὸν μεμιγμένας πυροῖς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσι φυλακὴν· ὁ βοῦς  
 δὲ ὄν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἐτοιμάσαιτες φυλάσσουσιν ἄπτεται  
 35 τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. καλοῦσι δέ τινα  
 τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνου, . . . καὶ ταύτη τὸν πέλεκυν ρύβας —  
 οὕτω γάρ ἐστὶν οἱ νόμος — οἴχεται φεύγων· οἱ δὲ ἄτε τὸν  
 ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι  
 τὸν πέλεκυν.
- 40 Ταῦτα μὲν τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον δρῶσιν· ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν  
 ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιοῦσιν ὅποσα ἐν  
 τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται. πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναῖς ἔχει  
 γένεσιν. τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ἢ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηναῖν ἐστὶν  
 ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς· αὐτὸ δὲ ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα  
 45 καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιήται. μέσῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπίκειταί οἱ τῷ κράνει  
 Σφιγγὸς εἰκὼν — ἃ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σφίγγα λέγεται, γράφω προ-  
 ελθόντος ἐς τὰ Βοιωτία μοι τοῦ λόγου — καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ  
 τοῦ κράνουσ γρῦπές εἰσιν ἐπειρασμένοι. τούτους τοὺς γρῦ- 6  
 πας ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισιν Ἀριστέας ὁ Προκορινῆσιος μάχεσθαι περὶ  
 50 τοῦ χρυσοῦ φησιν Ἀριμασποῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰσσηδόνων· τὸν  
 δὲ χρυσοῦν ὃν φυλάσσουσιν οἱ γρῦπες ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν·  
 εἶναι δὲ Ἀριμασποὺς μὲν ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους πάντας ἐκ  
 γενετῆς, γρῦπας δὲ θηρία λέουσιν εἰκασμένα. περὰ δὲ ἔχει  
 καὶ στόμα ἀετοῦ. καὶ γρυπῶν μὲν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω·  
 55 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ὀρθόν ἐστὶν ἐν χιτῶνι ποδίρει

of the *Bouphonia* or *Diipolia*, as this ancient ceremony of Zeus was indifferently called, is supplemented by Paus. 1, 28, 10, and is described more fully by Theophrastus, quoted by Porphyry (*De abstinentia*, 2, 29 sq.). The day on which the sacrifice took place was the 14th of Scirophorion (June-July). See

Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 30 ff. — 40. ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν . . . Παρθενῶνα: on the Parthenon, see Exeкурсus X.

41. ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται: see Exeкурсus X for an account of the pediment sculptures of the Parthenon. — 44. τὸ ἄγαλμα: see Exeкурсus X.

καί οἱ κατὰ τὸ στέρνου ἢ κεφαλῇ Μεδούσης ἐλέφαντός ἐστιν ἐμπεποιημένη· καὶ Νίκην τε ὅσον τεσσάρων πηχῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ (ἐτέρᾳ) χειρὶ δόρυ ἔχει. καί οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀσπίς τε κείται καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἷη δ' ἂν  
 60 Ἐριχθόνιος οὗτος ὁ δράκων. ἐστὶ δὲ τῷ βάθρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπειρασμένη Πανδώρας γένεσις. πεποιήται δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ τε καὶ ἄλλοις ὡς ἡ Πανδώρα γένοιτο αὕτη γυνὴ πρώτη· πρὶν δὲ ἢ γενέσθαι Πανδώραν οὐκ ἦν πω γυναικῶν γένος. ἐνταῦθα εἰκόνα ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως μόνου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔσο-  
 65 δον Ἰφικράτους ἀποδειξαμένου πολλά τε καὶ θαυμαστά ἔργα.

Τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστι πέραν Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα 8  
 λέγουσι Φειδίαν ποιῆσαι. Παρνόπιον δὲ καλοῦσιν ὅτι σφίσι παρνόπων βλαπτόντων τὴν γῆν ἀποτρέψειν ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀπέτρεψεν ἴσασι, τρώπῳ  
 70 δὲ οὐ λέγουσι ποίω. τρὶς δὲ αὐτὸς ἤδη πάρνοπας ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα οἶδα φθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς

61. Πανδώρας γένεσις: there seems to have been a close connection in mythology and ritual between Pandora and Athena. According to Suidas s.v. Παρθένου, Pandora was a daughter of Erechtheus. Philochorus is quoted to the effect that whoever sacrificed an ox to Athena was obliged to sacrifice a sheep to Pandora (Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Ἐπιβοιον; Etymol. Magn. p. 358, s.v. ἐπιβοιον). For the legend of Pandora, the first woman, see Hesiod, Theog. 561 sqq.; Opp. 47 sqq. — 64. εἰκόνα . . . Ἀδριανοῦ: the inscribed pedestal of a statue of Hadrian has been found between the Parthenon and the Propylaea (C.I.A. III, 488). — εἰκόνα . . . Ἰφικράτους: this statue was bestowed in recognition of Iphicrates' services in cutting to pieces a Spar-

tan regiment in 392 B.C. (Xen. Hell. 4, 5, 10 sqq.). It was of bronze (Dem. 23, 130, p. 663). Iphicrates himself alluded to it in a fragment of a speech preserved by Aristotle (Rhetoric, 2, 23, p. 1397 v). In the Parthenon were also painted portraits of Themistocles (Paus. 1, 1, 2) and Heliodorus Halis (Paus. 1, 37, 1). Here too was kept the silver-footed seat in which Xerxes sat watching the battle of Salamis (Harpocr. s.v. ἀργυρόπους δίφρος).

67. Παρνόπιον: the worship of Apollo Parnopius was prevalent among the Aeolic Greeks of Asia (Strabo, 13, p. 613). With the epithet Parnopius, Locust, cf. Smintheus, the Mouse-God, also applied to Apollo (Il. A, 39). Furtwängler (Meisterw. pp. 659-671) attributes the statue to the elder Praxiteles.

Ch. 25, 1

μὲν ἐξέωσε βίαιος ἐμπεσὼν ἄνεμος, τοὺς δὲ ὕσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ καῦμα ἰσχυρὸν καθείλεν ἐπιλαβόν, οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ ῥίγῃ καταληφθέντες ἀπόλοντο.

- 25 Τοιαῦτα μὲν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνοντα εἶδον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ 1  
Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει καὶ Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ αὐτὸς  
Ξάνθιππος, ὃς ἐναυμάχησεν ἐπὶ Μυκάλῃ Μήδοις. ἀλλ' ὁ  
μὲν Περικλέους ἀνδριάς ἐτέρωθι ἀνάκειται, τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου  
5 πλησίον ἔστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήσιος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφῶ  
τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας· καὶ  
οἱ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστιν οἶον ἄδοντος ἂν ἐν μέθῃ γένοιτο ἀνθρώ-  
που. γυναικας δὲ πλησίον Δεινομένης Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου καὶ

25. *Other statues on the Acropolis — Olympiodorus — Athens after the battle of Chaeronea — Confederation of Greek states against the Macedonians — Leosthenes — Demetrius of Phalerum — Lachares.*

2. Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου: this statue may have been the one made by Cresilas which Pliny mentions (N. H. 34, 74). What is probably a part of the pedestal has been found, in a fragment of Pentelic marble, bearing the inscription [Περ]ικλέους [Κρεσ]ίλας ἐποίηε (C. I. A. IV, 403 a, p. 154). Three ancient busts of Pericles are extant, all copies of one original, which is conjectured to be Cresilas' statue. They represent Pericles bearded and helmeted, with serene and noble countenance. The best of the three is in the British Museum. See Furtw. Meisterw. d. griech. Plastik, pp. 270-274. — αὐτὸς Ξάνθιππος: a few years ago a potsherd was found on the Acropolis, bearing the inscription Ξάνθιππος Ἀρρίφονος (C. I. A. IV, 570, p. 192 sq.) and in 1891 a potsherd similarly inscribed was found in Athens near Piraeus Street (C. I. A. IV, 571). These

were doubtless used in voting the ostracism of Xanthippus (see Aristotle, Resp. Athen. 22). Pausanias is mistaken in speaking of the battle of Mycale as a sea-fight; it was a land-battle. Xanthippus commanded the Athenian forces on this occasion. See Hdt. 9, 98-106, 114; Plut. Pericles, 3. — 5. Ἀνακρέων: there is in the Jacobsen Collection at Copenhagen a statue of Anacreon, formerly in the Villa Borghese at Rome. It represents the poet as a bearded man in the prime of life, standing and playing on the lyre. The original was doubtless a fifth-century work, and one well known, as there are extant four replicas of the head, the best one being in Berlin. Kekulé assigns the original to Cresilas, Furtwängler to Phidias, and both judge it the statue on the Acropolis here mentioned. Against this identification is the fact that Pausanias says the statue represented the poet as drunk, while the Copenhagen statue represents him as sober. See Kekulé, Jrb. d. arch. Inst. VII (1892), 119-126; Furtwängler, Meisterw. p. 92 sq. — 8. Δεινομένης: Pliny (N. H. 34, 50)

Καλλιστῶ τὴν Λυκάονος πεποίηκεν, αἷς ἀμφοτέραις ἐστὶν  
 10 ἐς ἅπαν ὅμοια διηγήματα ἔρωσ Διὸς καὶ Ἑρας ὀργή καὶ  
 ἀλλαγὴ τῇ μὲν ἐς βούν, Καλλιστοῖ δὲ ἐς ἄρκτον.

Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ νοτίῳ Γιγάντων, οἱ περὶ Θράκην 2  
 ποτὲ καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ᾤκησαν. τούτων τὸν  
 λεγόμενον πόλεμον καὶ μάχην πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναίων  
 15 καὶ τὸ Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους ἔργον καὶ Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν  
 Μυσία φθορὰν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀτταλος, ὅσον τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκα-  
 στον. ἕστηκε δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, μεγέθει τε ὧν ἔπραξε  
 λαβῶν δόξαν καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα τῷ καιρῷ, φρόνημα ἐν ἀνθρώ-  
 20 πους παρασχόμενος συνεχῶς ἐπταικόσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐδὲ  
 ἐν χρηστὸν οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίζουσι. τὸ γὰρ αὐτό- 3  
 χημα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἅπασι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἦρξε κακοῦ καὶ  
 οὐχ ἦκιστα δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας καὶ ὅσοι  
 μετὰ Μακεδόνων ἐτάχθησαν. τὰς μὲν δὴ πολλὰς Φίλιππος  
 τῶν πόλεων εἶλεν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ λόγῳ συνθέμενος ἔργῳ  
 25 σφᾶς μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε, νήσους τε ἀφελόμενος καὶ τῆς ἐς  
 τὰ ναυτικὰ παύσας ἀρχῆς. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἡσύχασαν  
 Ἀθηναῖοι Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου·  
 τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνες μὲν βασιλεύειν  
 εἶλοντο Ἀριδαῖον, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ πᾶσα ἀρχή,

mentions a sculptor Dinomenes, who flourished Ol. 95 (about 400 B.C.).

12. **Γιγάντων**: these figures were doubtless dedicated by Attalus I, king of Pergamus, to commemorate his victories over the Gauls (cf. 1, 4, 5). They were located, as Pausanias states, on the south wall, and doubtless directly over the theatre, as Plutarch (Anton. 60) relates how the figure of Dionysus in the group representing the giants was blown from its place by a hurricane and fell into the theatre.

The material was probably of bronze. Marble copies of figures of these groups are preserved in the museums of Europe, five of Gauls, three of Persians, one Giant, and one Amazon, all representing the vanquished. The Athens statues were probably reduced replicas of figures in bronze at Pergamus, executed by Epigonus. See Frazer, II, 322-325; Harrison, Ancient Athens, pp. 474-477. — 17. From here to 26, 3 follows a digression on Olympiodorus and the contest with the Macedonians.

Ch. 25, 6

30 καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι ἀνεκτὰ ἐφαίνετο εἰ τὸν πάντα χρόνον  
 ἔσται ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε πολεμεῖν  
 ὄρμητο καὶ ἄλλους ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἤγειρον. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ  
 μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις Πελοποννησίων μὲν Ἄργος Ἐπίδαυρος  
 Σικυὼν Τροιζῆν Ἥλειοι Φλιάσιοι Μεσσήνη, οἱ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ Κο-  
 35 ρινθίων ἰσθμοῦ Λοκροὶ Φωκεῖς Θεσσαλοὶ Κάρυστος Ἀκαρ-  
 νᾶνες ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν συντελοῦντες· Βοιωτοὶ δὲ Θηβαῖον  
 ἠρημωμένην τὴν γῆν τὴν Θηβαΐδα νεμόμενοι δέει μὴ Θήβας  
 αὐθις Ἀθηναῖοί σφισιν ἐποικίζωσιν οὔτε ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν  
 ἐτάσσοντο καὶ ἐς ὅσον ἤκον δυνάμεως τὰ Μακεδόνων ἠῦξον.  
 40 τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ταχθέντας κατὰ πόλεις τε ἐκά-  
 στοὺς ἤγον στρατηγοὶ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἄρχειν ἤρητο Ἀθη-  
 ναῖος Λεωσθένης πόλεός τε ἀξιώματι καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι δοκῶν  
 πολέμων ἔμπειρος. ὑπῆρχε δὲ οἱ καὶ πρὸς πάντας εὐεργεσίαν  
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὅποσοι γὰρ μισθοῦ παρὰ Δαρείῳ καὶ σατρά-  
 45 παις ἔστρατεύοντο Ἕλληνες, ἀνοικίσαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν Περσίδα  
 θελήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Λεωσθένης ἔβη κομίσας ναυσὶν  
 ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ὦν ἐς αὐτὸν ἠλπισαν ἔργα  
 λαμπρότερα ἐπιδειξάμενος παρέσχεν ἀποθανόντων ἀθιμῆσαι  
 πᾶσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐχ ἦκιστα σφαλῆναι· φρουρά τε Μακε-  
 50 δόνων ἐσῆλθεν Ἀθηναῖοις, οἱ Μουνυχίαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ  
 Πειραιᾶ καὶ τεῖχη μακρὰ ἔσχον. Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ ἀποθανόν-  
 τος Ὀλυμπίας διαβάσα ἐξ Ἠπείρου χρόνον μὲν τινα ἠρξεν  
 ἀποκτείνασα Ἀριδαῖον, οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκπολιορκη-  
 θεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παρεδόθη τῷ πλήθει. Κασσάνδρος  
 55 δὲ βασιλεύσας — τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐπέξισί μοι μόνα ὁ  
 λόγος — Πάνακτον τεῖχος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ Σαλαμίνα εἶλε  
 τύραννόν τε Ἀθηναῖοις ἔπραξε γειεῖσθαι Δημήτριον τὸν

56. Πάνακτον τεῖχος: situated on the borders of Boeotia, and captured in 322 B.C. by the Boeotians, who dismantled it (Thuc. 5, 3, 42; Dem. 19,

326). Cassander later garrisoned it, but Demetrius Poliorketes recaptured it and restored it to the Athenians (Plut. Demetrius, 23).

Φανοστράτου. [τὰ πρὸς] δόξαν εἰληφότα ἐπὶ σοφία. τοῦτον  
 μὲν δὴ τυραννίδος ἔπαυσε Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνου, νέος τε  
 60 ὦν καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν διακείμενος· Κάσ-  
 σανδρος δὲ — δεινὸν γάρ τι ὑπῆν οἱ μῖσος ἐς τοὺς Ἀθη-  
 ναίους — ὁ δὲ αὐθις Λαχάρην προεστηκότῃ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ  
 δήμου. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα οἰκειωσάμενος τυραννίδα ἔπεισε  
 65 βουλευῆσαι, τυράννων ὦν ἴσμεν τά τε ἐς ἀνθρώπους μάλιστα  
 ἀνήμερον καὶ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀφειδέστατον. Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ  
 Ἀντιγόνου διαφορὰ μὲν ἦν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἤδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων.  
 καθεῖλε δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὴν Λαχάρους τυραννίδα· ἀλισκομένου  
 δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκει Λαχάρης ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἅτε δὲ  
 ἀσπίδας ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθελὼν χρυσᾶς καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς  
 70 Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸν περιαιρετὸν ἀποδύσας κόσμον ὑπω-  
 πτεύετο εὐπορεῖν μεγάλως χρημάτων. Λαχάρην μὲν οὖν τού- 8  
 των ἔνεκα κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες Κορωναῖοι· Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ  
 Ἀντιγόνου τυράννων ἐλευθέρωσας Ἀθηναίους τό τε παρα-  
 τικά μετὰ τὴν Λαχάρους φυγὴν οὐκ ἀπέδωκέ σφισι τὸν  
 75 Πειραιᾶ καὶ ὕστερον πολέμῳ κρατήσας ἐσήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸ  
 φρουρὰν τὸ ἄστυ, τὸ Μουσεῖον καλούμενον τειχίσας. ἔστι  
 δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ Μουσεῖον ἀπαντικρῶ  
 τῆς ἀκροπόλεως λόφος, ἔνθα Μουσαῖον ἄδειν καὶ ἀπο-  
 θανόντα γῆρα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ μνῆμα  
 80 αὐτόθι ἀνδρὶ ἀκοδομήθη Σύρω. τότε δὲ Δημήτριος τειχίσας  
 26 εἶχε· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἄνδρας ἐσήλθεν οὐ πολλοὺς [καὶ] 1

67. τὴν Λαχάρους τυραννίδα: see Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hell.* II, 2, 251–253. He removed from the Parthenon the three hundred Persian shields sent by Alexander the Great to Athens to be dedicated to Athena (Arrian, *Anab.* I, 16, 7; Plut. *Alexander*, 16). Athenaeus (9, p. 405 E) quotes a comic poet as saying that Lachares “had made Athena naked.”

76. τὸ Μουσεῖον: Pausanias omits from his description the hill district southwest of the Acropolis embracing the Pnyx, the hill of the Nymphs, and the Museum hill, but here incidentally mentions the last. The monument here mentioned is still conspicuous.

26. *Olympiodorus* — *Artemis Leucophryene* — *Statue of Athena by Endocus* — *The Erechtheum* — *Image of*



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μνήμη τε προγόνων καὶ ἐς οἶαν μεταβολὴν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἦκει  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίκα τε ὡς εἶχον αἰροῦνται στρατηγὸν  
 Ὀλυμπιόδωρον· ὁ δὲ σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἦγε καὶ  
 5 γέροντας καὶ μειράκια ὁμοίως, προθυμίᾳ πλέον ἢ ῥόμῃ  
 κατορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐλπίζων· ἐπεξελλόντας δὲ τοὺς  
 Μακεδόνας μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ φυγόντων ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον  
 τὸ χωρίον εἶλεν. Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἤλκυ- 2  
 θερώθησαν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ πάντων ἀγωνισαμένοι ἀξίως λόγου  
 10 Λεώκριτος μάλιστα ὁ Πρωτάρχου λέγεται τόλμῃ χρῆσασθαι  
 πρὸς τὸ ἔργον· πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβη, πρῶτος  
 δὲ ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐσήλατο, καὶ οἱ πεσόντι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τιμαὶ  
 παρ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλαι γεγόνασι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθεσαν  
 τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Λεωκρίτου καὶ τὸ κατόρ-  
 15 θωμα ἐπιγράψαντες. Ὀλυμπιόδωρ δὲ τὸδε μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον  
 μέγιστον χωρὶς τούτων ὧν ἔπραξε Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μοινηχίαν  
 ἀνασωσάμενος· ποιουμένων δὲ Μακεδόνων καταδρομῆν ἐς  
 Ἐλευσίνα Ἐλευσινίους συντάξας ἐνῆκα τοὺς Μακεδόνας.  
 πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἐσβαλόντος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Κασ-  
 20 σάνδρον πλεύσας Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ἐς Λίτωλιαν βοηθεῖν Λίτω-  
 λούς ἔπεισε, καὶ τὸ συμμαχικὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίους  
 αἴτιον μάλιστα διαφυγεῖν τὸν Κασσάνδρον πόλεμον. Ὀλυμ-  
 πιόδωρ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Ἀθήναις εἰσὶν ἐν τε ἀκροπόλει καὶ  
 ἐν πρυτανείῳ τιμαί, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ γραφή· καὶ Φοκίων  
 25 οἱ Ἐλάτειαν ἔχοντες χαλκοῦν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀπέ-  
 θεσαν, ὅτι καὶ τούτοις ἤμυεν ἀποστᾶσι Κασσάνδρον.

Τῆς δὲ εἰκόνης πλησίον τῆς Ὀλυμπιόδωρου χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέ- 1  
 μιδος ἄγαλμα ἐστήκεν ἐπὶ κλησίῳ Λευκοφρυγῆς, ἀνέθεσαν

. *Athena that fell from Heaven* — *Calimachus*.

4. Ὀλυμπιόδωρον: Plutarch (Demetrius, 46) mentions this revolt, which probably took place in 288 B.C. See Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hell.* II, 2, 300.

The outer Ceramicus contained the graves of thirteen who fell in the assault on the Museum hill (1, 29, 3).

28. Λευκοφρυγῆς: this title was given Artemis from Leucophrys, a town in the valley of the Maeander.

δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θημιστοκλέους· Μάγνητες γάρ, ὧν ἦρχε  
 30 Θημιστοκλῆς λαβὼν παρὰ βασιλέως, Λευκοφρυήνην Ἄρτε-  
 μιν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ.

Δεῖ δέ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως  
 ἐπέξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. Ἐνδοῖος ἦν γένος μὲν Ἀθη-  
 ναῖος. Δαιδάλου δὲ μαθητῆς, ὃς καὶ φεύγοντι Δαιδάλω διὰ  
 35 τὸν Κάλω θάνατον ἐπηκολούθησεν ἐς Κρήτην· τούτου καθή-  
 μερόν ἐστιν Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα, ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον ὡς Καλλίας  
 μὲν ἀναθείη, ποιήσκει δὲ Ἐνδοῖος.— ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἴκημα 5  
 Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον· πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου Διὸς ἐστι βωμὸς  
 Ὑπάτου, ἔνθα ἔμφυχον θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες  
 40 οὐδὲν ἔτι οἴνω χρήσασθαι νομίζουσιν. ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσι  
 βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεὶ θύουσιν ἔκ του μαν-  
 τεύματος, καὶ ἦρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαίστου· γραφαὶ

Xenophon (Hell. 3, 2, 19; 4, 8, 17) mentions her sanctuary there. The temple at Magnesia on the Maeander, alluded to by Pausanias, was an Ionic structure built by the architect Hermogenes (Vitruv. 3, 2, 6; 7, praef. 12). According to Strabo (14, p. 647) it was the third largest temple in Asia, and, though inferior in size and number of votive offerings to the Artemis temple at Ephesus, was far superior in its architectural features. The remains of the temple were excavated in 1891-1893 by the German Archaeological Institute.—33. Ἐνδοῖος: although Pausanias speaks of Endoeus as an Athenian, there is some ground for thinking he was an Ionian Greek, as two inscribed bases of statues by him found in Athens are in Ionic characters (C.I.A. I, 477, *Δελτιον ἀρχ.* 1888, 208 sq.). He is also known to have made images for temples in Ionia, including the im-

age of Artemis at Ephesus. He flourished at Athens in the latter part of the sixth century B.C., the age of Pisistratus. A seated statue of Athena, now in the Acropolis Museum, is usually ascribed to him. The Callias who dedicated it was probably the opponent of Pisistratus mentioned by Herodotus (6, 121).

37. οἴκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον: on the Erechtheum, see Excursus XI.—41. βωμοί: The Athenians frequently identified Erechtheus with Poseidon (Hesych. s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς). An inscription (C.I.A. I, 387) has a dedication to Poseidon Erechtheus. This priesthood was styled that of Poseidon Erechtheus (Ps.-Plut. Vit. x Or. p. 843 B, C; C.I.A. III, 805). The seat reserved in the theatre was for "the priest of earth-holding Poseidon and Erechtheus" (C.I.A. III, 276).—42. ἦρωος Βούτου: Butes was either a twin brother of

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δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τοῦ Βουταδῶν καὶ — δι-  
 πλοῦν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ οἶκημα — [καὶ] ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον θαλάσ-  
 45 σιον ἐν φρέατι. τοῦτο μὲν θαῦμα οὐ μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι  
 μεσόγαιαν οἰκοῦσιν, ἄλλοις τε ἔστι καὶ Καρσὶν Ἀφροδισιεῦ-  
 σιν· ἀλλὰ τόδε τὸ φρέαρ ἐς συγγραφὴν παρέχεται κυμάτων  
 ἦχον ἐπὶ νότῳ πνεύσαντι. καὶ τριαίνης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρα  
 σχῆμα· ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτύρια ἐς τὴν ἀμφι-  
 50 σβήτησιν τῆς χώρας φανῆναι.

Ἴερά μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἐστὶν ἢ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἢ πάσα ἢ  
 ὁμοίως γῆ — καὶ γὰρ ὅσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλους ἐν  
 τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν τὴν Ἀθηναῖν ἄγουσιν  
 ἐν τιμῇ — τὸ δὲ ἀγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νο-  
 55 μισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἢ συνῆλλον ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς  
 ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει. τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλις·  
 φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν  
 οὐκ ἐπέξειμι εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει. λύχνιον δὲ τῇ θεῷ

Erechtheus (Apollod. 3, 14, 8) or a son of Poseidon (Eustath. on Homer II. A, 1, p. 13; Etymol. Magn. p. 209 sq., s.vv. Βουτάδαι and Βουτιδῆς). The ancient family of the Butads or Eteobutads furnished both the priests of Poseidon Erechtheus and the priestesses of Athena Polias (Aeschin. 2, 147; Harpocr. and Phot. s.v. Ἐτεοβουτάδαι et al.). The statesman Lycurgus was of this family.

55. Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα κτλ.: this remark is evidently intended to explain the epithet Polias (from πόλις) which was the regular title of the Athena of the Erechtheum (see Frazer, II, 573 sqq., Appendix). The phraseology was suggested by Thuc. 2, 15, who says that in early times the word πόλις was restricted to mean the Acropolis. Cf. C.I.A. I, 1, 4, 139. The image was

made of olive-wood (Schol. Dem. 22, 13, p. 597). As to the type, there is some dispute whether the goddess was represented seated or standing. — 58. λύχνιον: the lamp with its perpetual light in the Erechtheum is mentioned by Strabo (9, p. 396). During the siege of Athens by Sulla it was allowed to go out for lack of oil (Plut. Numa, 3; Sulla, 13). The date of Callimachus is not positively known, but he probably belongs to the close of the fifth century. To him is attributed the invention of the Corinthian capital (Vitruv. 4, 1, 9). He made a seated image of Hera at Plataea (9, 2, 7). Pliny (N. H. 34, 92) says that the epithet κακιστέχνος, "Refiner away of Art," was applied to him because of his excessive fastidiousness; Vitruvius (4, 1, 9) that it was on account of "the elegance and

χρυσούν Καλλίμαχος ἐποίησεν· ἐμπλήσαντες δὲ ἐλαίου 7  
 60 τὸν λύχνον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους ἀναμένουσι ἡμέ-  
 ραν. ἐλαιον δὲ ἐκείνο τὸν μεταξύ ἐπαρκεῖ χρόνον τῷ λύχνῳ  
 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ φαίνονται. καὶ οἱ λίνου  
 Καρπασίου θρυαλλίς ἐνεστιν, ὃ δὴ πυρὶ λίνων μόνον οὐκ  
 ἔστιν ἀλώσιμον· φοῖνιξ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λύχνου χαλκοῦς ἀνήκων  
 65 ἐς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνασπᾶ τὴν ἀτμίδα. ὃ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὁ τὸν  
 λύχνον ποιήσας, ἀποδέων τῶν πρώτων ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην.  
 οὕτω σοφία πάντων ἐστὶν ἄριστος ὥστε καὶ λίθους πρώτος  
 ἐτρύπησε καὶ ὄνομα ἔθετο κατατηξίτεχνον, ἣ θεμένων ἄλλων  
 κατέστησεν ἐφ' αὐτῷ.

27 Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκρο- 1  
 πος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνο-  
 πτον. ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων  
 δίφρος ὀκλαδίας ἐστὶ Δαιδάλου ποίημα, λάφυρα δὲ ἀπὸ  
 5 Μήδων Μασιστίου θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγε-  
 μονίαν τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδονίου λεγόμενος εἶναι.  
 Μασίστιον μὲν δὴ τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα  
 ἱπέων· Μαρδονίου δὲ μαχেসαμένου Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐναντία  
 καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιαίου πεσόντος οὐδ' ἂν ὑπεδέξαντο  
 10 ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἴσως Ἀθηναίοις παρῆκαν φέρεσθαι Λακεδαιμό-  
 νιοι τὸν ἀκινάκην. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίας οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλλο 2

subtlety" of his work in marble. See Furtwängler, *Meisterw.* pp. 200-206.

27. Offerings in the Temple of Athena Polias—The Olive Tree—The Arrephoric Maidens—Statue of the Priestess Lysimache—Group of Erechtheus and Eumolpus—Statues of Tolmides and his son—Athena statues—Boar Hunt—Fight of Heracles with Cygnus—Heracles and Theseus—Minos and the Minotaur.

1. ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος: on the Old Athena Temple, see Excursus XII.

11. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίας: Pausanias does not tell the site of the sacred olive, but from other sources we learn that it was in the Pandrosium to the west of the Erechtheum (see Dion. Hal. de Dinarcho iudicium, 3; Apollod. 3, 14, 1). Herodotus (8, 55) speaks of it as within the precincts of the Erechtheum. Pliny (*N. H.* 16, 240) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 164) speak of this sacred olive as existing in their time. Herodotus's account of the burning and sprouting again is not so marvelous

Ch. 27, 4

εἰπεῖν ἢ τῇ θεῷ μαρτύριον γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ· λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε. κατακαυθῆναι μὲν τὴν ἐλαίαν, ἡνίκα ὁ Μῆδος τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀθηναίους.

15 κατακαυθεῖσαν δὲ αὐθημερὸν ὄσον τε ἐπὶ δύο βλαστῆσαι πῆχαις.

Τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχῆς ἐστὶ· καὶ ἔστι Πάνδροςος ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀνάτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μόνη. ἃ δέ μοι θαυμάσαι μάλιστα παρέσχευ. ἔστι :

20 μὲν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας γνώριμα. γράψω δὲ οἷα συμβαίνει. παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους· αὐταὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διαίταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ. παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς δρῶσιν ἐν νυκτὶ τοιαύδε. ἀναθεῖσαί σφισιν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἃ

25 ἢ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὔτε ἢ διδοῦσα ὁποῖόν τι δίδωσιν εἰδυῖα οὔτε ταῖς φερούσαις ἐπισταμέναις — ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδος ὑπόγαιος αὐτομάτη — ταύτη κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα λεί-

30 πουσιν, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένοι· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀφιάσιν ἤδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν. ἑτέρας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους ἄγουσιν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς

(8, 55). — 17. Πανδρόσου ναός: as to Pandrosus, see 1, 18, 2. The temple was situated just east of the Erechtheum. The Epheboi sacrificed to Athena Polias and to Pandrosus (C. I. A. III, 481). The pedestal of a statue to one of the girls called Arrephoroi bears an inscription that she had served Athena Polias and Pandrosus (C. I. A. III, 887; cf. C. I. A. II, 1390). Thallo, one of the seasons, was worshiped along with Pandrosus (9, 35, 2).

20. παρθένοι δύο. . . ἀρρηφόρους: the Arrephoroi were four girls of noble

birth, between the ages of seven and eleven, chosen by the king archon to perform the service described by Pausanias. They wore white robes, and gold ornaments if worn by them because sacred. Two of the Arrephoroi began the weaving of the sacred robe presented periodically to Athena. The festival here described was called *Arrephoria*, and was held in the month of Scirophorion (June-July). (Cf. *Ar. Lys.* 641 sq., and *Schol.; Etymol. Magn.* p. 149, s.vv. ἀρρηφόροι and ἀρρηφορεῖν; *Hesych.* and *Suid.* s.v. ἀρρηφορία, etc.)

Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστι μὲν . . . εὐήρις πρεσβῦτις ὅσον τε πῆχους  
 μάλιστα. φαμένη διάκονος εἶναι Λυσιμάχη, ἔστι δὲ ἀγάλ-  
 35 ματα μεγάλα χαλκοῦ διεστῶτες ἄνδρες ἐς μάχην· καὶ τὸν  
 μὲν Ἐρεχθέα καλοῦσι. τὸν δὲ Εὐμόλπον· καίτοι λέληθέ γε  
 οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴσασιν, Ἴμμάραδον εἶναι  
 παῖδα Εὐμόλπου [τούτου] τὸν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ Ἐρεχθέως.  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάρου καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶ Θεαίνετος ὃς ἔμαν- 5  
 40 τεύετο Τολμίδη καὶ αὐτὸς Τολμίδης, ὃς Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν  
 ἡγούμενος ἄλλους τε ἐκάκωσε καὶ Πελοποννησίων τὴν χώ-  
 ραν ὅσοι νέμονται τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ  
 Γυθίῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐνέπρησε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Βοιᾶς εἶλε καὶ  
 τὴν Κυθηρίων νῆσον· ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν ποιησάμενος ἀπό-  
 45 βασιν. ὡς οἱ δηοῦντι τὴν γῆν ἐς μάχην κατέστησαν, τρεψά-  
 μενος σφᾶς κατεδίωξε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ὕστερον δὲ ὡς  
 ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἀθήνας, ἐσήγαγε μὲν ἐς Εὐβοίαν καὶ Νάξον  
 Ἀθηναίων κληροῦχους, ἐσέβαλε δὲ ἐς Βοιωτοὺς στρατῶ·  
 πορθήσας δὲ τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καὶ παραστησάμενος πο-  
 50 λιορκία Χαιρώνειαν. ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀλιαρτίαν προῆλθεν, αὐτὸς  
 τε μαχόμενος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἤδη στρατεύμα ἠττάτο.  
 τὰ μὲν ἐς Τολμίδην τοιαῦτα ἐπυνθανόμεν ὄντα, ἔστι δὲ Ἀθη- 6  
 νᾶς ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα· καὶ σφισιν ἀπετάκη μὲν οὐδέν,

33. **εὐήρις πρεσβῦτις . . . Λυσιμάχη**: this is probably the statue, made by Demetrius, of Lysimache who was priestess of Athena for sixty-four years (Pliny, N. H. 34, 76). Plutarch (*de vitioso pudore*, 14) tells an anecdote of her. Demetrius was a realist who cared more to produce a good likeness than a beautiful work of art (Lucian, *Philops.* 18-20; *Quint.* 12, 10, 9). He probably flourished in the first half of the fourth century B.C. This statue was doubtless one of a series of

figures of priestesses of Athena, which stood near the Erechtheum. Inscribed bases of some have been found (C. I. A. II, 1377, 1378, 1386, 1392 B, 350) and perhaps the archaic female statues in the Acropolis Museum were of this group.

40. **Τολμίδη**: with the following account of Tolmides cf. *Thuc.* 1, 108 and 113; *Diod.* 9, 84; 12, 6; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 18. The battle of Coronea in which Tolmides fell was fought in 447 B.C. He and his men were buried in the outer Ceramicus (1, 29, 14).

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μελάντερα δὲ καὶ πληγὴν ἐνεγκεῖν ἔστιν ἀσθενέστερα· ἐπέ-  
 55 λαβε γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἡ φλόξ, ὅτε ἐσβεβηκότων ἐς τὰς ραῖς  
 Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς εἶλεν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὴν πόλιν.  
 ἔστι δὲ σϋός τε θήρα, περὶ οὗ σαφὲς οὐδὲν οἶδα εἰ τοῦ Καλυ-  
 δωνίου, καὶ Κύκνος Ἡρακλεῖ μαχόμενος· τοῦτον τὸν Κύκνον  
 φασὶν ἄλλους τε φονεῦσαι καὶ Λύκον Θραῦκα προτελέειν  
 60 σφίσι μονομαχίας ἄθλων, περὶ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πηγεῖον  
 ἀπέθανεν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν Τροιζῆνι λόγων οὓς ἐς Θησέα λέγουσιν ἔστιν ἵ-  
 ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἐλθὼν παρὰ Πιτθέα καταθείτο ἐπὶ  
 τῷ δειπνῷ τοῦ λέοντος τὸ δέρμα. ἐσέλθοιεν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν  
 65 ἄλλοι τε Τροιζηνίων παῖδες καὶ Θησεὺς ἑβδομον μάλιστα  
 γεγωνὸς ἔτος· τοὺς μὲν δὴ λοιποὺς παῖδας, ὡς τὸ δέρμα  
 εἶδον, φεύγοντάς φασιν οἴχεσθαι, Θησέα δὲ ὑπέξελλόντα  
 οὐκ ἄγαν σὺν φόβῳ παρὰ τῶν διακόνων ἀρπάσαι πέλεκυν  
 καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπιέναι σπουδῆ. λέοντα εἶναι τὸ δέρμα ἡγοίμε-  
 70 νον. ὅδε μὲν τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐς αὐτὸν ἔστι Τροιζηνίος·  
 ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, κρηπίδας Λιγέα ὑπὸ πέτρα καὶ ξίφος θεῖναι  
 γνωρίσματα εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποπλεῖν.  
 Θησέα δέ, ὡς ἕκτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐγεγόνει, τὴν πέτραν  
 ἀνώσαντα οἴχεσθαι τὴν παρακαταθήκην τὴν Λιγέως φέροντα.  
 75 τούτου δὲ εἰκὼν ἐν ἀκροπόλει πεποιήται τοῦ λόγου. γαλκοῦ  
 πάντα ὁμοίως πλὴν τῆς πέτρας· ἀνέθισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Θη-  
 σέως ἔργον, καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει. Κρησὶ τὴν τε

58. Κύκνος Ἡρακλεῖ μαχόμενος: cf. Hesiod, Scutum Herculis, 345 sqq.; Eur. Herc. Fur. 389 sqq.; Apollod. 2, 7, 7; Diod. 4, 37.

71. κρηπίδας Λιγέα: cf. 2, 32, 7; Plut. Thes. 3, 6; Diod. 4, 59. The subject of Theseus lifting the rock and finding under it the tokens of his birth is represented on coins of Ath-

ens and on other ancient monuments. See Baumeister, Denkmäler, p. 1786; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Num. Comm. on Paus. p. 146, with pl. DD, ii.

76. ἄλλοι Θησεῶς ἔργον: on Theseus's capture of the Marathonian bull, see Plut. Thes. 14; Diod. 4, 59; Hyginus, Fab. 38. Pausanias says Theseus sacrificed the bull to Athena; the other

ἄλλην γῆν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίνι ταῦρος ἐλνμαίνεται.  
 πάλαι δὲ ἄρα τὰ θηρία φοβερώτερα ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς ὁ  
 80 τ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ λέων καὶ ὁ Παρνασίος καὶ δράκοντες τῆς Ἑλλά-  
 δος πολλαχοῦ καὶ ὅς περὶ τε Καλυδῶνα καὶ Ἐρύμανθον καὶ  
 τῆς Κορινθίας ἐν Κρομνῶνι, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέγετο τὰ μὲν ἀνείναι  
 τὴν γῆν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἱερά εἶη θεῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώ-  
 85 πων ἀφείσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Κρήτες τὸν ταῦρον ἐς τὴν γῆν  
 πέμψαι σφίσι Ποσειδῶνά φασιν, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἄρχων Μί-  
 νως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς οὐδενὸς Ποσειδῶνα ἤγειν ἄλλου θεοῦ  
 μᾶλλον ἐν τιμῇ. κομισθῆναι μὲν δὴ τὸν ταῦρον τοῦτόν 10  
 φασιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν δώ-  
 δεκα καλουμένων ἓνα καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὸν ἄθλον· ὡς δὲ  
 90 ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφείθη τὸ Ἀργείων, φεύγει διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίου  
 ἰσθμοῦ, φεύγει δὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς  
 δῆμον τὸν Μαραθωνίων, καὶ ἄλλους τε ὁπόσοις ἐπέτυχε καὶ  
 Μίνω παῖδα Ἀνδρόγεων ἀπέκτεινε. Μίνως δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀθή-  
 95 νας πλεύσας — οὐ γὰρ ἐπέιθετο ἀναιτίους εἶναι σφᾶς τῆς  
 Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτῆς — ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκάκωσεν, ἐς ὃ συνεχω-  
 ρήθη οἱ παρθένους ἐς Κρήτην ἑπτὰ καὶ παῖδας ἴσους ἄγειν  
 τῷ λεγομένῳ Μίνω ταύρῳ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ Λαβύρινθον οἰκῆ-  
 100 ἔστι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Μαραθωνίων.

authorities, to Apollo. This exploit was represented on one of the metopes of the so-called "Theseum"; and on a fine red-figured vase in the British Museum (J. H. S. II, 1881, 64, with pl. X).

97. τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ Λαβύρινθον: on the story of the Cretan Labyrinth, see Roscher, Lexikon, II, 1778 ff. The Labyrinth has in recent years been identified as the palace of King Minos in Cnossus, and has been thoroughly

excavated by Mr. Arthur Evans. See Annual of the British School at Athens. Nos. vi-xi (1899-1905); Roland M. Burrows, The Discoveries in Crete, London, 1907. The excavations brought to light numerous clay tablets, sculptures, frescoes, and the like, and have made known a pre-Mycenaean civilization, called the Minoan, which will probably prove to be the connecting link between the arts of Egypt and of Greece.



Ch. 28, 2

28 Κύλωνα δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω σαφὲς εἰπεῖν ἐφ' ὅτῳ χαλκοῦν ἀνέθε-  
σαν τυραννίδα ὁμῶς βουλευσάντα· τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῶνδε  
ἔνεκα, ὅτι εἶδος κάλλιστος καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀφα-  
νῆς ἀνελόμενος διαύλου νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν καὶ οἱ θυγατέρα  
5 ὑπήρξε γῆμαι Θεαγένους, ὃς Μεγάρων ἐτυράνησε. χωρὶς 2  
δὲ ἢ ὅσα κατέλεξα δύο μὲν Ἀθηναίοις εἰσὶ δεκάται πολε-  
μήσασιν, ἄγαλμα Ἀθηναῖς χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Μήδων τῶν ἐς Μα-  
ραθῶνα ἀποβάντων τέχνη Φειδίου — καὶ οἱ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς  
ἀσπίδος μάχην Λαπιθῶν πρὸς Κενταύρους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
10 ἐστὶν ἐπειρασμένα λέγουσι τορεῦσαι Μῦν, τῷ δὲ Μῦν ταῦτά

28. *Cylon — Athena of Phidias — Reliefs on the shield of the Promachos — Bronze chariot and Lemnian Athena of Phidias — Walls of the Acropolis — Clepsydra — Caves of Apollo and Pan — The Areopagus — Sanctuary of the Senniæ — Statues of Pluto, of Hermes, and of Ge — Grave of Odysseus — Excursus on the Athenian courts.*

1. **Κύλωνα:** Pausanias's explanations are hardly right. In all probability the statue was set up as an expiatory offering for the massacre of Cylon's followers in violation of promises given to them when in sanctuary on the Acropolis. See *Hdt.* 5, 71; *Thuc.* 1, 126; *Plut. Solon*, 12. Cylon's Olympic victory was won in *Ol.* 35, 640 *B.C.* (See *J. H. Wright, Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.* III, 1 ff.)

7. **ἄγαλμα Ἀθηναῖς χαλκοῦν:** this is the image styled by Demosthenes (19, 272) "the great bronze Athena," and usually known as the *Promachos* or champion, though this epithet was first applied to it in *Schol. Dem.* 22, 13, p. 597. (Cf. *C. I. A.* III, 638.) It was probably set up at the close of the Persian war. Observe that Pausanias does not

say the point of the spear and the crest of the helmet were visible from Sunium, but on the voyage from Sunium to Athens. The Acropolis can be seen only after Cape Zoster is passed. The misconception of this passage has led to the false calculation formerly given as to the height of the statue, namely seventy feet or thereabout. Michaelis (*A. M.* II (1877), 89 sq.) calculates that it was about twenty-five feet, or with the pedestal thirty feet high. *W. Gurlitt (Analecta Graeciensia, Graz, 1893, pp. 101-121)* presents an interesting argument to the effect that the bronze Athena was preserved at Constantinople down to 1205 *A. D.* and has been described in detail by a Byzantine author. A quadrangular platform, suitable for a pedestal about eighteen feet in diameter, which is cut in the Acropolis rock about thirty feet from the Propylaea, is usually identified as the site of the statue. — 10. **τορεῦσαι Μῦν:** Athenaeus (11, p. 782 *b*) speaks of Mys as famous for chasing or working in relief on metal, and mentions a cup representing in relief the sack of Troy with an inscription attributing the design to Parrhasius and the

τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἔργων Παρράσιον καταγράψαι τὸν  
 Εὐήνορος· ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἢ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ  
 λόφος τοῦ κράνους ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσίν ἐστιν ἤδη  
 σύνοπτα — καὶ ἄρμα κείται χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτη  
 15 καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. δύο δὲ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθή-  
 ματα. Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν Φειδίου  
 θεᾶς μάλιστα ἄξιον Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθέντων κα-  
 λουμένης Λημνίας. τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει, πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων ὤκο- 3  
 δόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου, περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται

workmanship to Mys. Mys is mentioned as a famous artist in his line by Pliny (N. H. 33, 155), by Propertius (4, 9, 14, ed. Paley), and by Martial (8, 34 and 51; 14, 95). He doubtless flourished in the latter part of the fifth century. Cf. H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, II, 97, 409 sq. — 14. ἄρμα: the victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians occurred about 507 B.C. The prisoners were kept in chains until ransomed, when their fetters were hung on the Acropolis. Out of the tithe of the ransom the Athenians made the four-horse chariot of bronze. Herodotus (5, 77) says it stood on the left as one entered the Propylaea, and quotes the inscription in elegiac couplets. From fragments of the inscription that have been found (C.I.A. IV, 334A, 78; I, 334) Frazer infers that the original chariot set up about 507 B.C. was carried off by the Persians, and that a new chariot was set up in its place after 450 B.C. The chariot must have been moved between the time of Herodotus and that of Pausanias from outside to within the Acropolis precinct. — 16. Περικλῆς: see on 1, 25, 1. — 18. Λημνίας: Lucian (*Imagi-*

nes, 4, 6) speaks of this statue in extravagant terms as the most praiseworthy of Phidias's works, and for his ideal of feminine beauty selects from the Lemnian Athena "the outline of the whole face, and the tenderness of the cheeks, and the shapely nose." For similar exalted praise cf. Aristides, *Or. 1*, Vol. II, 554, ed. Dindorf; Pliny, N. H. 34, 54; Himerius, *Or. 21*, 5; *Anthol. Append. Planud.* 169 and 170. Furtwängler (*Meisterw.* pp. 33sq., with pls. i, ii, iii, xxxii, 2) argues that copies of the Lemnian Athena are to be seen in two marble statues of Athena in Dresden, another at Cassel, and a head in Bologna. The Dresden statues and the Bologna head are in the style of Phidias, he argues, and copies of a bronze original. He thinks the statue was dedicated by the Athenian colonists in Lemnos before they set out from Athens, between 451 and 447 B.C.

18. τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει: the southern wall of the Acropolis was built out of the produce of the spoils won from the Persians by Cimon, especially at the great victory of the Eurymedon (*Plut. Cimon*, 13; *de glor. Ath.* 7; *Corn. Nepos, Cimon*, 2). The ancient

Ch. 28, 4

20 τοῦ τείχους Πελασγούς οἰκήσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ τῆν ἀκρόπο-  
 λιν· φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ἐπέρβιον . . . πυνθανόμενος  
 δὲ οὔτινες ἦσαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδυνάμην μαθεῖν ἢ Σικελούς τὸ  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντας ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν μετοικῆσαι.

Καταβάσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ  
 25 προπύλαια πηγῇ τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος

masonry of the circuit wall is still standing, though in some parts obscured by a mediæval or modern casing. At the southeast corner a piece of Cimon's wall is visible, forty-five feet in height. Westward of this point it is pretty well hidden by the later casing and buttresses. The north wall is ancient Greek work, probably of Themistocles's or Cimon's time; pieces of the colonnade of the old Athena temple, destroyed 480 B.C., are built into it. The eastern wall seems to have been entirely rebuilt on the old foundations in the Middle Ages. Besides these extensive remains of Cimon's wall, there exist at various points pieces of a much older fortification wall. Thus a well-preserved section, twenty feet thick, extends from the Propylæa to the southern wall. Other pieces have been uncovered at the southeast corner of the Acropolis and to the southwest of the Parthenon. This primitive wall is built of polygonal, almost unhewn blocks, measuring from three to four and one half feet in length. It probably ran originally all round the edge of the Acropolis. This prehistoric fortification is doubtless the Pelasgic wall here mentioned by Pausanias. Other writers speak of this Pelasgic or Pelargic wall (Hdt. 6, 137; Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. 1, 28; Photius

s.v. Πελαργικόν; Schol. Ar. Aves, 832, 1139; Etymol. Magn. p. 659, s.v. Πελαργικόν; Bekker, Anecd. Græc. p. 299, l. 16 sqq.). This Pelasgic wall appears to have had nine gates (Suidas, s.v. ἀπεδα; Bekker, Anecd. Græc. p. 419, l. 27 sqq.; Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 489). These were probably arranged within each other at the western entrance of the Acropolis, where the wall may have been trebled or quadrupled. It seems to have subsisted as a fortress as late as 510 B.C., when Hippias was besieged "in the Pelasgic fortress" (Hdt. 5, 64; Arist. Resp. Ath. 19). If not already pulled down by the Athenians, it was doubtless dismantled by the Persians in 480 B.C. (Hdt. 8, 53; 9, 13). Yet a precinct to the northwest of the Acropolis continued to bear down to Roman times the name of Pelasgicum or Pelargicum (Thuc. 2, 17; Lucian. Piscator, 42, 47). — 20. Πελασγούς οἰκήσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ τῆν ἀκρόπολιν: both Herodotus (6, 137) and Strabo (9, p. 401) state that the Pelasgians dwelt at the foot of Mt. Hymettus.

25. πηγῇ: Pausanias, passing through the Propylæa, turns to the right and descends by a stairway to the spring called the Clepsydra. The spring is still to be seen, situated on the northwest face of the Acropolis rock and reached by a narrow flight of steps

ἰερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ· Κρεούση δὲ θυγατρὶ Ἐρεχθέως Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνα ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι νομίζουσι. . . . ὡς πεμφθεῖη  
 Φιλιππίδης ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄγγελος ἀποβεβηκότων Μήδων  
 ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἐπανήκων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπερβαλέσθαι φαίη  
 30 τὴν ἕξοδον. εἶναι γὰρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον μαχου-  
 μένους ἐξιέναι πρὶν ἢ πλήρη τὸν κύκλον τῆς σελήνης γενέ-  
 σθαι· τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα ὁ Φιλιππίδης ἔλεγε περὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐντυ-  
 χόντα οἱ τὸ Παρθένιον φάναι τε ὡς εὖνους Ἀθηναίοις εἶη  
 καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἦξει συμμαχήσων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ  
 35 θεὸς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τετίμηται· [καθὸ καὶ ὁ Ἄρειος 5  
 πάγος.] ἔστι δὲ Ἄρειος πάγος καλούμενος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἄρης

back of the pedestal of Agrippa. For ancient references to it, see Ar. Lys. 911 sq. and Schol., and Hesychius, s.v. *Κλεψύδρα*; Schol. Ar. Aves, 1694; Plut. Antonius, 34. — Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν: for the tale of Apollo, Creusa, and the infant Ion, see Eur. Ion, 10 sqq., 283 sqq., 492 sqq., 936 sqq., 1398 sqq., 1482 sqq. After the mention of Apollo's cave there is a lacuna, but the subsequent account of Pan leaves no doubt that Pausanias had mentioned Pan's cave, which was adjacent. Cf. Eur. Ion, 938: *ἐνθα Πανὸς ἄδυντα καὶ βωμοὶ πέλας*. The two caverns which are side by side at the northwest corner of the Acropolis just beyond the Clepsydra are usually identified as the caves of Apollo and Pan. On the sanctuary of Apollo, see Excursus III and Miss Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, pp. 66–83. Herodotus (6, 105) tells the story of the institution of the worship of Pan in Athens. Lucian (*Bis Acc.* 9) locates the cave of Pan a little above the Pelargicum. Aristophanes (*Lys.* 911) couples it with the Clepsydra.

35. Ἄρειος πάγος: the site of the

Areopagus or Mars' Hill is determined by Herodotus (8, 52), who says that it was opposite the Acropolis, occupied by the Persians when they laid siege to Athens; by Aeschylus (*Eum.* 685 sq.), who says the Amazons occupied it in their contest with Theseus; and by Lucian, who represents Pan sitting in his cave and listening to the speeches in the court of the Areopagus (*Bis Acc.* 12). Hence it is the rocky height, three hundred and seventy-seven feet high, west of the Acropolis, from which it is separated by a depression. On the top of the hill are the remains of some rock-hewn seats where assembled the court of the Areopagus in the open air (*Pollux*, 8, 118). E. Curtius thinks that the apostle Paul was taken not to the Areopagus hill, but before a committee of the council seated before the Royal Colonnade (*Ges. Abh.* II, 527 sqq.). — 36. ὅτι πρῶτος Ἄρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη: Euripides (*Electra*, 1258 sqq.) agrees with Pausanias in saying that Ares was the first to be tried on this hill. Cf. *Dem.* 23, 66, p. 641; *Bekker, Anecd. Gr.* I, 444, l. 7 sqq. According

Ch. 28, 6

ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη, καὶ μοι καὶ ταῦτα δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ὡς ἄλιρρόθιον ἀνέλοι καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ κτείνειε. κριθῆναι δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρός· καὶ  
 40 βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηνάς Ἀρείας, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ἀποφυγῶν τὴν δίκην. τοὺς δὲ ἀργοὺς λίθους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐστᾶσιν ὅσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν Ὑβρεως τὸν δὲ Ἀναιδείας αὐτῶν ὀνομάζουσι.

Πλησίον δὲ ἱερὸν θεῶν ἐστιν ἃς καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Σε-  
 45 μνάς. Ἡσιόδος δὲ Ἐρινῦς ἐν Θεογονίᾳ. πρῶτος δὲ σφισιν Αἰσχύλος δράκοντας ἐποίησεν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ θριξίν εἶναι· τοῖς δὲ ἀγάλμασιν οὔτε τούτοις ἔπεστιν οὐδὲν φοβερόν οὔτε ὅσα ἄλλα κείται θεῶν τῶν ὑπογαίων. κείται δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἐρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα· ἐνταῦθα θύουσι μὲν  
 50 ὅσοις ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξεγένετο ἀπολύσασθαι.

to Hellenicus (cited by Schol. Eur. Or. 1648, 1651) Ares was the first to be tried on the Areopagus; next, three generations afterwards, Cephalus for the murder of his wife Procris; then, after three more generations, Daedalus for the murder of his nephew Talus; then, after three more generations, Orestes for the murder of his mother Clytaemnestra. It has been suggested that Areopagus means "the hill of cursing," the first part of the compound being from ἀρά "a curse," with reference to the Furies, who had a sanctuary on the hill, and were sometimes known as "Arai." The derivation is possible. — 42. τὸν μὲν Ὑβρεως τὸν δὲ Ἀναιδείας: according to Zenob. 4, 36, Theophrastus wrote of the altars of Injury and Ruthlessness. Cicero, de leg. 2, 11, 28, speaks of a Con-tumeliae fanum et Impudicitiae. Euripides (Iph. Taur. 961)

represents Orestes as occupying one seat, while the eldest of the Furies took the other.

44. Σεμνάς: on this euphemistic name, cf. 2, 11, 4: ναὸς θεῶν ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Σικωνῖοι δὲ Εὐμενίδας ὀνομάζουσι. The situation is determined by Aesch. Eum. 804 sqq.; Eur. Electra, 1270; Iph. Taur. 961; Orest. 650 et al. See Milchh. S.Q. XXIX, 16sqq. The place is doubtless the deep chasm at the foot of the low precipice on the northeast side of the hill. On the names, worship, and sanctuaries of the Furies, see Roscher's Lexikon, I, 1330 sqq. According to Schol. Aeschin. 1, 188; Schol. Soph. O.C. 39; Clem. Al. Protr. 47, p. 13 (Sylb.), there were three statues of the Furies, two by Scopas of Parian marble, the third an older work by Calamis. On a votive relief from Argos they appear as three maidens of mild aspect clad in long robes, each

Ch. 28, 7

θύουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ξένοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἄστοί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ 7  
 ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μνήμα Οἰδίποδος, πολυπραγμονῶν δὲ  
 εὕρισκον τὰ ὄστα ἐκ Θηβῶν κομισθέντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐς τὸν  
 θάνατον Σοφοκλεῖ πεποιημένα τὸν Οἰδίποδος Ὅμηρος οὐκ εἶα  
 55 μοι δόξαι πιστά, ὃς ἔφη Μηκιστέα τελευτήσαντος Οἰδίποδος  
 ἐπιτάφιον ἔλθόντα ἐς Θήβας ἀγωνίσασθαι.

Ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἄλλα δικαστήρια οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτο 8  
 δόξης ἦκοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν καλούμενον Παράβυστον καὶ Τρί-  
 γωνον. τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀφανεῖ τῆς πόλεως ὄν καὶ ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις  
 60 συνιόντων ἐς αὐτό. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἔχει τὰ ὀνόματα·  
 Βατραχιοῦν δὲ καὶ Φοινικιοῦν ἀπὸ χρωμάτων καὶ ἐς τὸδε δια-  
 μεμένηκεν ὀνομάζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ ἐς ὃ πλείστοι  
 συνίασιν, Ἡλιαίαν καλοῦσιν. ὅποσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς φονεῦσιν,

with a serpent in her right hand and a flower in her left. See A. M. IV, Pl. 9.

52. **μνήμα Οἰδίποδος**: according to Val. Max. 5, 3, ext. 3, it was situated inter ipsum Arium pagum . . . et . . . Minervae arcem. After the Areopagus was included in the city through the building of the wall of Themistocles, the grave of Oedipus with the entrance to the lower world and the Semnai was transferred to the Colonus Hippus. See v. Wilamowitz, *Aus Kydathen*, p. 103.

57. **ἄλλα δικαστήρια**: the excursus on the Athenian law courts is occasioned by the mention of the Areopagus. The term *δικαστήριον* is applied both to the aggregate judges sitting in court and to the place in which they held their sittings. Pausanias's reference is primarily to the latter. He enumerates ten courts: 1. Areopagus; 2. Parabystum; 3. Trigonum; 4. Batrachium; 5. Phoenicium; 6. Heliæa; 7. Palladium; 8. Delphinium; 9. Pry-

taneum; 10. Phreattys. Kalkmann, pp. 65 sq., seeks to prove that the source of Pausanias was the same as that of Pollux, book 8, namely a manual originating from Caecilius. Gurlitt, p. 274, also recognizes the use of a literary source.—58. **Παράβυστον**: said to have received its name from its position in a remote quarter of the city. Cf. *Etymol. Magn.* p. 651, 50. It is mentioned also in Poll. 8, 121, and Schol. Ar. Vesp. 120, etc., who also name the *Τρίγωνον*.—61. **Βατραχιοῦν δὲ καὶ Φοινικιοῦν**: the Green Court and the Red Court, not elsewhere mentioned. Arist. Resp. Ath. p. 33 confirms the distinction of certain Athenian courts by color. Possibly these designations have obscured their real names, and these two are identical with the Metichion and the court *ἐπὶ Λύκῳ* mentioned in Pollux's list, as the other eight in the two lists are the same.—63. **Ἡλιαίαν**: this, the greatest court of Athens, which frequently gave its name to all the courts

Ch. 28, 10

ἔστιν ἄλλα· καὶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλοῦσιν. ἢ τοῖς ἀποκτείναι-  
 65 σιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Δημοφῶν πρῶ-  
 τος ἐνταῦθα ὑπέσχε δίκας, ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οὐδένες· ἐφ' ὅτω  
 δέ, διάφορα ἐς τοῦτο εἴρηται. Διομήδην φασὶν ἀλόουσης  
 Ἰλίου ταῖς ναυσὶν ὀπίσω κομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἤδη τε νύκτα ἐπέ-  
 70 ὡς ἐς πολεμίαν ἀποβῆναι τὴν γῆν, ἄλλην που δόξαντας ἐν  
 τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ οὐ τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα Δημοφῶντα  
 λέγουσιν ἐκβοηθήσαντα. οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον οὐδὲ τοῦτον τοὺς  
 ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὡς εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἀπο-  
 κτεῖναι καὶ τὸ Παλλάδιον ἀρπάσαντα οἴχεσθαι. Ἀθηναίων  
 75 τε ἄνδρα οὐ προῖδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Δημοφῶντος  
 ἀνατραπῆναι καὶ συμπατηθέντα ἀποθανεῖν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ Δη-  
 μοφῶντα ὑποσχέειν δίκας οἱ μὲν τοῦ συμπατηθέντος τοῖς προ-  
 σήκουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργείων φασὶ τῷ κοινῷ. ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δὲ 10  
 κρίσις καθέστηκεν ἐργάσασθαι φόνον σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ φαρμέ-  
 80 νοις, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ Θησεὺς παρεχόμενος ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτε Πάλ-  
 λαντα ἐπαναστάντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔκτεινε· πρότερον δὲ  
 πρὶν ἢ Θησεὺς ἀφείθη. καθειστίκει πᾶσι φεύγειν κτείναντα  
 ἢ κατὰ ταῦτὰ θνήσκειν μένοντα. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ

collectively, lay probably in the neighborhood of the Areopagus, to the east side of the political agora between the upper part of the Theseum precinct and the gymnasium of Ptolemy. See Judeich, *Topog.* p. 315. The derivation of the word is uncertain. See Wachsmuth, II, 361 ff. — 64. ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ: the Palladium, a sacred place in the southeastern part of Athens (ἀπὸ Παλλαδίου καὶ Ἀρδηττοῦ καὶ Λυκείου, *Plut. Thes.* 27). According to Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 57) cases tried in the court of the Palladium were "involuntary homicide, and conspiracy (against life),

and the killing of a slave, a resident alien, or a foreigner."

78. ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ: on the site of this sanctuary, see I, 19, 1 and note. Cf. *Arist. Resp. Ath.* 57: "If a man confesses a homicide but asserts that it was legal, . . . he is tried in the court of the Delphinium." *Dem.* 23, 74, and *Poll.* 8, 119, tell the same legend as Pausanias with regard to the founding of the court. — 83. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ: as to the Prytaneum, see I, 18, 3 and note, and cf. *Dem.* 23, 76: "If a stone or a piece of iron or any such thing fall and strike a man, and the

καλούμενον, ἔνθα τῷ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀψύχοις  
 85 δικάζουσιν. ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρξασθαι νομίζω. Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύ-  
 οντος Ἐρεχθέως, τότε πρῶτον βουὴν ἔκτεινεν ὁ βουφόνος ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Πολιέως Διός· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπολιπὼν ταύτη τὸν  
 πέλεκυν ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φεύγων. ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς παραν-  
 90 τικά ἀφείθη (ἐς θάλασσαν) κριθεὶς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος  
 κρίνεται. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀψύχων αὐτόματα 11  
 ἐπιθεῖναι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τιμωρίαν ἀνθρώποις· ἔργον δὲ κάλ-  
 λιστον καὶ δόξῃ φανερώτατον ὁ Καμβύσου παρέσχετο ἀκι-  
 νάκης. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς πρὸς θαλάσση Φρεαττύς·  
 ἐνταῦθα οἱ πεφευγότες, ἣν ἀπελθόντας ἕτερον ἐπιλάβῃ σφᾶς  
 95 ἔγκλημα. πρὸς ἀκροωμένους ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ νεῶς ἀπολο-  
 γοῦνται· Τεῦκρον πρῶτον λόγος ἔχει Τελαμῶνι οὕτως ἀπο-  
 λογήσασθαι μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Λῆαντος θάνατον εἰργάσθαι. τάδε  
 μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι τῶνδε ἕνεκα. ὁπόσοις μέτεστι σπουδῆς  
 29 γνῶναι τὰ ἐς τὰ δικαστήρια. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον 1  
 δείκνυται ναῦς ποιηθεῖσα ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν.

person who threw the thing is not known, but they do know and are in possession of the thing which killed the man, then the thing is brought to trial at the court of the Prytaneum."

93. Φρεαττύς: Milchhoefer (Karten v. Att. Text i, 56 f.) locates Phreatty at the extreme point of the peninsula which bounds the entrance of the harbor of Zea on the east, contrary to the earlier view of Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, I, 173 ff., who puts it at a point on the shore a little to the southeast of the entrance to Zea. Dem. 24, 77 ff. states that before this court were tried men who, banished for an involuntary homicide, were accused of another and voluntary homicide, and that the accused spoke from

the ship while his accusers listened from the shore; if convicted he was punished with death, if acquitted he returned into banishment. Cf. Arist. *Resp.* Ath. 57.

29. *The Panathenaic Ship*—*The Academy*—*Grove of Artemis with images of Artemis, Artemis Ariste, and Artemis Kalliste*—*Temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus*—*Tombs in the outer Ceramicus on the street from the Dipylum to the Academy.*

2. ναῦς: the ship was moved on wheels, and to its mast was fastened the new robe, embroidered with scenes from the battles of the Gods and Giants, which was presented to Athena every fourth year at the great Panathenaic festival. The crew of the ship consisted



Ch. 29, 2

καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἤδη πού τις ὑπερεβάλετο· τὸ δὲ ἐν Δήλῳ  
πλοῖον οὐδένα πω νικήσαντα οἶδα, καθήκον ἐς ἐννεά ἐρέτας  
5 ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων.

Ἀθηναίους δὲ καὶ ἕξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς 2  
ὁδοὺς θεῶν ἔστιν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι· ἐγγυ-  
τάτῳ δὲ Ἀκαδημία, χωρίον ποτὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου, γυμνάσιον  
δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. κατιούσι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν περίβολός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμι-  
10 δος καὶ ξόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης· ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ  
καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Πάμφῳ, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός εἰσι ἐπι-  
κλήσεις αὐται, λεγόμενον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον εἰδὼς  
ὑπερβήσομαι. καὶ ναὸς οὐ μέγας ἐστίν. ἐς ὃν τοῦ Διούσου

of priests and priestesses wearing golden crowns and garlands of flowers. According to Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 1, 7, the route followed by the procession with the ship was from the Ceramicus to the Eleusinium, then round the Eleusinium to the Pythium, identified by Dörpfeld with the Cave of Apollo, where the ship was moored. Cf. A. G. Leacock, *de pompis graecis*, in *Harv. Studies*, XI, 1 ff., and the derivation of *carnival* there given (p. 6, note).

6. ἕξω πόλεως: Pausanias has now completed his account of the city itself, and, quitting Athens by the Dipylum, he describes the monuments of the Ceramicus. Of important omissions made by him, perhaps the most noteworthy is that of the Pnyx, or place of public assembly, the site of which is in all probability determined, being on the northeast slope of the low rocky hill lying between the Museum hill, the Areopagus, and the Hill of the Nymphs. Here are extensive remains indicating the use of the site as a meeting-place. — 8 Ἀκαδημία: the road to the Academy, which Pausanias now follows, left

Athens by the Dipylum (Livy, 31, 24; Cic. De fin. 5, 1, 1; Lucian, *Sevtha*, 2). So Pausanias quitted Athens by the same gate by which he had entered. Three roads started from the Dipylum gate; one northwest to the Academy; one west to Eleusis; and one southwest to Piraeus. The suburb outside the Dipylum was called the Ceramicus, or Potters' Quarter. As the adjoining quarter, inside the walls, bore the same name, modern writers call the one the Outer Ceramicus, the other the Inner Ceramicus. In the former the remains of the Athenians who fell in battle were buried by the state. Public graves lined the road on both sides, and inscriptions bore the names of the dead and told where they had fallen.

9. Ἀρτέμιδος: this Artemis appears to have been identified with Hecate. Cf. Hesych. s.v. Καλλίστη· ἢ ἐν τῷ Κεραμειῷ ἰδρυνμένη Ἐκάτη, ἣν ἔνιοι Ἀρτεμιν λέγουσι. — 13. ναὸς οὐ μέγας: as to the image of Eleutherian Dionysus, see I, 20, 3, note. This procession seems to have taken place at the city Dionysiac festival in the month of Elaphebolion

τοῦ Ἐλευθερέως τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζουσιν ἐν  
 15 τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις. ἱερὰ μὲν σφισι ταύτη τοσαῦτά ἐστι, 3  
 τάφοι δὲ Θρασυβούλου μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ Λύκου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν  
 τε ὕστερον καὶ ὅσοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν Ἀθηναίοις λόγι-  
 μοι τὰ πάντα ἀρίστου — παρέντι δέ μοι τὰ πλείω τοσάδε ἐς  
 20 πίστιν ἀρκέσει τοῦ λόγου· τυραννίδα γὰρ ἔπαυσε τῶν τριά-  
 κοντα καλουμένων σὺν ἀνδράσιν ἐξήκοντα τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
 ὄρμηθεις ἐκ Θηβῶν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους στασιάζοντας διαλλα-  
 γῆναι καὶ συνθεμένους ἔπεισε μείναι — πρῶτος μὲν ἐστίν  
 οὗτος τάφος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Περικλέους τε καὶ Χαβρίου καὶ  
 Φορμίωνος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πᾶσι μνηήματα Ἀθηναίοις ὁπόσοις 4  
 25 ἀποθανεῖν συνέπεσεν ἐν τε ναυμαχίαις καὶ ἐν μάχαις πεζαῖς  
 πλὴν ὅσοι Μαραθῶνι αὐτῶν ἠγωνίσαντο· τούτοις γὰρ κατὰ  
 χώραν εἰσὶν οἱ τάφοι δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν  
 ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν, καὶ σφῶν ἐστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 τάφοις στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκάστου λέγουσαι.

(March-April). Cf. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 394ff. The return procession took place in the evening; and the epheboi after sacrificing at the shrine escorted the image by the light of torches to the theatre (C.I.A. II, 470, 471). A gay troop of dancers, disguised as Seasons, Nymphs, and Bacchanals, appear to have attended the image, moving to the music of flutes (Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 1, 21).

16. **Θρασυβούλου**: Thrasybulus took part in the victory of Cynossema (411 B.C.), reduced the revolted cities of Thrace (407 B.C.), was superseded after the battle of Notium (407 B.C.), but took part in the victory of Arginusae (406 B.C.). He was banished by the Thirty Tyrants, but, collecting a small band at Thebes, took Phyle, then with a larger force gained the Piraeus and

Munychia, and overthrew the Thirty (403 B.C.). He brought about an alliance between Athens and Thebes (395 B.C.), and, after doing good service for Athens at Byzantium, Chalcedon, and Lesbos, was killed at Aspendos (389 B.C.). Pausanias seems to have been ignorant of, or ignored, the treasonable charges brought against Thrasybulus. Cf. Lysias, 28 and 29.—

23. **Περικλέους τε καὶ Χαβρίου καὶ Φορμίωνος**: according to Cic. *de fin.* 5, 2, 5, the tomb of Pericles lay to the right of the road. Pericles died in 429 B.C. Chabrias defeated the Spartans in Aegina (388 B.C.) and the Spartan fleet off Naxos (376 B.C.); he was killed at the siege of Chios (357 B.C.). Phormio won the naval victory off Naupactus (429 B.C.), and died shortly after.

Ch. 29, 6

- 30 πρῶτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν οὓς ἐν Θράκῃ ποτὲ ἐπικρατοῦντας μέχρι  
 Δραβησκοῦ τῆς χώρας Ἰδωνοὶ φοινοῦσιν ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπι-  
 θέμενοι· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς κεραυνοὶ πέσοιεν ἐς αὐτούς.  
 στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἦσαν καὶ Λεάγρος, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐπε-  
 35 ποτε πένταθλον Νεμείων ἀγηρημένοι νίκην ἀπέκτεινεν Εὐρυ-  
 βάτην βοηθοῦντα Αἰγινήταις. στρατὸν δὲ ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλά-  
 δος Ἀθηναῖοι τρίτον τοῦτον ἔστειλαν· Πριάμφῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ  
 Τρωσὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου κατέστησαν ἐς  
 πόλεμον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἰδίᾳ μετ' Ἰολάου τε ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ δευτέ-  
 40 ραν ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ τρίτον δὴ τότε ἐς τὴν  
 Θράκην. ἔστι δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ μνήματος στήλη μαχομένους  
 ἔχουσα ἵππεῖς· Μελάνωπος σφισὺν ἔστι καὶ Μακάρτατος  
 ὀνόματα, οὓς κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων  
 καὶ Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένους, ἔνθα τῆς Ἑλεωνίας εἰσὶ χώρας  
 45 πρὸς Ταναγραίους ὄροι. καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τάφος ἐστὶν ἱππέων  
 κατὰ παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἐλθόντων, ὅτε σὺν Ἀρχιδάμῳ Πελο-  
 ποννήσιοι πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατιᾷ. καὶ  
 πλησίον τοξόταις Κρησίν· αὐθις δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίων μνή-  
 50 ματα Κλεισθένους, ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὰς φυλὰς αἰ νῦν καλεστώσιν  
 εὐρέθη, καὶ ἱππεύσιν ἀποθανοῦσιν ἠνίκα συνεπελάβοτο οἱ

30. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν . . . μέχρι Δραβησκοῦ κτλ.: about 465 B.C. ten thousand of the Athenians and their allies, who had been sent to colonize Amphipolis, were cut to pieces by the Edonians at Drabescus or Datum (Thuc. 1, 100; 4, 102; Hdt. 9, 75; Isoc. 8, 86). Leagus and Sophanes were the leaders of this expedition. Eurybates, the pentathlete, who led a thousand Argive volunteers to aid the Aeginetans against Athens, killed three adversaries in single combat, but was himself slain by Sophanes, a challenge to mor-

tal combat having been given and accepted (Hdt. 6, 92; 9, 75).

42. Μελάνωπος . . . καὶ Μακάρτατος: Melanopus and Macartatus probably fell in the battle (457 B.C.) in which the Peloponnesians and Boeotians were engaged against the Athenians, Argives, and Thessalian cavalry. The Thessalians deserted early in the action. — 45. Θεσσαλῶν τάφος: see Thuc. 2, 18-22. The first invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesian army under Archidamus took place in 431 B.C. — 49. Κλεισθένους: Cleisthenes increased the Attic

Θεσσαλοὶ τοῦ κινδύνου. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Κλεωναῖοι κεῖνται, 7  
 μετὰ Ἀργείων ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθόντες· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δέ, γράψω  
 τοῦ λόγου μοι κατελθόντος ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους. καὶ Ἀθηναίων  
 δ' ἔστι τάφος. οἱ πρὶν ἢ στρατεῦσαι τὸν Μῆδον ἐπολέμησαν  
 55 πρὸς Λίγνιτας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ δῆμον δίκαιον βούλευμα, εἰ  
 δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μετέδοσαν δούλοις δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι καὶ  
 τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγγραφῆναι στήλῃ· δηλοῖ δὲ ἀγαθοὺς σφᾶς ἐν  
 τῷ πολέμῳ γενέσθαι περὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν  
 ὀνόματα ἄλλων. διάφορα δὲ σφίσι τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀγώνων·  
 60 καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπ' Ὀλυνθον ἐλθόντων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ Μελέ-  
 σανδρος ἐς τὴν ἄνω Καρίαν ναυσὶν ἀναπλεύσας διὰ τοῦ  
 Μαιάνδρου (ἐτάφησαν.) ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντες 8  
 πολεμοῦντος Κασσάνδρου καὶ οἱ συμμαχήσαντές ποτε Ἀρ-  
 γείων. πραχθῆναι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὴν πρὸς Ἀργείους λέ-  
 65 γουσι συμμαχίαν· Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαν-  
 τος οἱ εἴλωτες ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. ἀφεστηκότων δὲ οἱ

tribes from four to ten. See *Ildt.* 5, 66, 69; *Aristot. Resp. Ath.* 21.  
 51. **Κλεωναῖοι**: these men took sides with the Athenians at the battle of Tanagra (457 b.c.). There exists an inscription (*C.I.A.* I, 441) which is conjectured to be a list of the Cleonaeans who fell in this battle.—56. **δούλοις**: in great emergencies, as toward the close of the Peloponnesian War and before the battle of Chaeronea, the Athenians appear to have freed and armed their slaves (*Lyc. c. Leocr.* 41; *Justin.* 5, 6).—60. **ἐπ' Ὀλυνθον**: the Athenians sent three expeditions to the relief of Olynthus when hard pressed by Philip. The first two had only mercenary soldiers. On the third occasion, at the special request of the Olynthians, a native Athenian force commanded by Chares went to their

aid, consisting of two thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. This was probably in the year 349 b.c. See *Dem.* 21, 197, p. 578; *Philochorus, Frag.* 132 in *Frag. Hist. Gr.*, ed. Müller, I, 405 sq.—**Μελέσανδρος**: on Melesander see *Thuc.* 2, 69. During the winter of 430–429 b.c. he was sent to the coasts of Caria and Lycia with six ships to levy contributions and put down the enemy's privateers. He landed in Lycia, but was defeated and slain with some of his men.

63. **Ἀργείων**: at the battle of Tanagra (457 b.c.) one thousand Argives fought with the Athenians against the Lacedaemonians (*Thuc.* 1, 107 sq.; *Diod.* 11, 80). Pausanias here follows *Thuc.* 1, 101 sq., who tells the occasion of the alliance between Athens and Argos.

Ch. 29, 11

Λακεδαιμόνιοι βοηθοὺς καὶ ἄλλους καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων μετε-  
 πέμποντο· οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἐπιλέκτους ἀνδρας ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ  
 στρατηγὸν Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου. τούτους ἀποπέμπουσιν  
 70 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς ὑποψίαν· Ἀθηναίους δὲ οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ ἰ  
 ἐφαίνετο περιυβρίσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ὀπίσω συμμαχίαν  
 ἐποίησαντο Ἀργείοις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχθροῖς τὸν ἄπαιτα  
 οὔσι χρόνον. ὕστερον δὲ μελλούσης Ἀθηναίων ἐν Ταναγρα  
 γίνεσθαι πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἀφίκοιτο  
 75 Ἀθηναίους Ἀργεῖοι βοηθοῦντες· καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν ἔχοντας  
 πλέον τοὺς Ἀργεῖους νῦξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἀφείλετο τὸ σαφὲς τῆς  
 νίκης, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὕστεραίαν ὑπῆρξε κρατῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους  
 Θεσσαλῶν προδόντων Ἀθηναίους. καταλέξει δέ μοι καὶ 10  
 τούσδε ἐπήλθεν, Ἀπολλόδωρον ξένων ἡγεμόνα, ὃς Ἀθηναῖος  
 80 μὲν ἦν, ἐκπεμφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρσίτου σατράπου τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλη-  
 σπόντῳ Φρυγίας διεφύλαξε Περινθίαις τὴν πόλιν ἐσβεβλη-  
 κότες ἐς τὴν Περινθίαν Φιλίππου στρατῶ· οὗτός τε οἶν  
 ἐνταῦθα τέθραπται καὶ Εὐβουλος ὁ Σπιυθάρου καὶ ἄνδρες οἷς  
 ἀγαθοῖς οὔσιν οὐκ ἐπηκολούθησε τύχη χρηστή, τοῖς μὲν ἐπι-  
 85 θεμένοις τυραννοῦντι Λαχάρει, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατάληψιν  
 ἐβούλευσαν Μακεδόνων φρουρούντων, πρὶν δὲ εἰργάσθαι τὸ  
 ἔργον ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδότων μηνυθέντες ἀπόλοιτο. κείνται δὲ 11  
 καὶ οἱ περὶ Κόρινθον πεσόντες· ἐδήλωσε δὲ οὐχ ἦκιστα ὁ  
 θεὸς ἐνταῦθα καὶ αἰθῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων  
 90 καλουμένους ἀνδρείους τὸ μηδὲν ἄνευ Τύχης εἶναι, εἰ δὴ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορινθίων τότε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
 Ἀργείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν κρατήσαντες, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν

82. ἐς τὴν Περινθίαν: see *Diod.* 16, 75-77. Perinthus was besieged by Philip in 340 B.C. The Persian king, alarmed at the growth of Philip's power, commanded his satraps to aid the city. Accordingly they threw into Perinthus a force of mercenaries, with

supplies. The next year Philip was obliged to raise the siege.—83. **Εὐβουλος**: Eubulus, the adversary of Demosthenes, was an able demagogue and orator (*Dem.* 18, 21, p. 233; 21, 207, p. 581; *Aeschin.* 2, 8 and 184; 3, 25; *Din.* 1, 96; *Plut.* Phocion, 7).

μόνων ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκακώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς  
 ἀποθανόντας ἐν Κορίνθῳ στήλην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐστάναι τὴν  
 95 αὐτὴν σημαίνει τὰ ἐλεγεία, τοῖς μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Χίῳ  
 τελευτήσασι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἡπεί-  
 ρου διαφθαρῆναι δηλοῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, γεγραμμένοι δέ 12  
 εἰσιν οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ πλὴν Νικίου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ  
 τοῖς ἀστοῖς Πλαταιεῖς· Νικίας δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε παρεῖθη, γράφω  
 100 δὲ οὐδὲν διάφορα ἢ Φίλιστος, ὃς ἔφη Δημοσθένην μὲν σπον-  
 δὰς ποιήσασθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις πλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ἠλίσκετο αὐ-  
 τὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι, Νικία δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν ἐθελοντῆ  
 γενέσθαι· τούτων ἔνεκα οὐκ ἐνεγράφη Νικίας τῇ στήλῃ, κατα-  
 γνωσθεῖς αἰχμάλωτος ἐθελοντῆς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀνὴρ πολέμῳ  
 105 πρέπων. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ στήλῃ καὶ οἱ μαχεσάμενοι περὶ 13

94. ἐν Κορίνθῳ: the Lacedaemonians defeated the allied army of Athenians, Argives, Boeotians, and Corinthians at Corinth in 394 B.C. The Athenian force numbered six thousand foot and six hundred horse; their losses were heavy. See Xen. Hell. 4, 2, 9-13. Demosthenes (20, 52, p. 472) spoke of this fight as "the great battle" at Corinth. C.I.A. II, 1673, gives a partial list of Athenians engaged. Among them was Dexileus, whose private monument is preserved in its original position, with an inscription (C.I.A. II, 2084).—  
 95. ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Χίῳ: the reference to Euboea is probably to the subjugation of the whole island by Pericles in 445 B.C. (Thuc. 1, 114). Upon the revolt of Chios from Athens in 412 B.C. an expedition was sent by the Athenians which landed in Chios, defeated the rebels, besieged them in the capital, and ravaged the island (Thuc. 8, 14 sq., 24, 55, etc.). The reference is doubtless to those who fell in this expedition

rather than to the second revolt of Chios in the Social War (357-355 B.C.), when the force dispatched probably consisted of mercenaries (Diod. 16, 7; Corn. Nep. Chabrias, 4).

98. πλὴν Νικίου: the account of the conduct of Nicias during the last terrible days in Sicily, as given by Thucydides (7, 76-85), does not justify the harsh criticism of Pausanias. It is true, however, that the responsibility of the disaster rested mainly on him, and if he had listened to Demosthenes the Athenian force would probably have escaped destruction. This apparently the Athenians had in mind in omitting his name from the roll of honor.

105. περὶ Θράκην καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις: as to the fallen in Thrace, cf. C.I.A. IV, 2, 446a. In 445 B.C. the Megarians revolted from Athens and put the garrison to the sword (Thuc. 1, 114).—  
 107. Ἀλκιβιάδης: in 420 B.C. Alcibiades effected an alliance between Athens, Argos, Mantineia, and Elis. In the

Ch. 29, 13

Ἑράκην καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ ἠνίκα Ἀρκάδας τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ καὶ Ἰλίου ἐπέσειν Ἀλκιβιάδης Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστῆναι καὶ οἱ πρὶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφικέσθαι Δημοσθένην Συρακουσίων κρατήσαντες. ἐτάφησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ  
 110 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ναυμαχήσαντες καὶ ὅσοι Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἠγωνίσαντο ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλέωνος ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατεύσαντες. οἳ τε ἐν Δηλίῳ τῷ Ταυαγραίων τελευτήσαντες καὶ ὅσους ἐς Θεσσαλίαν Λεωσθένης ἤγαγε καὶ οἱ πλεύσαντες ἐς Κύπρον ὁμοῦ Κίμωνι. τῶν τε σὺν

summer of 418 b.c. the Lacedaemonians defeated the allies in the battle of Mantinea. See Thuc. 5, 43-47, 63-74. A fragment of the treaty of alliance, of which Thucydides gives us the complete text, was found engraved on a slab of Pentelic marble between the theatre of Dionysus and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus (C.I.A. IV, 46b, 14 sq.). Thucydides's copy may be from this very stone. — 109. **κρατήσαντες**: before the arrival of Demosthenes (413 b.c.) with large reënforcements the Athenians had been successful in several engagements with the enemy (Thuc. 6, 67-71, 98-102; 7, 5, 22 sq.). — **περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον**: a tombstone, found in Athens about 1882, in all probability stood over the grave of these men in the Ceramicus. It is a slab of Pentelic marble, five feet high and twenty inches wide. The inscription contains a list of men, arranged according to tribes, who fell in the Chersonese, in Byzantium, and "in other wars," and underneath it is an epigram to the effect that they perished in the flower of their youth. They probably fell in the campaign of 409 b.c. when Alcibiades captured Selym-

bria and Byzantium, laid siege to Chalcidon, and levied contributions about the Hellespont. See Xen. Hell. 1, 3; Diod. 13, 66 sq.; Plut. Alcib. 29-31; for the inscription, C.I.A. IV, 446a, 108 sq. — 110. **ὅσοι Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἠγωνίσαντο ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ**: Lyscurgus (c. Leocr. 142) says that one thousand Athenians fell in the battle, and that they received a public burial; he also speaks of the inscriptions carved on their tombstones at the entrance of the city. — 111. **ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν**: see Thuc. 5, 7-11. The Athenians lost six hundred men; the enemy only seven. Both generals were slain, Cleon from a stab in the back as he was fleeing, Brasidas while charging at the head of his men. — 112. **ἐν Δηλίῳ**: see Thuc. 4, 91, 101. The Athenians were defeated by the Boeotians, with the loss of about one thousand regular infantry. — 113. **Λεωσθένης**: see 1, 1, 3; 1, 25, 3-5. — 114. **ἐς Κύπρον**: Cimon sailed with a fleet to Cyprus, where, after defeating the Persians and capturing a number of cities, he died. After his death the Athenian fleet and army won another great victory by sea and land over the Persians at Salamis in Cyprus. See

- 115 Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἄνδρες οὐ πλείους. φασὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ὁμορόν 14  
τινα πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον στρατιὰν οὐ πολλὴν πέμψαι, καὶ ὕστερον ναυμαχίας Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους γινομένης  
τριήρεις πέντε Ἀττικαὶ παρεγένοντο· ἔστιν οὖν καὶ τούτοις  
120 ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ τάφος. Τολμίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν σὺν  
αὐτῷ δεδηλωται μὲν ἤδη μοι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐτελεύτησαν· ἴστω δὲ ὅτῳ φίλον κειμένους σφᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην.  
κεῖνται δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν Κίμωνι τὸ μέγα ἔργον πεζῆ καὶ ναυσὶν  
αὐθημερὸν κρατήσαντες· τέθραπται δὲ καὶ Κόνων καὶ Τιμό- 15  
125 θεος, δεύτεροι μετὰ Μιλτιάδην καὶ Κίμωνα οὗτοι πατὴρ καὶ  
παῖς ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρά. κεῖται δὲ καὶ Ζήνων  
ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μνασέου καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς, Νικίας τε ὁ  
Νικομήδου ζῶα ἄριστος γράψαι τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἀρμό-  
130 χον ἀποκτείναντες, ῥήτορές τε Ἐφιάλτης, ὃς τὰ νόμιμα  
τὰ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ μάλιστα ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ

Thuc. 1, 112; Diod. 12, 3 sq.; Plut. Cimon, 18 sq.; Corn. Nep. Cimon, 3.  
— 115. Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ: see 1, 26, 1 sq.

120. Τολμίδου: see 1, 27, 5.—123. τὸ μέγα ἔργον: on the great victory over the Persians at the mouth of the Eurymedon in Pamphylia, see Thuc. 1, 100; Diod. 11, 61; Plutarch, Cimon, 12 sq. As a monument of this victory, the Athenians dedicated a bronze palm-tree at Delphi (10, 15, 4). The date assigned this victory varies among historians from 469 to 465 b.c.

126. Ζήνων: Diog. Laert. 7, 11 and 29, gives a decree of the Athenians "in which the thanks of the state are rendered to Zeno in his lifetime for his services in the cause of virtue, and it is provided that a tomb shall be built

for him in the Ceramicus at the public expense; in this tomb the philosopher was afterwards laid."—127. Νικίας τε ὁ Νικομήδου: the expression here used, ζῶα ἄριστος γράψαι τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, is commonly understood to mean "the greatest figure-painter of his time," ζῶα meaning either human or animal figures. See Brunn, *Gesch. d. gr. Künstler*, II, 194–200. Pliny (*N. H.* 35, 130–133) gives a list of his subjects, most of which are mythological, and says also that he painted dogs very successfully.—131. Λυκοῦργος: the particulars as to the public services of Lycurgus are probably derived from the decree of the Athenians in his honor, proposed by Stratocles in the archonship of Anaxicrates (307–306



Ch. 30, 1

- Λυκούργω δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν τάλαντα ἐς τὸ δημό- 16  
 σιον πεντακοσίοις πλείονα καὶ ἑξακισχιλίοις ἢ ὅσα Περικλῆς  
 ὁ Ξανθίππου συνήγαγε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ πομπεῖα τῇ θεῷ καὶ  
 135 Νίκας χρυσᾶς καὶ παρθένους κόσμον ἑκατόν. ἐς δὲ πόλεμον  
 ὄπλα καὶ βέλη καὶ τετρακοσίας ναυμαχοῦσιν εἶναι τριήρεις·  
 οἰκοδομήματα δὲ ἐπετέλεσε μὲν τὸ θέατρον ἐτέρων ὑπαρξα-  
 μένων, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ἃ ὠκοδόμησεν ἐν Πει-  
 ραιεὶ νεῶς εἰσιν οἴκοι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῷ Λυκείῳ καλουμένῳ  
 140 γυμνάσιον. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἀργύρου πεποιημένα ἦν καὶ χρυ-  
 σοῦ, Λαχάρης καὶ ταῦτα ἐσύλησε τυραννήσας· τὰ δὲ οἰκο-  
 δομήματα καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἦν.
- 30 Πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἐρωτος 1

v.c.). For a copy, perhaps condensed, see Ps.-Plut. Vit. x. Or. pp. 844, 852. After enumerating his many services, the decree concludes with a list of honors to be conferred on the memory of Lycurgus, and a provision that all decrees in his honor should be engraved on stone tablets and set up on the Acropolis. For extant fragments, see C.I.A. II, 240. The various buildings of Lycurgus here mentioned have been already noticed by Pausanias (1, 1, 2; 1, 19, 3; 1, 19, 6; 1, 21, 1), or referred to in the notes.

30. *Altars of Eros, of Anteros, and of Prometheus — The Torch-Race — Other altars in the Academy — Plato's tomb — Tower of Timon — Altar of Poseidon Hippius and of Athena Hippiia — Heroums of Theseus and Pirithous, of Oedipus and Adrastus.*

1. ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν: tradition assigns the name of Academy to a place three quarters of a mile northwest of the Dipylum, in the broad belt of olive wood bordering the banks of the Ce-

phusis. The exact spot is just south of the rocky knoll, identified as Colonus Hippius, on which are the graves of Charles Lenormant and K. O. Müller. The testimony of ancient writers accords well with tradition (Paus. 1, 30, 4; Cic. De fin. 5, 1, 1; Livy, 31, 24). No remains of buildings once upon this site have been discovered. The Academy derived its name from one Academicus or Hecademus, whose shrine, as a hero, was in the Academy (see 1, 29, 2; Schol. Dem. 24, 114, p. 736; Schol. Ar. Nub. 1005, etc.). The first mention of it in historical times is when Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, built a wall around it at great expense, which he compelled the Athenians to pay (Suidas s.v. τὸ Ἰππάρχου τεῖχος). Cimon first converted it from a dry and dusty place into a well-watered grove with trim avenues and shady walks (Plut. Cimon, 13; cf. id. Sulla, 13; Diog. Laert. 3, 7). Read the beautiful description of it in Aristophanes, who mentions the gymnasium it contains

ἔχων ἐπίγραμμα ὡς Χάρμος Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος Ἐρωτι ἀνα-  
 θεΐη. τὸν δὲ ἐν πόλει βωμὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτος ἀνά-  
 θεμα εἶναι λέγουσι μετοίκων, ὅτι Μέλῃς Ἀθηναῖος μέτοικον  
 5 ἄνδρα Τιμαγόραν ἐρασθέντα ἀτιμάζων ἀφείναι κατὰ τῆς  
 πέτρας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ ὑψηλότατον αὐτῆς ἀνελθόντα·  
 Τιμαγόρας δὲ ἄρα καὶ ψυχῆς εἶχεν ἀφειδῶς καὶ πάντα ὁμοίως  
 κελεύοντι ἤθελε χαρίζεσθαι τῷ μειρακίῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ φέρων  
 ἑαυτὸν ἀφῆκε· Μέλῃτα δέ, ὡς ἀποθανόντα εἶδε Τιμαγόραν,  
 10 ἐς τοσοῦτο μετανοίας ἐλθεῖν ὡς πεσεῖν τε ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας  
 τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ οὕτως ἀφείδεις αὐτὸν ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦ-  
 θεν δαίμονα Ἀντέρωτα τὸν ἀλάστορα τὸν Τιμαγόρου κατέ-  
 στη τοῖς μετοίκους νομίζειν. ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως  
 βωμός, καὶ θεοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιο-  
 15 μένας λαμπάδας· τὸ δὲ ἀγώνισμα ὁμοῦ τῷ δρόμῳ φυλάξαι  
 τὴν δᾶδα ἔτι καιομένην ἐστίν. ἀποσβεσθείσης δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι  
 τῆς νίκης τῷ πρώτῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ

(Nub. 1002 sqq.). Here Plato held his school, which became known in consequence as the Academy (Diog. Laert. 3, 7; 4, 1, 1; Cic. De fin. 5, 1, 2; Suidas s.v. Ἀκαδημία, etc.). After his death, the Academy continued to be the headquarters of his school (Plut. De exilio, 10; Diog. Laert. 4, 2, 6; 4, 3, 19; 4, 8, 60). When Sulla laid siege to Athens, he cut down the trees of the Academy to make siege engines (Plut. Sulla, 12; Appian, Bellum Mithrid. 30). — **βωμός** Ἐρωτος . . . Ἀντέρωτος: according to Ath. 13, p. 609D, Charmus, who dedicated the altar of Eros, was a friend of the tyrant Hippias. Athenaeus also gives the metrical inscription. Suidas (s.v. Μέλῃτος) tells the story of the altar of Anteros, with some variations from the account of Pausanias.

13. **Προμηθέως βωμός**: Apollodorus, quoted in Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 56, gives a fuller description of this altar. He states that it was dedicated jointly to Prometheus and Hephaestus. The altar was at the entrance to the Academy, and from this altar the torch-race appears to have started. — 15. **λαμπάδας**: torch-races were held at eight Athenian festivals at least, namely the Panathenaea, the festivals of Prometheus, Hephaestus, Pan, Bendis, Hermes, Theseus, and the festival in honor of the dead. See Frazer's note. The course in the Ceramicus, probably that here mentioned, was followed in the first three. Pausanias mentions one way of running the race; the other way was to have lines of runners posted at intervals, and the first man after lighting his torch at the altar ran with it at full

Ch. 30, 4

μηδὲ τούτῳ καίοιτο, ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶν ὁ κρατῶν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσι  
 ἀποσβεσθεῖη, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὅτῳ καταλείπεται ἢ ῥίκη. ἔστι δὲ  
 20 Μουσῶν τε βωμὸς καὶ ἕτερος Ἐρμού καὶ εἴδον Ἀθηναίης. τὸν  
 δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησαν· καὶ φυτὸν ἐστὶν ἐλαίας. δεύτερον  
 τοῦτο λεγόμενον φανῆναι.

Ἀκαδημίας δὲ οὐ πόρρω Πλάτωνος μνήμᾳ ἐστίν. ᾧ προ- 3  
 εσήμαινεν ὁ θεὸς ἄριστον τὰ ἐς φιλοσοφίαν ἔσεσθαι· προε-  
 25 σήμαινε δὲ οὕτω. Σωκράτης τῇ προτέρα νυκτὶ ἢ Πλάτων  
 ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι οἱ μαθητῆς ἐσπτήναί οἱ κύκρον ἐς τὸν κόλ-  
 πον εἶδεν ὄνειρον· ἔστι δὲ κύκνῳ τῷ ὄρνιθι μουσικῆς δόξα. ὅτι  
 Λιγύων τῶν Ἠριδανοῦ πέραν ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Κελτικῆς Κύκρον  
 ἄνδρα μουσικὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέα φασί. τελευτήσαντα δὲ  
 30 Ἀπόλλωνος γνώμη μεταβαλεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ὄρνιθα.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ βάσιλεύσαι μὲν πείθομαι Λίγυσιν ἄνδρα μουσικόν.  
 γενέσθαι δὲ μοι ἄπιστον ὄρνιθα ἀπ' ἀνδρός. κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς 1  
 χώρας φαίνεται πύργος Τίμωνος. ὃς μόνος εἶδε μηδένα τρώ-  
 πον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι γενέσθαι πλὴν τοὺς ἄλλους φεύγοντα  
 35 ἀνθρώπους. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ χῶρος καλούμενος Κολωνός

speed and passed it on to the second, he to the third, etc.—21. *ἐλαίας*: the sacred olive trees called *μορταί* grew in the Academy; their number was at first twelve, and they were believed to be offshoots of the original olive tree on the Acropolis (1, 27, 2; Ar. Nub. 1005; Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 701; Suidas and Photius, Lexicon, s.v. *μορταί*). The penalty for injuring one of the sacred olives was originally death, later banishment; the case was tried by the court of the Areopagus (Lysias, 7, 41; Ar. Resp. Ath. 60). The penalty was not enforced in Aristotle's time.

23. *Πλάτωνος μνήμα*: according to Pausanias it was not far from the Academy; according to Diog. Laert. 3, 41,

it was situated ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ.—27. *ὄνειρον*: this story is told more fully by Diog. Laert. 3, 5; Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 389; Apuleius, De dogmate Platonis, 1, 1.

33. *πύργος Τίμωνος*: cf. Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 393, where it is said that Plato established a school near the abode of Timon the misanthrope, who, though he was embittered against all men, bore the society of Plato with much benignity.—35. *Κολωνός ὑπιπλος*: Thucydides (8, 67) locates Colonus about ten furlongs outside of Athens. Hence it has been identified with a rocky knoll about fifty feet high, about a mile and a quarter north-northwest of the Dipylum. Here Sophocles

ἵππιος. ἔνθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν Οἰδίποδα — διάφορα μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει, λέγουσι δ' οὖν — καὶ βωμὸς Ποσειδῶνος Ἴππίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἴππίας, ἡρῶν δὲ Πειρίθου καὶ Θησέως Οἰδίποδός τε καὶ Ἀδράστου.  
 40 τὸ δὲ ἄλλος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν Ἀντίγονος ἐσβαλὼν, καὶ ἄλλοτε στρατιᾷ κακώσας Ἀθηναίους τὴν γῆν.

31 Δῆμοι δὲ οἱ μικροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος 1

placed the scene of the Oedipus at Colonus. He describes its luxuriant vegetation (Oed. Col. 668 sqq.); he himself belonged to the township of Colonus (Suidas s.v. Σοφοκλῆς). He speaks of the spot as sacred ground, the possession of Poseidon, and inhabited also by Prometheus; here also was a sanctuary of the Furies (Soph. Oed. Col. 37 sqq.).

31. *Objects of interest in the smaller demes of Attica — The Hyperboreans — Artemis Colaeis and Amarysia.*

1. Δῆμοι: leaving Athens and its suburbs to the northwest, Pausanias now takes up the description of the rest of Attica embraced in cc. 31, 1—39, 3; the rest of the book (1, 39, 4—1, 44, 10) is devoted to Megara, the city and its territory. He first mentions the chief points of interest in the small Attic demes (1, 31, 1—1, 32, 1); he then names the Attic mountains (1, 32, 2); then describes more demes (1, 32, 3—1, 33, 8); then Oropus (1, 34); then the islands of Attica (1, 35, 1—1, 36, 2); then the road from Athens to Eleusis (1, 36, 3—1, 38, 5); next Eleusis itself (1, 36, 6—7); then the road from Eleusis to Boeotia (1, 38, 8—9); finally the road from Eleusis to the borders of

Megara (1, 39, 1—3). Thus the order is not strictly topographical (see Introduction, pp. 6, 7). The system of demes or townships in Attica, local divisions with independent municipal government, was first organized or at least fully developed by Cleisthenes in 508 B.C. (Aristot. Resp. Ath. 21). The number instituted by him is uncertain; it is inferred from Hdt. 5, 69, to have been one hundred. At a later time we hear of one hundred and seventy-four demes (Strabo, 9, p. 396). The names of one hundred and forty-five are authenticated by inscriptions or the testimony of ancient writers. Out of these one hundred and forty-five demes, we know the location of twenty-eight with tolerable exactness, and of thirty-seven more approximately; while the sites of the remaining eighty are still undetermined (see A. Milchhoefer, Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad., Berlin (1887), p. 42; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Attika*). Pausanias mentions about twelve in this and following chapters. Elsewhere he names a few more, namely Sunium (1, 1, 1), Piraeus (1, 1, 2), Phalerum (1, 1, 2), Ceramicus (1, 3, 1), Aphidna (1, 17, 5), Colonus (1, 30, 4), Laciadae (1, 37, 2), Scambonidae (1, 38, 2), Anaphlystus (2, 30, 9),

Ch. 31, 1

οἰκισθεῖς, τάδε ἐς μνήμην παρέιχοντο· Ἀλιμουσίοις μὲν  
 Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἱερόν. ἐν Ζωστῆρι δὲ  
 ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βωμὸς Ἀθηναῶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέ-  
 5 μιδος καὶ Λητοῦς. τεκεῖν μὲν οὖν Λητῶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα  
 οὗ φασι, λύσασθαι δὲ τὸν ζωστῆρα ὡς τεξομένην. καὶ τῷ  
 χωρίῳ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. Προσπαλτίοις δὲ ἐστὶ  
 καὶ τούτοις Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν. Ἀναγυρασίοις δὲ  
 Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν· Κεφαλῆσι δὲ οἱ Διόσκουροι νομίζονται  
 10 μάλιστα. Μεγάλους γὰρ σφᾶς οἱ ταύτη θεοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν.

Sphettus (ib.), Declea (3, 8, 6), and Stiria (10, 35, 8). — 2. Ἀλιμουσίοις: Halimus was a deme of the tribe Leontis. According to Strabo, 9, 398, it lay between Phalerum and Aixone, at a distance of thirty-five stadia from Athens (Dem. 57, 10, p. 376). In accordance with our location of Phalerum, Halimus must be along the coast between St. George (Trispyrgi) and St. Cosmas (see Excursus 1). The historian Thucydides belonged to Halimus (Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, pp. 199, 203). — 3. Ζωστῆρι: according to Strabo, 9, p. 398, Zoster was the name of a cape on the south coast of Attica, to the south of Aixone, the deme south of Halimus; and he adds that off the cape there is an island called Phabra. — 7. Προσπαλτίοις: Prospalta was a deme of the tribe Acamis (Dem. 43, 64, p. 1071; Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Προσπάλτιοι). Eupolis named one of his comedies The Prospaltians, after the inhabitants who had the reputation of being litigious (Athen. 7, p. 326 A). This deme was doubtless on or near the site of the modern village of Kalyvia Kuvara, which is in the interior of Attica about midway between Athens

and Sunium. To the west of this village ancient blocks and vestiges of walls have been found, and also inscriptions bearing the names of men of Prospalta. See Milchhoefer, A.M. XII (1887), 281–286; Karten von Attika, Text iii–vi, 12.—8. Ἀναγυρασίοις: Anagyrus was a deme of the tribe Erechtheis (Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Ἀναγυράσιος). Strabo (7, p. 398) locates it on the south coast of Attica, between the demes of Halae Aexionicae and Thorae. It is commonly placed at Vari, a small village to the east of Cape Zoster. See Milchhoefer, A.M. XIII (1888), 360–362; Karten von Attika, Text iii–vi, 15.—9. Κεφαλῆσι: Cephale was a deme of the tribe Acamis (Schol. Ar. Aves, 476; Harpocr. and Suid. s.v. Κεφαλῆθεν). Cephale is located near Keratea, a village in the interior of Attica eleven or twelve miles north of Sunium. Here sepulchral inscriptions have been found containing the names of natives of Cephale (C.I.A. II, 2151, 2154); also a stone bearing the inscription “boundary of Aphrodite at Cephale.” See Milchhoefer, A.M. XII (1887), 286–291; Karten von Attika, Text iii–vi, 12, 19.

Ch. 31, 2

ἐν δὲ Πρασιεῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι ναός· ἐνταῦθα τὰς Ὑπερ-<sup>2</sup>  
 βορέων ἀπαρχὰς ἰέναι λέγεται, παραδιδόναι δὲ αὐτὰς Ὑπερ-  
 βορέους μὲν Ἀριμασποῖς, Ἀριμασποῦς δ' Ἰσσηδόσι, παρὰ  
 δὲ τούτων Σκύθας ἐς Σινώπην κομίζειν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φέρεσθαι  
 15 διὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐς Πρασιάς, Ἀθηναίους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἐς Δῆλον  
 ἄγοντας· τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς κεκρῦφθαι μὲν ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν,  
 γινώσκεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδένων. ἔστι δὲ μνήμα ἐπὶ Πρασιαῖς  
 Ἐρυσίχθονος. ὡς ἐκομίζετο ὀπίσω μετὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐκ Δή-  
 λου. γενομένης οἱ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τῆς τελευτῆς. Κραναὸν 3  
 20 δὲ τὸν βασιλεύσαντα Ἀθηναίων ὅτι μὲν ἐξέβαλεν Ἀμφι-  
 κτύων κηδεστήν ὄντα, ἔτι πρότερον εἶρηταί μοι· φυγόντα  
 δὲ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Λαμπτρέα

11. ἐν δὲ Πρασιεῦσιν: Prasiae was a deme of the tribe Pandionis (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πράσιαι). It was situated on the east coast of Attica, on the spacious bay now called Porto Rapti, about sixteen miles northeast of Sunium, between the demes of Potamus on the south and Stiria on the north. It was in ancient times a port of Attica (Schol. Ar. Pac. 242; Thuc. 8; 95; Livy, 31, 45). — Ὑπερβορέων: Herodotus (4, 33) gives, on the authority of the Delians, an entirely different route by which the offerings of the Hyperboreans were forwarded to Delos. He has them conveyed first to the Scythians; thence westward from people to people until they reached the Adriatic sea; thence southward to the people of Dodona who transmitted them over to the gulf of Malea and across to Euboea; thence from city to city to Carystus, and finally by the Carystians to Tenos, whence the Tenians took them to Delos. Frazer thinks Herodotus gives us the original Delian version, Pausanias

the revised Athenian version of the fifth century B.C.—18. μετὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐκ Δήλου: the "sacred embassy" referred to is the one which the Athenians sent annually to Delos. The ship in which Theseus was believed to have sailed to Crete conveyed the envoy to Delos; in the ship were also the chorus that was to sing the hymn to Apollo, and the victims for sacrifice. Before the sailing of the ship the priest of Apollo crowned its stern; and from that moment till the ship returned no one might be put to death in Athens. This gave a respite to Socrates. See Plato, Phaedo, 58 A-C, 59 D; Xen. Mem. 4, 8, 2; Plut. Thes. 23; id. Nicias, 3.

22. Λαμπτρέα: this deme belonged to the tribe Erechtheis; it included two villages, Upper Lamptrea and Lower (or Seaside) Lamptreae (Harpoer., Suid., and Phot. Lex. s.v. Λαμπτρέες; Hesych. s.v. Λαμπρά). It was on the southern coast of Attica, between the demes of Thorae and Aegilia (Strabo, 9, p. 398). Upper Lamptreae has been identified

Ch 31, 5

ἀποθανεῖν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφῆναί φασι. καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ  
 [καὶ] ἐν τοῖς Λαμπτρεῦσι Κραναοῦ μνήμα. Ἰωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξοῦ-  
 25 θου — καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ᾤκησε παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους ἐπολεμάρχησε — τά-  
 φος ἐν Ποταμοῖς ἐστι τῆς χώρας. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὔτω λέγε-  
 1 ται, Φλυεῦσι δὲ εἰσι καὶ Μυρρινουσίους τοῖς μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος  
 Διονυσιοδότου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σελασφόρου βωμοὶ Διονύσιου  
 30 τε Ἀνθίου καὶ νυμφῶν Ἰσμηνίδων καὶ Γῆς, ἣν Μεγάλην  
 θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι· ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος  
 Ἀνησιδώρας καὶ Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς Ἀθηναῖς καὶ  
 Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν· τὸ δὲ  
 ἐν Μυρρινουῦντι ξόανόν ἐστι Κολαινίδος· Ἀθμονεῖς δὲ τιμῶ-  
 35 σιν Ἀμαρυσίαν Ἄρτεμιν. πνιθανόμενος δὲ σαφὲς οὐδὲν ἐς 5

with the modern Lambrika, a deserted village about four miles northeast of Vari. — 27. ἐν Ποταμοῖς: Potami was a deme of the tribe Leontis (Harpocr. s.v. Ποταμός; Suid. s.v. δρυαχαρνέυ). It lay on the east coast of Attica between Thoricus and Prasiae (Strabo, 9, p. 398; Pliny, N. H. 4, 24). It comprised three Potami, known as Upper, Lower, and Diradiotian (Schol. Hom. Il. Ω, 545; C.I.A. II, 864. See A.M. X (1885), 105 sqq.). It is commonly identified with some ruins bordering on the bay of Daskalio, south of Prasiae. Pausanias fails to mention the deme of Thoricus.

28. Φλυεῦσι: this deme belonged originally to the tribe Cecropis, and was afterwards transferred to the new tribe Ptolemais (Steph. Byz. s.v. Φλυεῖς; Suid. s.v. Φλυεῖα; Harpocr. s.v. Φλυεῖα). Euripides was a native of Phlya (Harpocr. l.c.). Phlya is identified on the authority of inscriptions with the modern Chalandri, a thriving village about five miles northeast of Athens, and

about three and one fourth miles south of Cephisia. It bordered on the deme Athmonia, which was certainly on the site of the modern Marusi, two miles north of Chalandri. (See C.I.A. III, 61 a, col. 2, l. 13; II, 2646; II, 1113.) — Μυρρινουσίους: this deme belonged to the tribe Pandionis (Steph. Byz. and Phot. Lex. s.v. Μυρρινούς). It was on the site of Merenda, a ruined village in the interior of Attica, east of Mt. Hymettus, about one and three fourths miles southeast of the large village of Markopoulo. (See C.I.A. II, 575; A.M. XII (1887), 277 sqq.) — 34. Ἀθμονεῖς: Athmonia or Athmonium was a township of the tribe Cecropis (Harpocr. s.v. Ἀθμονεῖς; Suid. s.v. Ἀθμονία; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀθμονον). At a later time, apparently, it was transferred to the new tribe Attalis (Schol. Ar. Pac. 190; cf. 1, 5, 5). Inscriptions prove that Athmonia was on or near the site of Marusi, a village in the Athenian plain, seven miles northeast

αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένους τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς εὖρον, αὐτὸς δὲ συμβάλ-  
 λομαι τῆδε. ἔστιν Ἀμάρυνθος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ταύτη  
 τιμῶσιν Ἀμαρυσίαν, ἑορτὴν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Ἀμαρυσίας  
 ἄγουσιν οὐδέν τι Εὐβοέων ἀφανέστερον· ταύτη μὲν γενέσθαι  
 40 τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ Ἀθμονεῦσιν ἠγοῦμαι, τὴν δὲ ἐν  
 Μυρρινοῦντι Κολαινίδα ἀπὸ Κολαίνου καλεῖσθαι. γέγρα-  
 πται δ' ἤδη μοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις φάναι πολλοὺς ὡς καὶ  
 πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασιλεύοντο τῆς Κέκροπος· ἔστι δὲ ὁ Κό-  
 λαινος ἀνδρὸς ὄνομα πρότερον ἢ Κέκροψ ἐβασίλευσεν — ὡς  
 45 οἱ Μυρρινούσιοι λέγουσιν — ἄρξαντος. ἔστι δὲ Ἀχαρναὶ 6  
 δῆμος· οὗτοι θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν Ἀγυῖα καὶ Ἡρα-  
 κλέα. καὶ Ἀθηναῖς βωμός ἐστιν Ὑγίαιας· τὴν δ' Ἰππίαν  
 Ἀθηναῖν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Διόνυσον Μελπόμενον καὶ Κισσὸν  
 τὸν αὐτὸν θεόν, τὸν κισσὸν τὸ φυτὸν ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον φανῆ-  
 50 ναι λέγοντες.

of Athens, and one and one half miles south of Cephisia. Marusi obviously preserves the surname of Amarysian Artemis. See C.I.A. II, 1722, 1723, 1724.

37. Ἀμάρυνθος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ: Amarynthus was a village distant seven stadia from Eretria (Strabo, 10, p. 448), where an annual festival was held by the Carystians as well as the Eretrians in honor of the Amarynthian Artemis (Livy, 35, 38). Cf. Strabo l.c. on the part of the Eretrians in this festival. The site of the sanctuary has been identified, with some probability, in the foundations of some buildings to the east of Eretria (see Lolling, A.M. X (1885), p. 354).

45. Ἀχαρναὶ δῆμος: Acharnae belonged to the tribe Oeneis (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀχάρνα). It was the largest of all the demes of Attica, and furnished to

the Athenian army at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War no less than three thousand infantry (Thuc. 2, 20). It was situated sixty stadia from Athens (id. 2, 21), in a fertile and well-cultivated district (Luc. Icarom. 18). The people dealt in charcoal (Ar. Ach. 34 and 332, and Schol. Ach. 34); they were regarded as stout soldiers (Ar. Ach. 180 sq.). From Thuc. 2, 1, 20, and Diod. 14, 32, it follows that Acharnae was seven miles northwest of Athens at the foot of Mt. Parnes. It doubtless occupied with its suburbs the territory embraced by the villages of Menidi and Epano-Liossia, one and one half miles from each other, where traces of an ancient township and ruins have been found. On Acharnae see Leake, Athens, II, 35-38; Bursian, Geogr. I, 334; Milchh. Karten von Attika, Text ii, 42; and A.M. XIII (1888), 337 ff.



Ch. 32, 1

32 Ὄρη δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἐστὶ Πεντελικὸν ἔνθα λιθοτομίαι. καὶ Πάρνης παρεχομένη θήραν σῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων. καὶ Ὑμηττὸς ὃς φύει νομὰς μελίσσαις ἐπιτηδειοτάτας πλὴν τῆς

32. *Mountains of Attica with their images and altars—Marathon and its objects of interest—The spring Macaria—The marsh.*

1. Πεντελικόν: the correct ancient name for Pentelicus was Brilessus (Thuc. 2, 23; Strabo, 9, p. 399, etc.), but it was sometimes called Pentelicus, as by Pausanias and Vitruvius (2, 8, 9), a name derived from Pentele, an Attic deme (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πεντέλη) on the southern slope of the mountain, near which were the quarries (Strabo, l.c.; Theoph. De lapid. 1, 6; cf. Xen. De vectig. 1, 4; Livy, 31, 26). Mt. Pentelicus is the pyramid-like mountain, at the northeast extremity of the Athenian plain, ten miles from Athens. The white surface of the ancient quarries can be clearly seen from the Acropolis. Its height is three thousand six hundred and thirty-five feet. The monastery of Mendeli borders on the site of the ancient deme Pentele. The quarries are in the gullies above the monasteries. — 2. Πάρνης: Parnes was one of the three chief ranges of mountains in Attica, the other two being Hymettus and Brilessus or Pentelicus (Theoph. De sign. temp. 3, 43). As the location of these two is known, it follows that Parnes is the still loftier range (four thousand six hundred and thirty-five feet) which bounds the plain of Athens on the north, forming with its offshoots the great mountain barrier between Attica and Bœotia. This is confirmed by ancient authorities. Cf. Plato, Critias, p. 110D, with Schol.;

Thuc. 4, 96; Athen. 5, p. 216A, etc. On the west Parnes joins Mt. Cithæron. The modern name of the range is Ozeæ. See also Thuc. 2, 23; Ar. Nub. 324; Aristot. Resp. Ath. 19; Strabo, 9, p. 399; Lucian, Bis acc. 8; id. Icarom. 11; Stat. Theb. 12, 620sq.; Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάρνης. — 3. Ὑμηττός: Hymettus is the regular, flat-topped chain of hills which bounds the plain of Athens on the east. It rises south of Mt. Pentelicus, from which it is divided by a valley about three miles wide, and extends southward almost in a straight line until it ends at Cape Zoster. The higher portion of the range (three thousand three hundred and seventy feet) north of the glen of Pirnari, which divides the chain into two, was called in ancient times the Great Hymettus; the lower part to the south of the glen was called the Lesser or Waterless (Anhydrus) Hymettus (Theoph. De sign. temp. 1, 20). The honey of Hymettus was renowned (Hor. Odes, 2, 6, 13sq.; id. Sat. 2, 2, 15; Cic. De fin. 2, 34, 112; Ovid, Met. 10, 284sq.; Strabo, 9, p. 399, etc.). The story goes that when Plato was a babe the bees of Hymettus filled his mouth with honey (Aelian, Var. Hist. 10, 21; Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, pp. 382, 390). Poets spoke of the flowery and fragrant Hymettus (Ovid, Met. 7, 72; Stat. Theb. 12, 622). Hymettus was also famous for its marble, which is a bluish-gray streaky marble, far inferior to Pentelic in quality (Strabo, 9, p. 399; Hor. Odes, 2, 18, 3sq. Pliny, N. H.

Ἰλαζόνων. Ἰλαζῶσι γὰρ συνήθεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς  
 5 νομᾶς ἰοῦσιν εἰσὶν ἄφειτοι καὶ μέλισσαι, οὐδὲ σφᾶς ἐς σίμ-  
 βλους καθείρξαντες ἔχουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἐργάζονται τε ὡς ἔτυχον  
 τῆς χώρας καὶ συμφυῆς τὸ ἔργον αὐταῖς ἐστίν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὔτε  
 κηρὸν οὔτε μέλι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν  
 ἐστίν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὰ ὄρη καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἔχει· Πεντε- 2  
 10 λῆσι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν Ὑμηττῷ δὲ ἀγαλμά ἐστίν Ὑμηττίου  
 Διός, βομοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διός καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι  
 Προοψίου. καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἐστι  
 καὶ βομὸς Σημαλέου Διός· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος  
 βομὸς, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοτὲ μὲν Ὀμβριον τοτὲ δὲ Ἀπή-  
 15 μιον καλοῦντες Δία. καὶ Ἀγχεσμὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ  
 Διὸς ἀγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου.

Πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῶν νήσων ἐς ἀφήγησιν τραπέσθαι, τὰ ἐς τοὺς 3  
 δήμους ἔχοντα αὐθις ἐπέξιμι. δήμὸς ἐστὶ Μαραθῶν ἴσον

17, 6; 36, 7, 114). Hymettus is still, as of old (Ovid, *Ars Am.* 3, 687), remarkable for the wonderful purple glow which comes over it as seen from Athens by evening light. Socrates drained the cup of hemlock at the hour when the sunset glow was on Hymettus (Plato, *Phaedo*, 116v, c).

15. Ἀγχεσμὸς: this mountain, not elsewhere mentioned in ancient writers, is probably the range of hills now known as Tourko-Vouni, extending northward from Athens in the direction of Cephisia, which forms the watershed of the Athenian plain. The chain terminates in the conical rocky hill which towers aloft northeast of Athens, nine hundred and ten feet above the sea, and is doubtless the ancient Lycabettus (cf. Plato, *Critias*, p. 112A; *Antig. Histor. Mirab.* 12; *Phot. Lex.* s.v. Πάρνης, etc.). Pausanias fails to

mention Mt. Aegaleus, a chain of hills, extending southwest from Mt. Parnes to the strait of Salamis. It forms the western boundary of the Athenian plain, dividing it from the Thriasian plain, in which is Eleusis.

18. δήμὸς ἐστὶ Μαραθῶν: Marathon was a member of an ancient confederacy called the Tetrapolis, consisting of Marathon, Oenoe, Probalinthus, and Tricorythus (Strabo, 8, p. 383; *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Τετράπολις; *Plut. Theseus*, 14; *Diod.* 4, 57), four towns said to have been founded by Deucalion and later merged by Theseus into a single state with the other petty communities of Attica. Three of these towns were situated between Prasiae and Rhamnus on the east coast of Attica, in the following order from south to north: Probalinthus, Marathon, Tricorythus (Strabo, 9, p. 399). Oenoe was near

Ch. 32, 4

τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέχων καὶ Καρύστων τῆς ἐν  
 20 Εὐβοίᾳ· ταύτῃ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ μάχῃ  
 τε ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τινες ὡς ἀνήγοντο ἀπώλεσαν τῶν νεῶν.  
 τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στήλαι  
 τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσαι.  
 καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις· ἐμαχέσαστο  
 25 γὰρ καὶ δούλοι τότε πρῶτον. καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ μνήμα  
 Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, συμβάσης ὕστερόν οἱ τῆς τελευτῆς  
 Πάρου τε ἀμαρτόντι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς κρίσιν Ἀθηναίους κατα-  
 στάντι. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων  
 καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἔστιν αἰσθῆσθαι· καταστήναι δὲ ἐς

the others, but somewhat inland. The plain of Marathon, in which occurred the famous contest in 490 B.C. between Athenians and the Persians, is a crescent-shaped stretch of flat land curving round the shore of a spacious bay, and bounded westward by a semicircle of steep mountains rising abruptly from the plain. The northeast corner is a narrow rocky promontory running southward far into the sea, now known as Cape Stomi or Cape Marathon; the southern end of the plain is terminated by Mt. Agrieliiki, an eastern spur of Mt. Pentelicus. The length of the plain from northeast to southwest is about six miles; its breadth varies from one and one half to two and one half miles. The shore is a shelving, sandy beach, well suited for the disembarkation of troops. A great swamp occupies most of the northern end of the plain.—

22. **τάφος**: this is to be recognized in a mound conical in shape, of light reddish mold, about thirty feet high and two hundred paces in circumference, situated in the southern part of the plain, about half a mile from the sea

and about three fourths of a mile north of the marsh. It is now popularly called Soros. It was excavated by the Greek government in April-June, 1890. At a depth of about nine feet below the present surface of the plain was found an artificial floor about eighty-five feet long and twenty feet broad, upon which rested a layer of ashes, charcoal, and human bones. Also later a trench was discovered containing the remains of the victims sacrificed to the heroic dead. The black-figured vases found with the bones and ashes of the dead belong to the period of the Persian wars; hence there is no doubt that the human remains are those of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians who fell at Marathon (Hdt. 6, 117). No traces have been found of the mound over the remains of the fallen Plataeans and slaves.

26. **Μιλτιάδου**: Hdt. 6, 132-136, and Corn. Nep. Miltiades, 7 sq., narrate the events which led to the trial and death of Miltiades. 30. **οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι συνήνεγκεν**: cf. Hdt. 6, 117, where it is related that in one instance blindness was the

30 ἐναργῆ θεῖαν ἐπίτηδες μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ συνήνεγκεν. ἀνη-  
 κόφ δὲ ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως συμβὰν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν δαιμόνων  
 ὀργή. σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθῶνιοι τούτους τε οἱ παρὰ τὴν  
 μάχην ἀπέθανον ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες καὶ Μαραθῶνα ἀφ' οὗ  
 τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι καὶ Ἡρακλέα, φάμενοι πρώτοις Ἑλλή-  
 35 ρων σφίσιν Ἡρακλέα θεὸν νομισθῆναι. συνέβη δὲ ὡς λέ- 5  
 γουσιν ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρεῖναι τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν  
 ἄγροικον· οὗτος τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρό-  
 τρω μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἀφανής· ἐρομένοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλο  
 μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχρησεν οὐδέν, τιμᾶν δὲ Ἐχετλαίου ἐκέ-  
 40 λευσεν ἥρωα. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ. τοὺς  
 δὲ Μήδους Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θάψαι λέγουσιν ὡς πάντως ὅσιον  
 ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν γῆ κρύψαι, τάφου δὲ οὐδένα εὐρεῖν ἐδυνά-  
 μην· οὔτε γὰρ χῶμα οὔτε ἄλλο σημεῖον ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐς ὄρυγμα  
 δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς ὡς τύχοιεν ἐσέβαλον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαρα- 6  
 45 θῶνι πηγὴ καλουμένη Μακαρία, καὶ τοιαύτε ἐς αὐτὴν λέγον-  
 σιν. Ἡρακλῆς ὡς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ἔφηνγεν Εὐρυσθέα, παρὰ  
 Κήνκα φίλον ὄντα μετοικίζεται βασιλεύοντα Τραχίνοσ. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ἀπελθόντος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων Ἡρακλέους ἐξήτει τοὺς παῖδας  
 Εὐρυσθεύς, ἐς Ἀθήνας πέμπει σφᾶς ὁ Τραχίνιος ἀσθeneiάν  
 50 τε λέγων τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Θησέα οὐκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τιμωρεῖν·  
 ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἰκέται πρῶτον τότε Πελοποννησίοις  
 ποιοῦσι πόλεμον πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, Θησέως σφᾶς οὐκ ἐκδόν-  
 τος αἰτοῦντι Εὐρυσθεῖ. λέγουσι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι  
 the prizes were silver cups (Pind. Olymp. 9, 134 sqq., and Schol.).  
 45. **Μακαρία**: the story of Eurys-  
 theus's defeat and death in Attica,  
 whither he had marched against the  
 children of Heracles who had found a  
 refuge in the Tetrapolis, is told also by  
 Strabo, 8, p. 377; Diod. 4, 57; and is  
 the theme of Euripides's *Heraclidae*.  
 Cf. Thuc. 1, 9; Isoc. Paneg. 58 sq.

Ch. 33, 1

χρησμον τῶν παίδων ἀποθανεῖν χρῆναι τῶν Ἰρακλέους τιὰ  
 55 ἐθελοντήν. ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐκ εἶναι νίκην σφίσι· ἐνταῦθα  
 Μακαρία Δηλιανῆς καὶ Ἰρακλέους θυγάτηρ ἀποσφάξασα  
 ἑαυτὴν ἔδωκεν Ἀθηναίοις τε κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ  
 πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφ' αὐτῆς. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι λίμνη·  
 τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδης· ἐς ταύτην ἀπειρία τῶν ὁδῶν φεύγοντες  
 60 ἐσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι. καὶ σφισι τὸν φόνον τὸν πολλὸν  
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμβῆναι λέγουσιν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν λίμνην φάται  
 εἰσὶ λίθον τῶν ἵππων τῶν Ἀρταφέρνηους καὶ σημεῖα ἐν πέ-  
 τραις σκηνῆς. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐκ τῆς λίμνης. τὰ μὲν  
 πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ βοσκήμασιν ὕδωρ ἐπιτήδειον παρεχό-  
 65 μενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀλμυρὸς ἤδη  
 γίνεται καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν θαλασσιῶν πλήρης. ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπω-  
 τέρω τοῦ πεδίου Πανός ἐστιν ὄρος καὶ σπήλαιον θεᾶς ἄξιον·  
 ἔσοδος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ στενή, παρελθούσι δὲ εἰσιν οἴκοι καὶ  
 λουτρὰ καὶ καλούμενον Πανὸς αἰπόλιον. πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ  
 70 αἰξὶν εἰκασμένα.

33 Μαραθῶνος δὲ ἀπέχει τῇ μὲν . . . Βραυρών. ἔθθα Ἰφιγέ-  
 νειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐκ Ταύρων φεύγουσαν τὸ ἄγαλμα  
 ἀγομένην τὸ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀποβῆναι λέγουσι. καταλιποῦσαν δὲ

58. λίμνη: cf. 1, 15, 3. This swamp occupies most of the northern end of the plain. It is now covered with reed-grass, and is separated from the sea by a narrow strip of sandy beach. Between the marsh and the mountain slopes is the modern village of Kato-Souli. Herodotus, in his account of the battle, does not mention the marsh, but it was represented in the painting of the Painted Porch (1, 15, 3) and is mentioned Schol. Plat. Menex. 358, and Aristid. Panath. p. 203.

33. Brauron — Image of Artemis — Rhamnus and Nemesis Rhamnusia—

*Different Peoples of Ethiopia — Atlas — Nemesis without wings.*

1. Βραυρών: Brauron was one of the twelve confederate towns of Attica before Theseus's time (Strabo, 9, p. 397). Strabo (9, p. 399) locates it on the east coast of Attica between the demes of Prasiae and Stiria to the south, and Myrrhinus, Probalinthus, and Marathon to the north of it. Its position on the coast is known from Hdt. 4, 145: 6, 138; and there was a river Erasinus at Brauron (Strabo, 8, p. 371). This leads to its identification with Vraona, a village which meets the conditions

τὸ ἄγαλμα ταύτη καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Ἄργος ἀφι-  
 5 κέσθαι· ξόανον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτόθι ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἀρχαῖον,  
 τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων οἴτινες κατὰ γνώμην ἔχουσι τὴν  
 ἐμὴν· ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ δηλώσω· Μαραθῶνος δὲ σταδίου μά- 2  
 λιστα ἐξήκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥαμνοῦς τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰούσιν  
 ἐς Ὀρωπὸν· καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκῆσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσση τοῖς ἀνθρώ-  
 10 ποῖς εἰσὶ, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεώς ἐστὶν ἱερόν,

and the name of which appears to be the modern equivalent of Brauron. — 5. *ξόανον*: see 1, 23, 7; 3, 16, 7–11; 8, 46, 3, with Frazer's notes.

8. *Ῥαμνοῦς*: Rhamnus was a deme of the tribe Aiantis (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ῥαμνοῦς*), situated on the northeast coast of Attica, north of Tricorythus (Strabo, 9, p. 399). It was one of the fortresses of Attica into which the people collected their property when in dread of Philip of Macedon (Dem. 18, 38, p. 238). The place was chiefly famous for its temple and image of Nemesis (Strabo, 9, pp. 396, 399; Pliny, N. H. 36, 17; Hesych., Suid., and Phot. Lex. s.v. *Ῥαμνοῦσία Νέμεσις*, etc.). The orator Antiphon belonged to Rhamnus (Suid. s.vv. *Ἀντιφῶν* and *Ῥαμνοῦς*). It is about six and one half miles north of Kato-Souli, which agrees well with the sixty stadia estimated by Pausanias. The site is an isolated rocky height of considerable natural strength, jutting out into the sea, and upon which are the ruins of the fortress. Not far away on a terrace at the head of a deep and woody glen are the ruins of two temples, that of Nemesis and a smaller one, probably of Themis. — 10. *Νεμέσεως . . . ἱερόν*: upon the terrace already mentioned, one hundred and fifty feet wide and facing the sea, lie

the remains of the two temples. They stand side by side, but not quite parallel to each other, the larger being on the north side toward the sea. The larger temple is seventy-one feet long by thirty-three feet broad on the stylobate. It was a peripteral hexastyle Doric temple, with twelve columns on each of the long sides. The outer columns are unfluted except for a very small distance at the top and near the bottom, which indicates that the temple was never finished. The interior consisted of pronaos, cella, and opisthodomos, arranged in the usual way. The lower portions of seven columns on the south side and one in the pronaos are still standing. The architectural features render it probable that the temple was built about the middle of the fifth century B.C. The discovery of an inscription (C.I.A. III, 811) on a statue dedicated to Nemesis, and of fragments of the sculptures described by Pausanias, prove that this was the sanctuary of Nemesis. The smaller temple was a templum in antis, consisting of cella and pronaos, thirty-five feet long by twenty-five feet wide. Inscriptions and statues found in the temple prove that it was in use at least from the fifth to the second century B.C. and was in all probability a temple of

Ch. 33, 4

- ἢ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητος. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀποβάσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι μῆνιμα ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης· καταφρονησαντες γὰρ <μηδέν> σφισιν ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλεῖν. λίθου
- 15 Πάριον ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις ἦγον ἐς τροπαίου ποιήσιν. τοῦτον Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ ἔπεισι τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα· ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ἔχει τῇ μὲν κλάδον μηλέας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ φιάλην, λίθιοιπες δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ
- 20 φιάλῃ πεποιήνται. συμβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐς τοὺς λίθιοιπας οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχον οὔτε ἀπεδεχόμεν τῶν συνιέναι πειθομένων. οἱ πεποιήσθαι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ φιάλῃ φασὶ διὰ ποταμὸν Ὀκεανόν· οἰκεῖν γὰρ λίθιοιπας ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Νεμέσει δὲ εἶναι πατέρα Ὀκεανόν. Ὀκεανῷ γὰρ οὐ ποταμῷ, θαλάσσῃ δὲ ἐσχάτῃ
- 25 τῆς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πλεομένης προσοικοῦσιν Ἰβηρες καὶ Κελτοί, καὶ νῆσον Ὀκεανὸς ἔχει τὴν Βρεττανῶν· λίθιοιπων δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Συήνης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔσχατοι τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν κατοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγοι. καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὃν περιοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγων ὀνομάζεται. οἱ δὲ δικαιοτάτοι Μερόην πόλιν καὶ πεδίου
- 30 λίθιοιπικὸν καλούμενον οἰκοῦσιν· οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἡλίον τράπεζαν εἰσιν οἱ δεικνύντες, οὐδέ σφισιν ἔστιν οὔτε θάλασσα οὔτε

Themis. Some authorities hold that it was the original sanctuary of Nemesis; if so, it continued in use after the larger temple was built.

16. **Νεμέσεως**: the image of Nemesis was ten cubits high (Zenob. v. 82; Hesych. s.v. Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις), and was much admired for its beauty and size (Strabo, 9, p. 396; Pliny, N. H. 36, 17). Ancient writers disagree as to the sculptor of the image. According to Pausanias, Zenobius (l.c.), the lexicographers, and others, the image was by Phidias; according to Pliny and Strabo

(l.c.) it was the work of Agoracritus of Paros, a pupil of Phidias. Probably it was by the latter under the supervision of Phidias. The story of the block of marble is doubtless a popular fable. Part of the colossal head of the statue is in the British Museum, and fragments of reliefs from the pedestal are in the National Museum at Athens. Furtwängler conjectures that the Ceres of the Vatican is a copy of the Nemesis of Rhamnus (Meisterw. p. 149).

30. τὴν ἡλίον τράπεζαν: cf. 6, 26, 2. The Table of the Sun was in the land

ποταμὸς ἄλλος γε ἢ Νεῖλος. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πρόσκοικοι 5  
 Μαύροις Λιθίοπες ἄχρι Νασαμώνων παρήκοντες. Νασαμῶ-  
 νες γάρ, οὗς ἸΑτλαντας Ἡρόδοτος, οἱ δὲ μέτρα φάμενοι γῆς  
 35 εἰδέναί Λιξίτας καλοῦσι, Λιβύων οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἸΑτλαντι  
 οἰκοῦσι σπείροντες μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀμπέλων ζῶντες ἀγρίων.  
 ποταμὸς δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις τοῖς Λιθίοφιν οὐδὲ τοῖς Νασαμῶσιν  
 ἔστιν οὐδεῖς· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τῷ ἸΑτλαντι ὕδωρ, τρισὶ παρεχό-  
 μενον ἀρχὰς ρεύμασιν, οὐδὲν τῶν ρευμάτων ποιεῖ ποταμόν,  
 40 ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως αὐτίκα ἔχει συλλαβοῦσα ἢ ψάμμος. οὕτως  
 Λιθίοπες ποταμῷ γε οὐδενὶ προσκοικοῦσιν ἸΩκεανῷ. τὸ δὲ 6  
 ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἸΑτλαντος θολερόν τέ ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ  
 κροκόδειλοι διπήχεων ἦσαν οὐκ ἐλάσσους, προσιόντων δὲ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων κατεδύνοντο ἐς τὴν πηγὴν. παρίστατο δὲ οὐκ ὀλί-  
 45 γοις τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο ἀναφαινόμενον αὐθις ἐκ τῆς ψάμμου  
 ποιεῖν τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγυπτίοις. ὁ δὲ ἸΑτλας (ὄρος) ὑψηλὸν  
 μὲν ἔστιν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λέγεται ταῖς κορυφαῖς ψαυεῖν τοῦ  
 οὐρανοῦ, ἄβατον δὲ ὑπὸ ὕδατος καὶ δένδρων ἀδιὰ παντὸς  
 πέφυκε· τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Νασαμῶνας αὐτοῦ γινώσκειται,  
 50 τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὐδένα πω παραπλεύσαντα ἴσμεν. τάδε 7  
 μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· περὰ δ' ἔχον οὔτε τοῦτο τὸ  
 ἀγαλμα Νεμέσεως οὔτε ἄλλο πεποιήται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐπεὶ  
 μηδὲ Σμυρναίοις τὰ ἀγιώτατα ξόανα ἔχει περὰ· οἱ δὲ ὕστε-  
 ρον — ἐπιφαίνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν θεὸν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐράν ἐθέ-  
 55 λουσιν — ἐπὶ τούτῳ Νεμέσει περὰ ὥσπερ ἸΕρωτι ποιοῦσι.  
 νῦν δὲ ἤδη δίειμι ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῷ βάρῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἔστιν

of the long-lived Ethiopians, who dwelt on the Indian ocean. "It was said to be a meadow in the suburb of their city; every night the rulers set forth great piles of the boiled flesh of all kinds of quadrupeds, and every day all who chose came and partook of the meat, in the belief that it was produced spon-

taneously from the ground." According to Hdt. 3, 17 sq., and others, King Cambyses sent spies to see and report on it.

33. **Νασαμῶνες**: cf. Hdt. 4, 184, 172 and 182, who says that the inhabitants of Mt. Atlas were called Atlantes, but does not identify them with the Nasamonians, whom he describes separately.



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εἰργασμένα. τοσόνδε ἐς τὸ σαφὲς προδηλώσας. Ἑλένη Νέ-  
 μεσιν μητέρα εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἕλληνας. Λήδα δὲ μαστὸν  
 ἐπισχεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ θρέψαι· πατέρα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ πάντες  
 60 κατὰ ταῦτα Ἑλένης Δία καὶ οὐ Τυνδάρεων εἶναι νομίζουσι.  
 ταῦτα ἀκηκοὺς Φειδίας πεποίηκεν Ἑλένην ὑπὸ Λήδας ἀγο-  
 μένην παρὰ τὴν Νέμεσιν, πεποίηκε δὲ Τυνδάρεων τε καὶ τοὺς  
 παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρα σὺν ἵππῳ παρεστηκότα Ἴππέα ὄνομα·  
 ἔστι δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως.  
 65 πρῶτος οὗτος Ἑρμιόνην τὴν Ἑλένης γυναικα λαβών· Ὀρέ-  
 στης δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν μητέρα τόλμημα παρείθη, παραμεινά-  
 σης τε ἐς ἅπαν Ἑρμιόνης αὐτῷ καὶ τεκούσης παῖδα. ἐξῆς  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάρβρῳ καὶ Ἐποχος καλούμενος καὶ νεανίας ἐστὶν  
 ἕτερος· ἐς τούτους ἄλλο μὲν ἤκουσα οὐδέν, ἀδελφούς δὲ εἶναι  
 70 σφᾶς Οἰνόης, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ δήμῳ.  
 34 Τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Ὠρωπίαν μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Τανα-  
 1 γρικῆς, Βοιωτίαν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔσαν, ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν

57. Ἑλένη Νέμεσιν μητέρα: for the story that Nemesis, and not Leda, was the mother of Helen, see Apollod. 3, 10, 7; Tzetzes, Schol. Lycophr. 88.

70. Οἰνόης, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ δήμῳ: there were two demes in Attica called Oenoe, one near Marathon, which is probably here referred to, and one on the Boeotian frontier, four miles southeast of Eleutheræ (see 1, 15, 1, note; Hdt. 5, 74; Thuc. 2, 18).

34. Oropus—*Temple of Amphiaraus—The Dream Oracle.*

1. τὴν Ὠρωπίαν: the district of Oropus was long a bone of contention between Attica and Boeotia (Strabo, 9, p. 399). Originally it was Boeotian. It fell into the hands of the Athenians probably at the end of the sixth century (Hdt. 5, 77), and continued under

their control until the fortification of Declea (Thuc. 8, 60), when the Boeotians recovered it. Probably in 383 B.C. the Oropians voluntarily surrendered their land to the Athenians (Isoc. 14, 20), but in 366 B.C. the Boeotians regained possession (Diod. 15, 76; Xen. Hell. 7, 4, 1; Aesch. 2, 85); but in 338 B.C., after his conquest of Thebes, Philip restored Oropus to Athens. There were further changes of control, as in Strabo's time, when it was Boeotian (Strabo, 9, pp. 391, 403), but afterwards it became and continued Athenian, as in Pausanias's day. The plain of Oropus extends along the shore for about five miles; inland it narrows to a point two or three miles from the shore where the Asopus issues from a beautiful defile. The site of the town

Ἀθηναῖοι. πολεμήσαντες μὲν τὸν πάντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς χρόνον,  
 κτησάμενοι δὲ οὐ πρότερον βεβαίως πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος Θήβας  
 5 ἔλων ἔδωκε σφισιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης  
 μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς συγγραφὴν παρεχομένη· ἀπέχει δὲ δώδεκα  
 τῆς πόλεως σταδίου μάλιστα ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου. λέγε- 2  
 ται δὲ Ἀμφιαράω φεύγοντι ἐκ Θηβῶν διαστήναι τὴν γῆν καὶ  
 ὡς αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα ὑπεδέξατο· πλὴν οὐ ταύτη συμ-  
 10 βῆναί φασιν, ἀλλὰ <ῆ> ἐστὶν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Χαλκίδα  
 ἄρμα καλούμενον. θεὸν δὲ Ἀμφιάραιον πρώτοις Ὠρωπίοις  
 κατέστη νομίζειν. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἤγνη-  
 ται. καταλέξει δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἔχω γενομένους τότε ἀνθρώ-  
 15 πόλεις, Ἐλεοῦς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ Ἠρωτεσιλάῳ. Λεβάδεια Βοιω-  
 τῶν Τροφονίῳ· καὶ Ὠρωπίοις ναὸς τέ ἐστιν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ  
 ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ βωμὸς μέρη· τὸ μὲν 3  
 Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Παιῶνος, τὸ δὲ  
 ἦρωσι καὶ ἠρώων ἀνεῖται γυναιξί. τρίτον δὲ Ἐστίας καὶ Ἐρ-  
 20 μοῦ καὶ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχου· Ἀλκμαίων  
 δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς Ἐριφύλῃν ἔργον οὔτε ἐν Ἀμφιαράου τινά, οὐ

of Oropus is now occupied by Skala Oropou, a hamlet on the shore of a bay within sight of Eretria, from which it is separated by a strait forty stadia in width.—7. *ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου*: the sanctuary of Amphiarus is distant about four miles southeast of Oropus. The distance is greatly understated by Pausanias. The place is now called *Mavrodhilissi*. The ruins of the sanctuary were excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1884–1887. The remains of the temple are in the western end of the precinct. It appears to have been a Doric temple, about ninety-five feet long by forty-three feet

wide, consisting of a cella, fronted by a portico of six columns between two antae; it was not peripteral. In front of the temple, about thirty feet from it, are the foundations, twenty-eight feet by fourteen feet, of the large altars here described by Pausanias. Amphiarus, the seer and hero, took part in the Calydonian boar hunt, the Argonautic voyage, and the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.

17. *ὁ βωμός*: the great altar was divided into five parts, dedicated to various gods and heroes here enumerated. The existing remains seem to show that it was formed by uniting several

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μήν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τιμὴν ἔχει. τετάρτη δὲ ἐστὶ  
 τοῦ βωμοῦ μοῖρα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πανακείας. ἔτι δὲ Ἰασοῦς  
 καὶ Ὑγείας καὶ Ἀθηναῶν Παιωνίας· πέμπτη δὲ πεποιήται  
 25 νύμφαις καὶ Πανὶ καὶ ποταμοῖς Ἀχελῷῳ καὶ Κηφισῷ. τῷ  
 δὲ Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βωμὸς  
 καὶ Κιλικίας ἐν Μαλλῷ μαντεῖον ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.  
 ἔστι δὲ Ὠρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ. ἢν Ἀμφιαράου  
 καλοῦσιν. οὔτε θύοντες οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὴν οὔτ' ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις ἢ  
 30 χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες· νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαι-  
 τεύματος γενομένου καθέστηκεν ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι ἢ χρυσὸν  
 ἐπίσημον ἐς τὴν πηγὴν. ταύτη γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Ἀμφιάραον  
 λέγουσιν ἤδη θεόν. Ἰοφῶν δὲ Κνώσσιος τῶν ἐξηγητῶν χρη-  
 σμοὺς ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ παρείχετο. Ἀμφιάραον χρῆσαι φάμενος  
 35 τοῖς ἐς Θήβας σταλεῖσιν Ἀργείοις. ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη τὸ ἐς τοὺς  
 πολλοὺς ἐπαγωγὸν ἀκρατῶς εἶχε· χωρὶς δὲ πλὴν ὅσους ἐξ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος μαῖηται λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον. μάλιστα γ' οἰδεὶς  
 χρησμολόγος ἦν. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ὄνειρατα ἐξηγήσασθαι καὶ δια-  
 γνῶναι πτήσεις ὀρνίθων καὶ σπλάγχνα ἱερείων. δοκῶ δὲ  
 40 Ἀμφιάραον ὄνειράτων διακρίσει μάλιστα προσκείσθαι· δῆ-  
 λος δέ, ἡνίκα ἐνομίσθη θεός, δι' ὄνειράτων μαιτικὴν κατα-  
 στησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι νομίζουσιν οὔτις  
 ἦλθεν Ἀμφιαράῳ χρησόμενος· ἔστι δὲ καθάρσιον τῷ θεῷ

separate altars which stood side by side. Why the worship of the divinities mentioned should have been united at a single altar can only be conjectured. — 27. ἐν Μαλλῷ: according to Plutarch (*De defectu oraculorum*, 45) and Dio Cassius (72, 7), the oracles of Amphilocheus at Mallus, like those of his father at Oropus, were imparted in dreams. The charge for one of these infallible communications of Amphilocheus was only two obols (Lucian, *Alexander*, 19; *id.*

*Deor. concil.* 12), while Amphiarus at Oropus charged not less than nine obols (*C. I. G. G. S.* 235).

28. πηγὴ: the custom of throwing money, as a thank offering, into springs and rivers is often mentioned in ancient writers. The younger Pliny (*Ep.* 8, 8, 2) speaks of coins at the bottom of the Clitumnian spring. Romans threw money annually into the *Lacus Curtius* in fulfillment of a vow made for the health of Augustus (*Suet. Augustus*,

- Ch. 35, 1
- θύειν. θύουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσοις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 45 βωμῶ τὰ ὀνόματα· προεξεργασμένων δὲ τούτων κριὸν θύ-  
 σαντες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρωσάμενοι καθέδουσι ἀναμέ-  
 νοντες δῆλωσιν ὀνειράτος.
- 35 Νῆσοι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἰσίν. ἡ μὲν 1  
 Πατρόκλου καλουμένη — τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤδη μοι δεδήλωται  
 — ἄλλη δὲ ὑπὲρ Σουνίου τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρα-  
 πλέουσιν· ἐς ταύτην ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν Ἑλένην μετὰ τὴν  
 5 ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἰλίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄνομά ἐστιν Ἑλένη τῇ  
 νήσῳ. Σαλαμῖς δὲ κατὰ Ἑλευσῖνα κειμένη παρήκει καὶ ἐς 2  
 τὴν Μεγαρικὴν. πρῶτον δὲ τῇ νήσῳ . . . θέσθαι τοῦτο ἀπὸ  
 τῆς μητρὸς Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἀσωποῦ, καὶ ὕστερον Λίγυνης

57). The Egyptian priests, at a certain festival, threw money into the Nile (Seneca, Quaest. Nat. 4, 2, 7).

35. *The Attic islands: Patroclus, Helene, Salamis—History of Salamis—Objects of interest on the island—Vast size of Ajax—Geryones and Hyllus.*

1. **Νῆσοι:** on the island of Patroclus, see 1, 1, 1, note. The island beyond Sunium is now called *Makronisi*, and lies off the southeast coast of Attica. It is bare and rugged, nine hundred and twenty feet above the sea at its highest point, and about eight miles long from south to north. Strabo (9, p. 399) and Pausanias (8, 14, 12) speak of it as desert. The isle of Craneae, according to Homer (Il. Γ, 445), was the retreat of Paris and Helen. Pausanias elsewhere (3, 22, 1) identified Craneae with an island off Gytheum. Others, however, identified it with this island off Sunium (Eur. Helena, 1670 sqq.; Strabo, 9, p. 399; Schol. Hom. Il. Γ, 445).

6. **Σαλαμῖς:** the island of Salamis is

in the shape of an irregular crescent, with its horns facing westward. Its length from north to south is about nine miles; its greatest breadth from east to west is about ten miles; the highest point is about twelve hundred and fifty feet above the sea. In ancient times the island produced honey and olives (Eur. Troad. 794–799) and cheese (Strabo, 9, p. 395). The town of Salamis was on the Bay of Ambelaki, facing towards Piraeus. Strabo (9, p. 393) says there was a still older city called Salamis, facing towards Aegina. In the agora of Salamis was a statue of Solon, erected in the early part of the fourth century B.C. (Aeschin. 1, 25; Dem. 19, 251, p. 420). Some ruins on the northwest promontory near the monastery of the Panagia Phanaromene have been identified as those of the fort Budorum, captured in 429 B.C. by the Peloponnesians, who were, however, compelled to evacuate it the next day (Thuc. 1, 93 sq.; Diod. 12, 49). — 8. **τῆς Ἀσωποῦ:** Diodorus (4, 72) says

Ch. 35, 3

- τοὺς σὺν Τελαμῶνι ἐπικηῆσαι· Φίλαιον δὲ τὸν Εὐρυσάκουσ  
 10 τοῦ Λιάντος παραδοῦναι λέγουσιν Ἀθηναίους τὴν νῆστον.  
 γενόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων. Σαλαμινίους δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 τούτων ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν. κατα-  
 γρόντες ἐθελοκακῆσαι σφᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Κάσσαι-  
 δρον καὶ τὴν πόλιν γνώμη τὸ πλεόν Μακεδόσιν ἐνδοῦναι·  
 15 καὶ Λίσχητάδου τε κατέγνωσαν θάνατον. ὃς τότε ἤρρητο ἐς  
 τὴν Σαλαμίνα στρατηγός, καὶ ἐς τὸν πάντα ἐπώμοσαν χρό-  
 νον Σαλαμινίοις ἀπομνημονεύσειν προδοσίαν. ἔστι δὲ ἀγο-  
 ρᾶς τε ἔτι ἐρείπια καὶ ναὸς Λιάντος, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐξ ἐβένου  
 ξύλου· διαμένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε τῷ Λιάντι παρὰ Ἀθηναίους  
 20 τιμαὶ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Εὐρυσάκει, καὶ γὰρ Εὐρυσάκουσ βωμός

that Salamis, one of the twelve daughters of Asopus, was carried off by Poseidon to the island which afterwards bore her name, where she bore to the god a son Cychreus, who became king of the island. The island is said to have been once called Sciras and Cychrea after the heroes Scirus and Cychreus (Strabo, 9, p. 393; Steph. Byz. s.v. Κυχρεῖος πάγος). Aeschylus (Pers. 570) speaks of "the Cycirean shores."—

9. Φίλαιον: when the Lacedaemonians acted as arbitrators between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis, Solon is said to have alleged that Philaeus and Eurysaces, two sons of Ajax, received the Athenian citizenship and surrendered the island to Athens (Plut. Solon, 10). Pausanias makes Philaeus a son of Eurysaces and grandson of Ajax. But Pherecydes (quoted Biogr. Gr., ed. Westermann, p. 187) and Herodotus (6, 35), with whom later writers agree, make Philaeus a son of Ajax. Cf. J. Töpffer, Attische Genealogie, pp. 269 sqq.—12. ἀναστά-

τους: the surrender of Salamis to Cassander seems to have happened in 318 B.C. (Polyaen. 4, 11; Droysen, Gesch. d. Hell. II, 1, 230). For the next ninety years it was probably held by a Macedonian garrison. In 229 B.C. Aratus restored it to Athens (Plut. Aratus, 34; Paus. 2, 8, 6; Droysen, III, 2, 57). At this time the punishment here alluded to may have been inflicted.

19. τῷ Λιάντι: the Athenian ephoroi regularly took part in the annual festival of Ajax on the island of Salamis, when the features were a procession, a sacrifice to Ajax, athletic sports, and a regatta. (Hesych. s.v. Αἰάντεια; C.I.A. II, 467-471.) See Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. I, 926 sqq. s.v. Αἰάντεια.—20. Εὐρυσάκουσ βωμός ἐστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις: the τέμενος of Eurysaces, named Εὐρυσάκειον, was in the quarter of Melite, in the neighborhood of the Colonus Agoraeus, beside or in the agora. (Harpoer. s.vv. Εὐρυσάκειον and Κολωνέτας; Suid. s.v. Εὐρυσάκης, etc.)

ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀθήναις. δείκνυται δὲ λίθος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οὐ πόρρω  
 τοῦ λιμένος· ἐπὶ τούτου καθήμενον Τελαμῶνα ὄραν λέγουσιν  
 ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἀποπλεόντων οἱ τῶν παίδων ἐς Αὐλίδα ἐπὶ τὸν  
 κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων στόλον. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν Σαλα- 4  
 25 μῖνα οἰκοῦντες ἀποθανόντος Αἴαντος τὸ ἄνθος σφίσιν ἐν τῇ  
 γῇ τότε φανῆναι πρῶτον· λευκὸν ἐστίν, ὑπέρυθρον, κρίνου  
 καὶ αὐτὸ ἔλασσον καὶ τὰ φύλλα· γράμματα δὲ ἔπεστιν οἷα  
 τοῖς ὑακίνθοις καὶ τούτῳ. λόγον δὲ τῶν μὲν Αἰολέων τῶν  
 ὕστερον οἰκησάντων Ἴλιον ἐς τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις  
 30 ἤκουσα. οἱ τῆς ναυαγίας Ὀδυσσεῖ συμβάσης ἐξενεχθῆναι  
 κατὰ τὸν τάφον τὸν Αἴαντος τὰ ὅπλα λέγουσι· τὸ δὲ ἐς τὸ  
 μέγεθος αὐτοῦ Μυσὸς ἔλεγεν ἀνῆρ. τοῦ γὰρ τάφου τὰ πρὸς 5  
 τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔφασκεν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ἔσοδον  
 ἐς τὸ μνῆμα οὐ χαλεπὴν ποιῆσαι, καί με τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ μέγε-  
 35 θος τεκμαίρεσθαι τῆδε ἐκέλευε· πεντάθλου γὰρ παιδὸς εἶναί  
 οἱ κατὰ δίσκον μάλιστα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ὄστω. καλουμέ-  
 νας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν μύλας. ἐγὼ δέ, ὅπόσοι μὲν οἰκοῦσιν  
 ἔσχατοι Κελτῶν ἔχοντες ὄμορον τῇ διὰ κρυμὸν ἐρήμῳ, οὓς  
 Καβαρεῖς ὀνομάζουσι, τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμασα τὸ μῆκος,  
 40 οἱ νεκρῶν οὐδέν τι διαφόρως ἔχουσιν Αἰγυπτίων· ὅποσα δὲ  
 ἄξια ἐφαίνετο εἶναί μοι θεάς, διηγῆσομαι. Μάγνησι τοῖς 6  
 ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Πρωτοφάνης τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνείλετο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ

25. ἀποθανόντος Αἴαντος: the usual legend is to the effect that when Ajax fell on his sword at Troy the purple hyacinth sprang from his blood inscribed with the letters ΑΙ ΑΙ, the first syllable of his name twice repeated (Ovid, Met. 10, 210 sqq.; 13, 391 sqq.; Pliny, N. H. 21, 66; Schol. Theoc. 10, 28; Eustath. on Hom. Il. B, 557, p. 285). The legend given by Pausanias differs in that the flower sprouted in Salamis, and was not the hyacinth. — 31. ἐς τὸ

μέγεθος: the story of the discovery of Ajax's bones is told also by Philostratus (Heroica, 2, 3), who states that the bones were those of a man eleven cubits tall. The grave of Ajax was at Rhoeteum in the Troad (Apollod. Epit. Vat., ed. Wagner, p. 67; Quint. Smyrn. 5, 653 sqq.), where there was beside the tomb a sanctuary, with a statue of the hero, which Mark Antony carried off and Augustus restored (Strabo, 13, p. 595).

Ch. 36, 1

νίκας ἡμέρα μιᾷ παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης· τούτου λησταὶ κερδανεῖν πού τι δοκοῦντες ἐση̄λθον ἐς τὸν τάφον· ἐπὶ δὲ  
 45 τοῖς λησταῖς ἐσήεσαν ἤδη θεασόμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἔχοντα διεστώσας, ἀλλά οἱ συμφυῆς ἦν ὅσον ἀπ' ὠμων ἐς τὰς ἐλαχίστας πλευράς, καλουμένας δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν νόθας. ἔστι δὲ Μιλησίοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀάδη νῆσος, ἀπερρώγασι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἰησιῖδες· Ἄστεριον τὴν  
 50 ἑτέραν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὸν Ἄστεριον ἐν αὐτῇ ταφῆναι λέγουσιν, εἶναι δὲ Ἄστεριον μὲν Ἄνακτος. Ἄνακτα δὲ Γῆς παῖδα· ἔχει δ' οὖν ὁ νεκρὸς οὐδέν τι μείον πηχῶν δέκα. τὸ δ' ἐμοὶ θαῦμα παρασχόν. Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τημένου θύρα· ἐνταῦθα περιρραγέτος λόφου διὰ  
 55 χεიმῶνα ὁστᾶ ἐφάνη τὸ σχῆμα παρέχοντα ἐς πίστιν ὡς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀν' ἔδοξεν. αὐτίκα δὲ λόγος ἦλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυσίου τοῦ Χρισάορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρὸν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον· καὶ γὰρ θρόνος ἀνδρός ἐστὶν ἐνεργασμένος ὄρους λιθῶδει προβολῇ· καὶ χείμαρρόν τε ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐκάλουν καὶ βοῶν  
 60 ἤδη κέρασιν ἔφασάν τινες ἐντυχεῖν ἀροῦντας, διότι ἔχει λόγος βοῦς ἀρίστας θρέψαι τὸν Γηρυσίην. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφισιν ἐναντιούμενος ἀπέφαινον ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι Γηρυσίην, οὗ μνήμα μὲν οὐ, δένδρον δὲ παρεχόμενον διαφόρους μορφάς, ἐνταῦθα  
 65 οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐδεικνυον λόγον, ὡς εἶη μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς Ἰλλων, παῖς δὲ Ἰλλος εἶη Γῆς, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς ὠνομάσθη· Ἡρακλέα δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ ποτὲ ἔφασαν δίαιταν Ἰλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλεῖσθαι τὸν παῖδα.  
 36 Ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ — ἐπάνειμι γὰρ ἐς τὸν προκείμενον λόγον — τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστιν ἱερόν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον

36. Other antiquities on Salamis —  
 Psyttalia — Monuments on the sacred  
 way to Eleusis — Anthemocritus — Mo-  
 lottus — The seer Scirus — Cephisodorus

— War of Athenians with Philip, son  
 of Demetrius.

2. τρόπαιον . . . ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἢν  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς κτλ.: during the festival

ἔσθηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος  
 ἐγένετο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι· καὶ Κυχρέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν.  
 5 ναυμαχούντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Μήδους δράκοντα ἐν ταῖς  
 ναυσὶ λέγεται φανῆναι· τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἀθηναίους  
 Κυχρέα εἶναι τὸν ἦρωα. νῆσος δὲ πρὸ Σαλαμίνος ἐστὶ κα- 2  
 λουμένη Ψυττάλεια· ἐς ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσον τετρακο-  
 σίους ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν, ἠττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου ναυτικοῦ  
 10 καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι φασὶν ἐπιδιαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ψυττά-  
 λειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ σὺν τέχνῃ μὲν  
 ἐστὶν οὐδέν, Πανὸς δὲ ὡς ἕκαστον ἔτυχε ξόανα πεποιημένα.

Ἴοῦσι δὲ ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦ- 3  
 σιν ὁδὸν ἱεράν, Ἀνθεμοκρίτου πεποιήται μνῆμα. ἐς τοῦτον

of Ajax at Salamis the epheboi would row to the trophy and offer sacrifice to Zeus of the Trophy. For ancient accounts of the battle of Salamis see Aesch. Persae, 350 sqq.; Hdt. 8, 78 sqq.; Diod. 11, 15 sqq.—4. **Κυχρέως**: Cychreus enjoyed divine honors at Athens (Plut. Thes. 10). There are various forms of the legend connecting Cychreus with the serpent. According to Apollod. 3, 12, 7, and Diod. 4, 72, he slew an enormous serpent which devastated Salamis; according to Hesiod, cited by Strabo, 9, p. 393, the serpent was bred by Cychreus, and called the serpent of Cychreus, but it was expelled by Eurylochus because it ravaged the island; Demeter, however, received it at Eleusis. A later explanation, found in Steph. Byz. s.v. *Κυχρείος πάγος* and elsewhere, is that Cychreus was himself surnamed Serpent (Ophis) on account of his cruelty, for which he was expelled by Eurylochus. Pausanias' story of his appearance as a serpent in the battle, with these tales, point to the

conclusion that in the original myth Cychreus was himself the serpent.

8. **Ψυττάλεια**: *Psytalia*, now called *Leipsokoutali*, is a rocky island about a mile long, but low and narrow, at the southern entrance to the strait of Salamis. Cf. Strabo, 9, p. 395, who calls it "the eyesore of Piraeus." See Aesch. Persae, 447 sqq.; Hdt. 8, 76 and 95; Plut. Aristides, 9, for accounts of the massacre of the Persians on the island. Pausanias alone mentions the number of the Persians who landed on the island.

14. **ὁδὸν ἱεράν**: after treating the islands, Pausanias returns to Athens and proceeds thence to Eleusis along the Sacred Way. This is the road by which the initiates in the Mysteries went from Athens to Eleusis (Harpocr. s.v. *ιερά ὁδός*; Athen. 13, p. 594). The distance is about twelve miles. The present highroad from Athens to Eleusis follows closely the Sacred Way. It starts from the Dipylum, running in a northwesterly direction, and



Ch. 36, 4

- 15 Μεγαρεῦσιν ἔστιν ἀνοσιώτατον ἔργον, οἱ κήρυκα ἐλθόντα, ὡς  
 μὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν χώραν ἐπεργάζοντο, κτείνουσιν Ἀνθεμό-  
 κριτον· καὶ σφισι ταῦτα δράσασι παραμένει καὶ ἐς τὸδε  
 μῆνιμα ἐκ τοῖν θεοῖν, οἷς οὐδὲ Ἀδριανὸς [ὁ] βασιλεὺς ὥστε  
 καὶ ἐπανξήθηται μόνοις ἐπήρκεσεν Ἑλλήνων. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ 1  
 20 Ἀνθεμοκρίτου τὴν στήλην Μολοττοῦ τε τάφος ἔστιν ἀξίω-  
 θέντος Ἀθηναίων καὶ τούτου στρατηγέιν, ὅτε Πλουτάρχῳ  
 βοηθοῦντες διέβησαν ἐς Εὐβοίαν, καὶ χωρίον Σκίρον ἐπὶ  
 τοιῷδε καλούμενον. Ἐλευσινίοις πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Ἐρεχθεῖα  
 ἀνὴρ μάντις ἦλθεν ἐκ Δωδώνης ὄνομα Σκίρος, ὃς καὶ τῆς  
 25 Σκιράδος ἰδρύσατο Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ Φαληρῶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν·

after passing the deserted monastery of Daphni, descends rapidly towards the shore, which, after entering the Thriasian plain, it skirts the rest of the way to Eleusis.

20. **Ἀνθεμοκρίτου**: Anthemocritus was sent by Pericles, shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, to Megara and Sparta to complain that the Megarians were encroaching on the sacred land. He died on the embassy and the Athenians, charging that the Megarians had murdered him, declared war against Megara, and voted that Anthemocritus should be buried beside the Thriasian Gate, that is, the Dipylum. See Plut. Pericles, 30; Harpoer. s.v. Ἀνθεμόκριτος. — **Μολοττοῦ τε τάφος**: according to Plutarch, Phocion, 12-14, Phocion, who was sent to the relief of Plutarch tyrant of Eretria when the latter was threatened by Philip in 350 B.C., was superseded by Molottus, who fell into the hands of the enemy. — 22. **Σκίρον**: Scirum is manifestly located beside a torrent at some point on the Sacred Way between the Dipylum and the Ce-

phusis, which Pausanias does not reach till 1, 37, 3. There are some traces of a stream which crossed the Eleusis road about one and one half miles from the Dipylum, the probable site of Scirum. See Milchh. Kart. 1A and Text ii, 15. The place had a bad reputation as the haunt of prostitutes and gamblers (Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκίρος; Alciphr. Epist. 3, 8, 25; Harpoer. σκιράφια). At the festival of Scira, on the twelfth day of Scirophorion, the priestess of Athena, the priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus, and the priest of Helios went in procession from Athens to Scirum (Harpoer. and Suid. s.v. Σκίρον; Schol. Ar. Eccles. 18). — 24. **ἐκ Δωδώνης**: that Scirus was from Dodona is stated only here. Philochorus, frag. 42, speaks of him as an Eleusinian seer named after Athene Sciras. The Megarians, on the other hand, contended that the name of the seer was from their notorious hero Sciron (cf. 1, 39, 6; 1, 44, 6 and 8; Harpoer. s.v. Σκίρον). Suidas and Photius, Lex. s.v. Σκίρος, derived the name from the Salaminian hero Scirus. — 25. **Σκιράδος** . . . Ἀθηνᾶς: already mentioned, 1,

πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ θάπτουσιν Ἐλευσίνιοι πλησίον  
 ποταμοῦ χειμάρρου, καὶ τῷ τε χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἤρωός ἐστι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ. πλησίον δὲ πεποιήται Κηφισο- 5  
 δώρου μνήμα δήμου προστάντος καὶ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Δημητρίου  
 30 Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐναντιωθέντος· συμ-  
 μάχους δὲ ἐπήγετο Κηφισόδωρος Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι βασι-  
 λείς μὲν Ἄτταλον τὸν Μυσὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον.  
 ἔθνη δὲ αὐτόνομα Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ νησιωτῶν Ῥοδίουσιν καὶ Κρη-  
 τας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Μυσίας καὶ παρὰ τῶν 6  
 35 Κρητῶν τὰ πολλὰ ὑστερίζον αἱ βοήθειαι, Ῥόδιοι δὲ μόναισιν  
 ναυσὶν ἰσχύοντες πρὸς ὀπλίτας τοὺς Μακεδόνας οὐ μεγάλα  
 ὠφέλουν, ἐνταῦθα Κηφισόδωρος ἐς Ἰταλίαν σὺν ἄλλοις Ἀθη-  
 ναίων πλεύσας ἰκέτευεν ἀμῦναι Ῥωμαίους· οἱ δὲ σφισὶ δύνα-  
 μιν καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμπουσιν, οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων  
 40 ἐς τοσοῦτο καθέλουν ὡς ὕστερον Περσέα τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν τε  
 ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀχθῆ-  
 ναι. Φίλιππος δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὁ Δημητρίου· πρῶτος γὰρ ταύ-  
 τῆς τῆς οἰκίας ἔσχε Δημήτριος τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν  
 ἀποκτείνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Κασσάνδρου παῖδα, ὡς τὰ πρό-  
 45 τερον ἔχει μοι τοῦ λόγου.

37 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κηφισοδώρου τὸ μνήμα τέθραται μὲν 1

1, 4 and note. Some late writers (Pol-  
 lux, 9, 96, et al.) speak of a sanctuary of  
 Sciradian Athena at Scirum, but they  
 probably confused Scirum with the  
 Phalerum temple. If one had been  
 here, Pausanias would probably have  
 mentioned it; other geographical writ-  
 ers are equally silent (Strabo, 9, p. 393;  
 Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκίρος).

28. Κηφισοδώρου μνήμα κτλ.: cf.  
 Polyb. 17, 10, who speaks of the em-  
 bassy of Cephisodorus to Rome as tak-  
 ing place in Ol. 145, 3 (198-197 B.C.),

shortly before the battle of Cynosce-  
 phalae, in which Philip V of Macedo-  
 nia was defeated by the Romans under  
 Flaminius. We have no information  
 concerning Cephisodorus beyond what  
 Pausanias tells us here. On the death  
 of Alexander, see 1, 10, 1.

37. *Other monuments of distinguished  
 men on the Sacred Way — Accestium —  
 Phytulus — Antiquities across the Ce-  
 phisus — Temple of Cynmites — Har-  
 palus — Temple of Apollo — Cephalus  
 and his descendants.*

Ch. 37, 2

Ἡλιόδωρος Ἴλλης· τούτου γραφήν ἰδεῖν ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ  
 μεγάλῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· τέθραπται δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς Πολιάρχου,  
 τρίτος ἀπόγονος Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Ξέρξης καὶ Μήδους ἐναν-  
 5 τία ναυμαχήσαντος. τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τοῦ γένους πλὴν  
 Ἀκεστίου παρήσω τοὺς ἄλλους· Ἀκεστίῳ δὲ τῇ Ξενο-  
 κλέους τοῦ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Λέοντος τούτους τε ἐς τὸν τέταρ-  
 τον πρόγονον Λέοντα δαδούχους πάντας ὑπῆρξε γενέσθαι.  
 καὶ παρὰ τὸν βίον τὸν αὐτῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σοφο-  
 10 κλέα εἶδε δαδουχοῦντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὸν ἄνδρα Θεμιστοκλέα,  
 τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου Θεόφραστον τὸν παῖδα. ταύτη  
 μὲν τύχην τοιαύτην συμβῆναι λέγουσι· προελθοῦσι δὲ ὀλί-  
 γον Λακίου τέμενός ἐστιν ἡρώος καὶ δήμος ὃν Λακιάδας ὀνο-  
 μάζουσιν ἀπὸ τούτου, καὶ Νικοκλέους Ταραντίνου ἐστὶ μνήμη.  
 15 ὃς ἐπὶ μέγιστον δόξης κιθαρῳδῶν ἀπάντων ἦλθεν. ἔστι δὲ  
 καὶ Ζεφύρου τε βωμὸς καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς παιδός·  
 σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔχουσι τιμάς. ἐν τούτῳ  
 τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλον φασιν οἴκῳ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν

2. **Ἡλιόδωρος**: nothing further is known of this man. Pausanias's expression leaves it uncertain whether the picture was a portrait of Heliodorus or a painting by him. Michaelis (Parthenon, 41 A), Preller (Ausg. Aufs. p. 120), and Schubart (Jb. f. Ph. LXXXVII, 301) took the latter view. — 6. **Ἀκεστίῳ**: Akestium is also mentioned in a list of noble women preserved, C.I.A. II, 956 (Ἀκéstιον Ξενοκλέους Ἀχαρνέως). Another inscription (C.I.A. II, 1414), found in the precinct of Demeter at Eleusis, mentions a statue of Sophocles, brother of Akestium, set up there by his wife. Akestium and her brother probably lived about the beginning of the first century B.C. The office of torchbearer (δαδοῦ-

χος) was the second most important in the Eleusinian mysteries, the first being the hierophant. It was hereditary in the family of the Cerycees (1, 38, 3).

13. **Λακιάδας**: the deme Laciadae belonged to the tribe Oeneis (Steph. Byz. and Photius, Lex. s.v. Λακιάδαι). Among its members were Miltiades and Cimon (Plut. Cimon, 4; id. Alcib. 22). — 18. **Φύταλον**: the spot where Phytalus was believed to have received the first fig-tree from Demeter was called *Hiera Syce* (ἱερὰ σνκῆ, cf. s.vv. Photius, Etymol. Magn., Athen. 3, p. 74 D, etc.). Here the processions rested on their return from Eleusis; and here Apollonius the sophist was buried (Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 20, 3). The incorrect form *Δήμητραν* in the second

θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναί οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δέ  
20 μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ·

ἐνθάδ' ἀναξ ἦρως Φύταλός ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν  
Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν,  
ἣν ἱερὰν συκῆν θνητῶν γένος ἔξονομάζει·  
ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγήρως.

25 Πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισὸν Θεοδώρου μνημὰ ἐστὶ ἢ  
τραγωδίαν ὑποκριναμένου τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἄριστα. ἀγάλματα  
δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Μνησιμάχης, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀνάθημα κει-  
ρομένου οἱ τὴν κόμην τοῦ παιδός ἐστὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ· καθε-  
στάται δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τοῦτο Ἑλληνσι τῇ Ὀμή-  
30 ρου τις ἀν τεκμαίροιο ποιήσει, ὃς τὸν Πηλέα εὐξασθαί φησι  
τῷ Σπερχειῷ κερεῖν ἀνασωθέντος ἐκ Τροίας Ἀχιλλέως τὴν  
κόμην.

Διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Κηφισὸν βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος Μειλιχίου 4  
Διός· ἐπὶ τούτῳ Θησεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Φυτάλου

line of the epitaph quoted by Pausanias proves that the inscription was of late origin.

25. Πρὶν δὲ ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Κηφισόν: the sources of the Cephissus are at the south foot of Mt. Parnes and the west foot of Mt. Pentelicus. Thence it flows southwest through the green stretches of olive groves the length of the Athenian plain. At the point where the road to Eleusis crosses it probably stood the ancient bridge built for the convenience of the pilgrims by Xenocles of Lindus (Anthol. Palat. 9, 147). As the procession was filing over this bridge occurred the fire of jeers and jibes, often mentioned as one of its characteristic features (Ar. Ran. 384 sqq.; Strabo, 9, p. 400; Hesych. s.v. γεφυριστά).—

Θεοδώρου: Theodorus lived in the first half of the fourth century B.C. He often played the Antigone of Sophocles; Aeschines in his youth acted with him, taking inferior parts (Dem. 19, 246, p. 418). His pathetic playing brought to tears the cruel tyrant Alexander of Pherae (Aelian, Var. Hist. 14, 40). His voice was renowned for its naturalness, and its adaptation to the character he was representing (Arist. Rhet. 3, 2, 22 sqq. p. 1404 B).—27. Μνησιμάχης: see Apoll. 2, 5, 5, who tells of her delivery by Heracles from the centaur Eurytion, whom she was being forced to marry.

33. βωμός: the site of this ancient altar, according to Milchh. Kart. II, 16, is to the west of the Cephissus,

Ch. 37, 5

- 35 καθαρσίῳν ἔτυχε. ληστὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἀποκτείνας καὶ Σίῳν  
τὰ πρὸς Πιτθέως συγγειῆ. τάφος δὲ ἔστι μὲν αὐτόθι Θεοδέ-  
κτου τοῦ Φασηλίτου, ἔστι δὲ Μνησιθέου· τοῦτον λέγουσιν  
ἱατρόν τε ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἀγάλματα. ἐν οἷς  
καὶ ὁ Ἰακχος πεποιήται. ὤκοδόμηται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ναὸς  
40 οὐ μέγας καλούμενος Κυμαίτου· σαφὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν  
εἴτε πρῶτος κυάμους ἔσπειρεν οὗτος εἴτε τινὰ ἐπεφήμισαν  
ἥρωα, ὅτι τῶν κυάμων ἀνευεγκεῖν οὐκ ἔστι σφίσι ἐς Δῆμη-  
τρα τὴν εὔρεσιν. ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τελετὴν Ἐλευσίῳν εἶδεν ἢ τὰ  
καλούμενα Ὀρφικὰ ἐπελέξατο οἶδεν ὁ λέγω. μνημάτων δὲ 5  
45 ἃ μάλιστα ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κόσμον ἤκει. τὸ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἔστι  
Ῥοδίου μετοικήσαντος ἐς Ἀθήνας, τὸ δὲ Ἄρπαλος Μακεδῶν  
ἐποίησεν. ὃς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας διέβη ναυ-  
σὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἀφικόμενος δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ὑπ' αἰ-  
τῶν συνελήφθη. διαφθείρας δὲ χρήμασιν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς  
50 Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλους ἀπέδρα, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Πυθονίκην

where now stands the church of St. Sabas. As to Zeus Meilichius, see 2, 9, 6; 2, 20, 1. He was especially appealed to in expiatory and purificatory ceremonies. When Xenophon returned from the expedition of the ten thousand, he offered burnt offerings to Zeus Meilichios (Anab. 7, 8, 3-5). The festival of the Diasia in his honor was annually celebrated outside Athens on the 23d of Anthesterion (February-March) (Thuc. 1, 126; Schol. Ar. Nub. 408). See Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. I, 130; Miss Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, pp. 13ff.—36. **Θεοδέκτου**: the tomb of Theodectes is also mentioned, Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 837c, according to which the altar had fallen into ruins at the time of the writer. He was a rhetorician, a pupil of Isocrates, who afterwards wrote

tragedies (Suid. s.v. Θεοδέκτης).—40. **Κυμαίτου**: nothing is known of the hero Cyamites beyond what Pausanias tells us here (cf. Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 837c; Hesych. Phot. Lex. s.v. Κυμαίτης). The site of this shrine may be that of a small chapel of St. George, at the western edge of the olive wood on the north side of the road to Eleusis.

50. **Πυθονίκην**: Athenaeus (13, p. 595a, b, c) tells at length of the infatuation of Alexander's treasurer Harpalus for the Athenian hetæra Pythonice, and of the two sumptuous tombs erected by him to her memory, one at Babylon, the other on the Sacred Way to Eleusis. Cf. Diod. 17, 108. Plutarch (Phocion, 22) mentions the cost of the latter tomb as thirty talents (about 832,500). Dicaearchus, quoted Athen. 13, pp. 594E-595A, describes the exact site of

ἔγῃμε. γένος μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ὀπόθεν, ἑταιροῦσαν δὲ ἔν τε Ἀθηναίαις καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ· ταύτης ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος προῆλθεν ὡς καὶ μνήμα ἀποθανούσης ποιῆσαι πάντων ὀπόσα Ἑλληνσίην ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖα θεάς μάλιστα ἄξιον.

- 55 Ἔστι δὲ ἱερόν ἐν ᾧ κεῖται Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἀγάλματα καὶ Ἀθηναῖς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ ἐποιήθη μόνῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Κέφαλον γὰρ τὸν Δηΐονος συνεξελόντα λέγουσιν Ἀμφιτρύωνι Τηλεβόας τὴν νῆσον οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον, ἣ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κεφαλληνία καλεῖται· μετοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν 60 τέως ἐν Θήβαις φεύγοντα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων διὰ τὸν Πρόκριδος τῆς γυναικὸς φόνον. δεκάτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ Χαλκῖνος καὶ Δαῖτος ἀπόγονοι Κεφάλου πλεύσαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἤτουν τὸν θεὸν κάθοδον ἐς Ἀθήνας· ὁ δὲ σφισι κελεύει θῦσαι πρῶτον Ἐπιχρῆστος Ἀπόλλωνι ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἔνθα ἂν ἴδωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 65 τριήρη θέουσαν. γενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ ποικίλον καλούμενον ὄρος δράκων ἐφάνη σπουδῇ κατὰ τὸν φωλεὸν ἰών· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνί τε θύουσιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὕστερον σφᾶς ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀστοὺς ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηναῖοι. — μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεύχος 70 ἀργῶν λίθων θεάς ἄξιον.

the tomb, showing it must have stood in the pass of Daphni. The site belonged to the deme Hermus, of the tribe Acamantis (Harpoer. Suid.; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐρμος).

55. ἱερόν: the site of this sanctuary of Apollo is probably occupied by the picturesque mediaeval monastery of Daphni, which stands at the middle of the pass over Mt. Aegaleus, on the south side of the road. The monastery was probably founded in the thirteenth century by the Burgundian dukes of Athens, and is renowned for its Byzantine mosaics.—57. Κέφαλον:

this legendary connection of the Attic hero Cephalus with the island of Cephallenia is as old as Aristotle, who spoke of Cephalus as residing in the islands called Cephallenian after him (Arist. frag. 507, ed. Vd. Rose). Strabo (10, p. 456) also tells the story of the joint expedition of Cephalus and Amphitryo, and the subsequent settlement of Cephalus in Cephallenia. The legend is probably based merely on the similarity of the names.

69. Ἀφροδίτης ναός: the remains of this temple of Aphrodite are to be seen in the pass of Daphni about a mile west

Ch. 38, 2

38 Οἱ δὲ Ῥειτοὶ καλούμενοι ῥεῦμα μόνοι παρέχονται ποτα- 1  
 μῶν, ἐπεὶ τό γε ὕδωρ θάλασσά ἐστί σφισι· πείθεται δὲ ἀν-  
 τις καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκιδέων Εὐρίπου ῥέουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς  
 ἐς θάλασσαν κοιλοτέραν ἐμπύπτορες. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Ῥειτοὶ  
 5 Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δήμητρος εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔστιν αἰρεῖν μόνοις. οὗτοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὡς ἐγὼ  
 πυνθάνομαι, πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἄλλους ὄροι τῆς γῆς  
 Ἐλευσινίοις ἦσαν, καὶ διαβάσι τοὺς Ῥειτοὺς πρῶτος ὄκει 2  
 Κρόκων, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι βασιλεία καλεῖται Κρόκωνος. τοῦ-  
 10 τον Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Κρόκωνα Κελεοῦ θυγατρὶ συνοικῆσαι Σαι-  
 σάρα λέγουσι· λέγουσι δὲ οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου  
 τοῦ Σκαμβωνιδῶν εἰσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ Κρόκωνος μὲν ἀνευρεῖν

of the monastery, on the north side of the road. Many inscriptions are cut in niches in a rugged wall of rock to the rear of the sacred precinct, containing dedications to Aphrodite (C.I.G. 507-509; C.I.A. III, 3823). The precinct was excavated in 1891 and 1892 by the Greek Archaeological Society. Outside the precinct at its southeast corner are the foundations of a large quadrangular building, eighty-two feet by thirty-eight feet, composed of rude masses of stone, as at Tiryns, doubtless "the wall of unwrought stones" mentioned by Pausanias.

38. *The Rhiti — Crocon — Eumolpus — The daughters of Celeus — Ceryx — Zarex — The Cephissus at Eleusis — The Rharian plain — The hero Eleusis — Attic boundaries toward Boeotia — Eleutheræ — Antiope and her children.*

1. Οἱ δὲ Ῥειτοί: the Rhiti at the present time consist of a large pond of clear salt water fed by a number of copious salt springs, formed by damming up the water of these springs by

means of a stone dike. It is probable that in ancient times the water of the salt springs was not dammed up, but was allowed to flow directly into the sea in brooks. Here took place the first skirmish of the Peloponnesian war, resulting in the defeat of the Athenian cavalry (Thuc. 2, 19).

9. Κρόκωνος: Crocon was the legendary ancestor of the priestly family of the Croconids at Athens. He is here spoken of as husband of a daughter of Celeus, which is inconsistent with the tradition that Crocon was son of Triptolemus, who was a son of Celeus (Paus. 1, 14, 2). See Bekker's *Anec.* 1, 273; *Harpocr.* s.v. Κοιρωνίδαί; *Suid.* s.v. Κυρωνίδαί. Cf. J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 101 sqq. — 11. τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σκαμβωνιδῶν: Scambonidae was the principal deme of the tribe Leontis (*Harpocr.* and *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Σκαμβωνίδαί). Its site has been much disputed. Hitzig-Bluemner, following K. O. Müller, *Attika*, 223, locates it in the Eleusinian plain, directly behind the Rhiti.

τάφον οὐχ οἴος τε ἐγενόμην. τὸ δὲ Εὐμόλπου μνήμα κατὰ ταῦτα  
 Ἐλευσινίοις ἀπέφαινον καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. τοῦτον τὸν Εὐμόλπου  
 15 ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκ Θράκης Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα ὄντα καὶ  
 Χιόνης· τὴν δὲ Χιόνην Βορέου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ  
 Ὠρειθυίας φασὶν εἶναι. Ὀμήρῳ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ γένος ἐστὶν  
 οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, ἐπονομάζει δὲ ἀγήγορα ἐν τοῖς  
 ἔπεσι τὸν Εὐμόλπου. γενομένης δὲ Ἐλευσινίοις μάχης πρὸς ;  
 20 Ἀθηναίους ἀπέθανε μὲν Ἐρεχθεὺς Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς, ἀπέ-  
 θανε δὲ Ἰμμάραδος Εὐμόλπου. καταλύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε  
 τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς Ἐλευσινίοις ἐς τὰ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίων κατη-  
 κόους ὄντας ἰδία τελεῖν τὴν τελετὴν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν θε-  
 οῖν Εὐμόλπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ, καλοῦσι  
 25 δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ὅμηρος Διογένειαν  
 καὶ Παμμερόπην καὶ τρίτην Σαισάραν· τελευτήσαντος δὲ

See Milchh. Text ii, 48. By others it was regarded as a city-deme, located either to the northwest of Athens, perhaps at the beginning of the Sacred Way (so Frazer, l.c.; Milchh. *Demendordnung des Kleisthenes*, p. 19; v. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXII (1887), 120 sq.), or south or southeast of the city (Lolling, *Topogr.* 308, 3, and Loeper, *A.M.* XVII, 376 f.). Judeich puts it directly north of the Acropolis, just beyond Cydathenaion at the southwest foot of Mt. Lycabettus. See *Topogr.* 160. — 14. Εὐμόλπου . . . ἐκ Θράκης Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα ὄντα καὶ Χιόνης: for a similar tradition, see *Lyc. c. Leocr.* 98; *Apollod.* 3, 15, 4; and *Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 854. Others say simply that he was a son of Poseidon (*Isoc.* 4, 68; 12, 193; *Hyg. Fab.* 46). See J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 24 sqq. — 19. τὸν Εὐμόλπου: Pausanias doubtless refers to the

Homeric hymn to Demeter, v. 154, where we read in our texts ἀμόμνος Εὐμόλπου, but the epithet mentioned by Pausanias occurs in the following line, being there applied to Celeus, πατὴρ ἀγήγορος. In the text used by Pausanias the epithets were perhaps transposed. Eumolpus is not mentioned at all in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.

19. Ἐλευσινίοις μάχης: the legendary war between Athens and Eleusis probably had its basis in fact. The usual tradition is that the general of the Eleusinians was Eumolpus (*Thuc.* 2, 19; *Plat. Menex.* p. 239 v; *Isoc.* 4, 68; 12, 193; *Lyc. c. Leocr.* 98) and that he was slain by Erechtheus (*Apollod.* 3, 15, 4; *Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 854). Pausanias asserts here and elsewhere (1, 5, 2; 1, 27, 4) that not Eumolpus but his son Immaradus was slain by Erechtheus. — 25. Ὅμηρος: our text of the hymn to Demeter mentions



Ch. 38, 5

Εὐμόλπου Κήρυξ νεώτερος λείπεται τῶν παίδων. οἱ αὐτοὶ Κήρυκες θυγατρὸς Κέκροπος Ἀγλαύρου καὶ Ἑρμιῶ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐμόλπου.

- 30 Ἔστι δὲ Ἴπποθῶντος ἡρώων, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν φυλὴν ὀνομάζουσι. 4  
καὶ πλησίον Ζάρηκος. τοῦτον μαθεῖν παρὰ Ἀπόλλωνι μου-  
σικήν φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ξένου μὲν ἀφικόμενον ἐς τὴν γῆν Λακε-  
δαιμόνιον τε εἶναι δοκῶ καὶ Ζάρακα ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πόλιν  
ἀπὸ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσση καλεῖσθαι· εἰ δέ τις Ζάρηξ ἐπι-  
35 χώριος Ἀθηναίοις ἦρως. οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχω λέγειν.— ρεῖ δὲ 5  
Κηφισὸς πρὸς Ἐλευσίνι βιαιότερον παρεχόμενος τοῦ προτέ-  
ρου ρεῦμα· καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καλοῦσιν Ἑρινεόν. λέγοιτες τὴν  
Πλούτωνα ὅτε ἦρπασε τὴν Κόρην καταβῆναι ταύτη. πρὸς  
τούτῳ τῷ Κηφισῷ ληστὴν Πολυπήμονα ὄνομα. Προκρούστην

four daughters of Celeus, as follows: Καλλιδίκη καὶ Κλεισιδίκη Δημῷ τ' ἐρόεσσα Καλλιθῆ θ', ἣ τῶν προγενεστάτη ἦεν ἀπάσεων (vv. 106 sqq.). Various explanations have been given of the utter inconsistency. It would seem that Pausanias's text differed from ours, or that the text of Pausanias is erroneous, or that Pausanias through inadvertence said Homer when he meant possibly Orpheus or some other poet.—27. Κήρυξ: other traditions are to the effect that Ceryx was by Hermes a son of Herse (C. I. G. 6280) or Pandrosus (Pollux, 8, 103; Schol. Hom. Il. A, 334), the other daughters of Cecrops. See J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 80–92.

30. Ἴπποθῶντος ἡρώων: cf. 1, 5, 2; 1, 39, 3. His shrine is mentioned by Pseychius (s.v. Ἴπποθῶντειον) and by Steph. Byz. (s.v. Ζάρηξ), who here copies Pausanias.

36. Κηφισὸς πρὸς Ἐλευσίνι: the Eleusinian Cephissus rises in Mt. Cithae-

ron, near Eleutheræ, and flows into the sea a little to the east of Eleusis. For most of the year the bed of the stream is almost dry, but occasionally it is filled with a violent torrent, which overflows its banks and devastates the plain. Dem. 54, 28, p. 1279, speaks of the havoc wrought by these destructive floods. Hadrian caused an embankment to be raised for the protection of Eleusis (Eusebius, *Chron.* 2, p. 166, ed. Schöne).—37. Ἑρινεόν: see Plat. *Theæt.* p. 143 B, where Euclides escorts the sick and wounded Theætetus from the port of Megara as far as Erineus on the road to Athens, a distance of about fourteen miles.—39. ληστὴν Πολυπήμονα ὄνομα, Προκρούστην: Ovid (*Met.* 7, 438) also names the Cephissus as the dwelling-place of Procrustes, but Plutarch (*Thest.* 11) and Diodorus (4, 59) locate the hold of the robber at Hermes or Hermus on Mt. Corydallus. The famous story of the beds of Procrustes is given by Apollodorus

- 40 δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν. Θησεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἐλευσινίους δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὁ  
 Τριπτολέμου ναός. ἔστι δὲ Προπυλαίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Πο-  
 σειδῶνος Πατρὸς φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον. ἔνθα  
 πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ἦσαν ἐς  
 τὴν θεόν. τό δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι  
 45 καὶ πρῶτον ἀξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 χρῆσθαι σφισι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθε-  
 στηκεν. ἐνταῦθα ἄλλως καλουμένη Τριπτολέμου καὶ βωμὸς

(*Epitoma Vat.*, ed. R. Wagner, pp. 54 sq.).

40. Ἐλευσινίους: Eleusis, now known as *Levssina*, a town of about twelve thousand inhabitants, is situated near the southwest corner of the Thriasian plain, at the east end of a low rocky hill a mile long, which runs parallel to the seashore at a distance of a few hundred yards. The ridge of the hill was the acropolis of Eleusis; the town lay on the level ground at its foot. The remains of the sanctuary of Demeter are at the eastern foot of the hill. Here the rock has been leveled to form an artificial terrace, on which the group of buildings which composed the sanctuary was placed. The site has been completely excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society, 1882-1887. In the Homeric hymn to Demeter (vv. 270 sqq.) the goddess bids the people of Eleusis build her a great temple and altar. The old temple was burned by the Persians in 480 or 479 B.C. (*Hdt.* 9, 65). The new sanctuary was built or at least begun under Pericles, and Strabo (9, p. 395) and Vitruvius (7, praef. 16) name Ictinus as the architect. Plutarch (Pericles, 13) mentions Pericles's part, but ascribes the work to other

architects. The building ranked in antiquity among the finest examples of temple architecture. The site of the temple of Triptolemus mentioned by Pausanias is altogether uncertain. — 41. ναός: this is, with great probability, conjectured to be the small temple whose foundations are preserved about thirty paces northeast of the Great Propylaea. It consists of a cella with two porticoes, having two Doric columns between antae. — 42. φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον: the well, Callichorum, is mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Demeter (vv. 270 sqq.). It was discovered in 1892 just south of the Great Propylaea. Solemn oaths were sworn by women beside the well (see *Aleiphr.* 3, 69). — 44. τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον: see Homeric hymn to Demeter (vv. 450 sqq.) concerning the Rharian plain, which lay waste and leafless while Persephone was under ground, but became abundantly fertile with the return of spring. The exact situation is not known. The name of the plain is from Rharus, father or grandfather of Triptolemus, who had received Demeter hospitably on her wanderings in search of Persephone. Cf. *Suidas* s.v. *Ῥαρία*.

Ch. 38, 9

δείκνυται· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ τό τε ὄνειρον ἢ  
 ἀπέιπε γράφειν, καὶ τοῖς οὐ τελεσθεῖσιν, ὀπίσσω θέας εἶργου-  
 50 ται, δῆλα δῆπου μηδὲ πυθέσθαι μετεῖναί σφισιν. Ἐλευσίνα  
 δὲ ἤρωα, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἑρμού παῖδα  
 εἶναι καὶ Δαείρας Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς λέγουσι, τοῖς δέ ἐστι  
 πεποιημένα Ὠγγυγον εἶναι πατέρα Ἐλευσῖνι· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι  
 τῶν λόγων ἅτε οὐ προσόντων σφίσι ἐπὶ ἄλλα τε πλάσα-  
 55 σθαι δεδώκασι καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὰ γένη τῶν ἡρώων.

Ἐκ δὲ Ἐλευσίνος τραπομένοις ἐπὶ Βοιωτῶν ἔστιν ὄμορος ἢ  
 Ἀθηναίους ἢ Πλαταιίς. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ Ἐλευθερεῦσιν ὄροι  
 πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦσαν· προσχωρησάντων δὲ Ἀθηναίους  
 τούτων, οὕτως ἤδη Βοιωτίας ὁ Κιθαιρών ἐστιν ὄρος. προσι-  
 60 χώρησαν δὲ Ἐλευθερεῖς οὐ πολέμῳ βιασθέντες, ἀλλὰ πολι-  
 τείας τε ἐπιθυμήσαντες παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ κατ' ἔχθος τὸ  
 Θηβαίων. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ ναὸς ἐστὶ Διονύσου, καὶ τὸ  
 ξόανον ἐντεύθεν Ἀθηναίους ἐκομίσθη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· τὸ δὲ ἐν  
 Ἐλευθεραῖς (τὸ) ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐς μίμησιν ἐκείνου πεποιήται.  
 65 ἀπωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον σπήλαιόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἢ

48. τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ: τείχος as usual designates a fortification-wall, which, as the excavations have shown, surrounded the sacred precinct. — 50. Ἐλευσίνα δὲ ἤρωα: another form of the name is Eleusinus (Harpor. and Suid. s.v. Ἐλευσίνα). According to one legend Eleusis, or Eleusinus, was the king who received Demeter when she came to the city in search of her daughter, but in the common legend it was Cereus who received Demeter. See Hom. Hymn to Dem. vv. 96 sqq.; Paus. 1, 39, 6; Schol. Ar. Eq. 698.

57. ὄροι: from Eleusis the road to Eleutherae, which is at the same time the highroad from Athens to Thebes, goes northwest across the plain. The

gray walls and towers of Eleutherae are at the entrance of the pass over Mt. Cithaeron. The ruins of Eleutherae are important as one of the finest extant specimens of Greek fortification. Both Strabo (9, pp. 411 sqq.) and Pausanias (here, and 9, 1, 1, 6) represent Eleutherae as the frontier town of Attica and immediately adjoining Plataea in Boeotia. Eleutherae claimed to be the birthplace of Dionysus and to have been founded and named by him (Diod. 3, 66, 1; 4, 2, 6). Here tradition placed the graves of Argives slain in the war of the Seven against Thebes (Eur. Suppl. 756-759; Plut. Theb. 29). — 62. ναὸς . . . Διονύσου: see 1, 20, 3 and note.

ὔδατος πηγῇ ψυχροῦ· λέγεται δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ σπήλαιον ὡς Ἴαντι-  
 ὄπη τεκοῦσα κατάθοιτο ἐς αὐτὸ τοὺς παῖδας, περὶ δὲ τῆς πη-  
 γῆς τὸν ποιμένα εὐρόντα τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα σφᾶς λούσαι  
 πρῶτον ἀπολύσαντα τῶν σπαργάνων. Ἐλευθερῶν δὲ ἦν μὲν  
 70 ἔτι τοῦ τείχους, ἦν δὲ καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐρείπια· δῆλη δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶ  
 πόλις ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι οἰκισθεῖσα.  
 39 Ἐτέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος πρὸς Μέγαρα ἄγει· ταύτην 1  
 ἐρχομένοις τὴν ὁδὸν φρέαρ ἐστὶν Ἄνθιον καλούμενον.  
 ἐποίησε δὲ Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσθαι Δῆμητρα  
 μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς παιδὸς γραῖ εἰκασμένην· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ  
 5 αὐτὴν ἄτε γυναικα Ἀργεῖαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Κελεοῦ  
 κομισθῆναι παρὰ τὴν μητέρα καὶ οἱ τὴν Μετάνειραν οὕτω  
 πιστεῦσαι τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν ἀνατροφήν. ὀλίγω δὲ ἀπωτέρω 2  
 τοῦ φρέατος ἱερὸν Μετανείρας ἐστὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ τάφοι τῶν

66. **πηγή**: a copious spring at the western foot of the hill of Eleutheræe is usually identified as this spring, in which the twin babes Amphion and Zethus were washed by the shepherd who had found them in the neighboring cave. For the legend of Antiope, see Paus. 2, 6, 1-4; Apollod. 3, 5, 5; Dio Chrys. Or. 15, p. 261.

39. *Antiquities on the road from Eleusis to Megara — The spring Anthius — Sanctuary of Metanira — Graves of those slain before Thebes — Alope and Cercyon — Theseus — Mythical history of Megara.*

1. **Ἐτέρα δὲ ὁδός**: the distance from Eleusis to Megara by road or railway is about fourteen miles. After passing along the low ridge which terminated in the acropolis of Eleusis, the road skirts the shore for the rest of the way. From two pointed summits of Mt. Cithæron known as Mt. Cerata, or "the horns," a chain of hills advancing

southward one third of the way from Eleusis formed the boundary between Attica and the territory of Megara (Strabo, 9, p. 395; Diod. 13, 65; Plut. Them. 1). — 2. **φρέαρ . . . Ἄνθιον καλούμενον**: this is perhaps the spring now called *Vlika*, one and one half miles west of Eleusis. The Flowery Well is doubtless the *Παρθένιον φρέαρ* (Hom. Hymn to Dem. vv. 98 sqq.), beside which the goddess sat, sad at heart, underneath an olive-tree. The stone on which Demeter sat was known as *ἀγέλαστος πέτρα* (Schol. Ar. Eq. 785; Apollod. 1, 5, 1; Hesych. s.v.). Pausanias places the meeting of the goddess outside the city, not at the well Callichorum in the city, as some writers supposed (see 1, 38, 6, note).

8. **ἱερὸν Μετανείρας**: on Metanira see Hom. Hymn to Dem. 161 and 206; Noun. 19, 82; Apollod. 1, 5, 1. — **τάφοι τῶν ἐς Θήβας**: the common soldiers of the Argive army under the Seven

Ch. 39, 3

ἔς Θήβας (σταλέντων). Κρέων γάρ, ὃς ἐδυναίστευε τότε ἐν  
 10 Θήβαις Λαοδάμαντα ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν Ἐτεοκλέους. οὐ πα-  
 ρῆκε τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἀνελομένοις θάψαι· ἰκετεύσαιτος δὲ  
 Ἄδράστου Θησέα καὶ μάχης Ἀθηναίων γενομένης πρὸς  
 Βοιωτούς, Θησεὺς ὡς ἐκράτησε τῇ μάχῃ κομίσας ἐς τὴν  
 15 Ἐλευσινίαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐνταῦθα ἔθαιψε. Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὴν  
 ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν λέγουσιν ἐθέλονται δοῦναι καὶ συνά-  
 ψαι μάχην οὗ φασι.—μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς τάφους 3  
 ἐστὶν Ἀλόπης μνήμα. ἣν τεκοῦσαν Ἴπποθόωντα ἐκ Ποσειδῶ-  
 νος ἀποθανεῖν ἐνταῦθά φασι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Κερκύνος. εἶναι  
 δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄδικος ἐς τοὺς ξένους καὶ  
 20 παλαίειν οὐ βουλομένοις· καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος παλαιόστρα καὶ  
 ἐς ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Κερκύνος, ὀλίγου τοῦ τάφου τῆς Ἀλόπης  
 ἀπέχων. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Κερκυὼν τοὺς καταστάνας ἐς πάλιν  
 διαφθεῖραι πλὴν Θησέως. Θησεὺς δὲ κατεπάλαισεν αὐτὸν σο-  
 φία τὸ πλεόν· παλαιστικὴν γὰρ τέχνην εὔρε Θησεὺς πρῶτος  
 25 καὶ πάλης κατέστη ὕστερον ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδασκαλία· πρότε-  
 ρον δὲ ἐχρῶντο μεγέθει μόνον καὶ ῥώμῃ πρὸς τὰς πάλας.

Τοσαῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίοις γνωριμώτατα  
 ἦν ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν, ἀπέκριτε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολ-  
 λῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφῆνι ἀνήκοντα.

against Thebes were buried at Eleuther-  
 rae (Eur. Suppl. 756-759; Plut. Thes.  
 29), but the generals were buried near  
 Eleusis (Plut. Thes. 29). Euripides  
 (Suppl. 634 sqq.) tells the story of The-  
 seus compelling the Thebans by force  
 of arms to give up the Argive dead for  
 burial, but Plutarch (l.c.) follows the  
 story acceptable to the Thebans, that it  
 was by persuasion.

17. Ἀλόπης μνήμα: see Hyg. Fab.  
 187 for the story of Alope and Hippo-  
 thoon. It was the theme of one of  
 Euripides's tragedies (Harpoer. s.v.

Ἀλόπη). Hippothoon gave his name  
 to an Attic tribe (1, 5, 2; 1, 38, 4). Po-  
 seidon turned Alope at her death into  
 a spring named for her (Hyg. l.c.),  
 which was at Eleusis (Hesych. s.v.  
 Ἀλόπη).—24. παλαιστικὴν γὰρ τέχνην  
 εὔρε Θησεύς: according to Polemo the  
 Athenian Phorbas, the trainer of The-  
 seus, invented the art of wrestling;  
 but Ister, whom Pausanias perhaps  
 followed, ascribed the invention to The-  
 seus himself (Schol. Pind. Nem. 5, 89).  
 —27. Τοσαῦτα . . . ἀνήκοντα: at this  
 point ends the description of Attica,

30 Ἐλευσῖνι δὲ ἤδη πλησιόχωρος (ἡ) καλουμένη Μεγαρίς· 4  
 τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, Πύλα τοῦ βασιλέως  
 καταλιπόντος Πανδίωνι. μαρτύρια δέ μοι τάφος τε Πανδίο-  
 νος ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ Νίσος Αἰγεί μὲν πρεσβυτάτῳ τοῦ παντός  
 γένους παραχωρήσας Ἀθηναίων ἄρχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Μεγάρων  
 35 καὶ τῆς ἄχρι Κορίνθου βασιλεύειν ἀξιωθείς· Νίσαιά τε ἔτι  
 καὶ νῦν Μεγαρέυσιν ἐπίνειον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖται. Κόδρου δὲ  
 ὕστερον βασιλεύοντος στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας Πελοποννή-  
 σιοι· καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὸν ἐκομίζοντο ὀπίσω.  
 Μέγαρα Ἀθηναίων ἐλόντες Κορινθίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμά-  
 40 χων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἔδωκαν οἰκῆσαι. Μεγαρεῖς μὲν οὕτως 5  
 ἔθη καὶ φωνὴν μεταβαλόντες Δωριεῖς γεγόνασι, κληθῆναι δὲ  
 οὕτω τὴν πόλιν φασὶν ἐπὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως ἐν τῇ γῇ  
 ταύτῃ βασιλεύοντος· τότε πρῶτον λέγουσιν ἱερὰ γενέσθαι  
 Δήμητρος αὐτοῖς, τότε ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσαι Μέγαρα. οὕτω  
 45 μὲν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσι· Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἐν  
 Ὀγχηστῷ Μεγαρέα τὸν Ποσειδῶνος οἰκοῦντα ἀφικέσθαι  
 στρατιᾷ Βοιωτῶν φασὶ Νίσῳ τὸν πρὸς Μίνῳ πόλεμον συν-  
 διοίσοντα, πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταφῆναί τε αὐτοῦ

and there follows up to the close of the book the description of Megara (ἡ Μεγαρικὴ συγγραφὴ, 2, 19, 8; ἡ συγγραφὴ ἡ Μεγαρίς, 9, 19, 2).

31. τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ κτλ.: cf. 1, 42, 2. Pausanias here sides with the Attic tradition, so that the whole section is a polemic against the domestic Megarian tradition. The proof that Megara originally belonged to Attica is not given, for the statement that the Megarian king Pylas left the land to the Athenian Pandion merely indicates that Megara was for a time governed by Attic princes. Strabo (9, p. 392) also maintains that Attica and Me-

gara originally belonged together, but he presents better evidence than Pausanias. — 32. τάφος . . . Πανδίωνος: see 1, 5, 3; 1, 41, 6. — 36. Κόδρου . . . βασιλεύοντος στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιοι: Hdt. 5, 76, and Strabo, 9, p. 393, agree with Pausanias's account of the conquest of Megara by the Dorians.

46. Μεγαρέα: the paternity of Megareus is in dispute. Hyg. Fab. 157 says he was a son of Poseidon by Oenope, daughter of Epopeus; Apollod. 3, 15, 8, that he was a son of Hippomanes and came from Onchestus to help Nisus, but was killed by Minos;

Ch. 40, 1

- καὶ τῇ πόλει Μέγαρα ὄνομα ἀπὸ τούτου γενέσθαι. πρότερον  
 50 Νίσσα καλουμένη. δωδεκάτη δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ Κᾶρα τὸν Φορῶ-  
 νέως γενεᾷ λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Λέλεγας ἀφικόμενοι ἐξ  
 Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κληθῆναι Λέλε-  
 γας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ· Κλήσωνος δὲ τοῦ Λέλεγος γενέ-  
 55 σθαι Πύλαν, τοῦ Πύλα δὲ Σκίρωνα· τοῦτοι συνοικήσαι  
 Πανδίωνος θυγατρί, καὶ ὕστερον Νίσῳ τῷ Πανδίωνος ἐς  
 ἀμφισβήτησιν ἔλθειν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς [Σκίρωνα] καὶ σφισιν  
 Λιακὸν δικάσαι, βασιλείαν μὲν διδόντα Νίσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπο-  
 γόνοις, Σκίρωνι δὲ ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι πολέμου. Μεγαρέα δὲ  
 60 τὸν Ποσειδῶνος θυγατρὶ Νίσου συνοικήσαντα Ἴφινόη διαδέ-  
 ξασθαι τὴν τοῦ Νίσου φασὶν ἀρχήν· τὸν δὲ Κρητικὸν πόλε-  
 μον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νίσου βασιλεύοντος ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως  
 οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἰδέναι.
- 40 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη ἣν σφισιν ὠκοδόμησε ἰ

Steph. Byz. s.v. Μέγαρα, that he was a son of Apollo; Plut. Quaest. Gr. 16, that he was a son of Onchestus.

51. Λέλεγας ἀφικόμενοι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι: cf. 1, 44, 3. Hence Ovid speaks of "the Lelegian Walls" and "the Lelegian shores" of Megaris (Met. 7, 443; 8, 6). A colony of Leleges from Megara, led by Pylus son of Cleon, was said to have founded Pylus in Messenia (4, 36, 1).—54. Σκίρωνας: The Athenians represented Sciron as a murderer and robber slain by Theseus (1, 3, 1; 1, 44, 8). Megarian writers, on the contrary, assert that he was an excellent man, the friend of the good and the foe of the bad (Plut. Thes. 10). He made the highroad from Megara to the Isthmus of Corinth (1, 44, 6). The Athenians distinguished between Sciron the robber and Scirus an early settler of Salamis, but the Megarians

identified them (see 1, 35, 2, note; Plut. l.c.; Harpocr. s.v. Σκίρων). The Megarians admitted that he was slain by Theseus, not however when he was robber-hunting, but when he wrested Eleusis from the Megarians (Plut. l.c.; Paus. 1, 36, 4).

40. Spring of Theagenes—Sithnidian Nymphs—Images of Roman Emperors, of Artemis Soteira, and of the Twelve Gods—Olympicum with temple of Zeus—Statue of Zeus by Theocosmus—Contests of Megarians and Athenians over Salamis—Antiquities on the Acropolis—Caria.

1. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει κρήνη: the modern town of Megara occupies the site and preserves the name of the ancient city. It is on the slopes of a hill with a double summit, about one and one half miles from the sea. The plain about Megara is six or seven miles long

Θεαγένης, οὗ καὶ πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην θυγατέρα αὐ-  
 τὸν συνοικίσαι Κύλωνι Ἀθηναίῳ. οὗτος ὁ Θεαγένης τυραννή-  
 σας ὠκοδόμησε τὴν κρήνην μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ κόσμον καὶ  
 5 ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κίωνων θεάς ἀξίαν· καὶ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν ρεῖ  
 καλούμενον Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν. τὰς δὲ Σιθνίδας νύμφας λέ-  
 γουσι Μεγαρεῖς εἶναι μὲν σφισιν ἐπιχωρίας, μιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν  
 [θυγατρὶ] συγγενέσθαι Δία, Μέγαρόν τε παῖδα ὄντα Διὸς  
 καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς νύμφης ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλιωνός ποτε  
 10 ἐπομβρίαν, ἐκφυγεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας, οὐκ ἔχον-  
 τός πω τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ — νήχεσθαι γὰρ πε-  
 τομένων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βοῆν τῶν ὀρνίθων αὐτόν — διὰ  
 τοῦτο Γερανίαν τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθῆναι. τῆς δὲ κρήνης οὐ 2  
 πόρρω ταύτης ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν ἱερόν, εἰκόνας δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν  
 15 ἐστάσιν ἐν αὐτῷ βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἄγαλμα [τε] κείται

by as many wide, and is inclosed by hills except toward the sea. Of the two citadels mentioned by Pausanias (1, 40, 6; 1, 42, 1), the eastern and lower hill was doubtless the acropolis called Caria, the higher western hill was the Acropolis of Alcaethous. The ancient remains are extremely scanty. Megara was noted in antiquity for the size of its private houses and the massive style of its public buildings (Isocr. de Pace, 117).—2. Θεαγένης . . . θυγατέρα . . . Κύλωνι: see 1, 28, 1.—5. ὕδωρ . . . Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν: an aqueduct, half a mile north of the western hill, furnishing a copious supply of water, may be the water of the Sithnidian nymphs. (Baedeker, Greece<sup>3</sup>, p. 153.)—10. πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας: see for similar explanation of the name Gerania, Etymol. Magn. p. 228, s.v. Γεράνεια. It probably originated in the work of a native Mega-

rian named Dieuchidas, who began his history of Megara at the point where Hellenicus's work on Deucalion's flood left off. (See Frag. Hist. Gr., ed. Müller, IV, 388.) Mt. Gerania is the range of mountains traversing Megaris from sea to sea, and forming a natural boundary between Central Greece and Peloponnesus. The highest summit is four thousand five hundred feet above the sea-level. The region is very wild, with only three passes across the mountain, all of which are difficult. The railway passes over the third along the sea-cliffs of the southern coast.

14. εἰκόνας: many of the inscriptions carved on the pedestals have been found, with the names of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, and Gallienus; Hadrian, as a benefactor of Megara, was especially popular. See



Ch. 40, 4

χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπέκλησιν Σωτείρας. φασὶ δὲ ἄνδρας  
 τοῦ Μαρδονίου στρατοῦ καταδραμόντας τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἀπο-  
 χωρεῖν ἐς Θήβας ὀπίσω παρὰ Μαρδόνιον ἐθέλειν. γνώμη δὲ  
 Ἀρτέμιδος νύκτα τε ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 20 σφᾶς ἀμαρτόντας ἐς τὴν ὄρεινὴν τραπέσθαι τῆς χώρας· περ-  
 ρωμένους δὲ εἰ στρατεύμα ἐγγὺς εἶη πολέμιον ἀφιέναι τῶν  
 βελῶν, καὶ τὴν πλησίον πέτραν στένειν βαλλομένην. τοὺς  
 δὲ αὖθις τοξεύειν προθυμῶς πλέονι. τέλος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναλω- 3  
 θῆναι τοὺς ὀιστοὺς ἐς ἄνδρας πολεμίους τοξεύειν νομίζουσιν·  
 25 ἡμέρα τε ὑπεφαίνετο καὶ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἐπήεσαν. μαχόμενοι δὲ  
 ὀπλίται πρὸς ἀνόπλους καὶ οὐδὲ βελῶν εὐποροῦντας ἔτι φορεῖ-  
 ουσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτείρας ἄγαλμα  
 ἐποίησαντο Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐπιταῦθα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ὀνομαζο-  
 μένων θεῶν ἔστιν ἀγάλματα ἔργα εἶναι λεγόμενα Πραξιτέ-  
 30 λους· τὴν δὲ Ἀρτεμιν αὐτὴν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησε.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθούσι καλούμενοι 4  
 Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναός ἐστι θεᾶς ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξειρ-  
 γάσθη τοῦ Διός, ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου  
 πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ναοὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ στρατῶ

C.I.G.G.S. 62, 63, 65-81, 3491. — 17. **καταδραμόντας τὴν Μεγαρίδα**: this took place near Pagae (1, 44, 4). Herodotus (9, 14) tells how Mardonius advanced against Megara and his army ravaged the Megarian territory. Theognis (v. 775) attributed to Apollo the deliverance of the city.

27. **Σωτείρας ἄγαλμα**: this image was by Strongylion (§ 3), and a replica of it was at Pagae (1, 44, 4). Coins of the two cities give an identical type of Artemis, which may therefore be that of this statue. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. pp. 4, 8 sq., with pl. Δ, i. — 30. **Πραξι-**

**τέλους**: archaeologists who believe in two sculptors named Praxiteles (see 1, 2, 4, note) attribute these images to the elder Praxiteles. This seems to Frazer (note 1.c.) and others a gratuitous and baseless assumption. Pausanias mentions other statues by Praxiteles at Megara (1, 43, 5 and 6; 1, 44, 2). If there were two sculptors of this name and works of both were here, why did not Pausanias distinguish between them as between the elder and the younger Polycleitus (6, 6, 2)?

31. **ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος**: this precinct was situated in the saddle between the two hills, near the northwest foot

35 φθειρόντες Μεγαρεῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν τὰ τε κοινὰ  
 ἐκάκωσαν καὶ ἰδία τοὺς οἴκους ἤγαγον εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀσθε-  
 νείας. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ  
 χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ  
 αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ  
 40 οἱ Φειδίαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἰσιν ὦραι καὶ  
 Μοῖραι· δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν Πεπρωμένην μόνῳ οἱ πείθεσθαι  
 καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον νέμειν εἰς τὸ δέον. ὅπισθε δὲ  
 τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἔμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος  
 ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν τοῦ  
 45 Διός. ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τριήρους ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦν ἔμβο- 5  
 λον· ταύτην τὴν ναῦν λαβεῖν φασὶν περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμα-  
 χήσαντες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους· ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 χρόνον τινὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἀποστῆναι τῆς νήσου, Σόλωνα δὲ  
 ὕστερόν φασιν ἐλεγεία ποιήσαντα προτρέψαι σφᾶς, κατα-  
 50 στῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰς ἀμφισβήτησιν λέγουσι, κρατή-  
 σαντες δὲ πολέμῳ Σαλαμίνα αὖθις ἔχειν. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ  
 παρὰ σφῶν λέγουσιν ἄνδρας φυγάδας, οὓς Δορυκλείους

of the eastern acropolis. Here many inscriptions have been found mentioning the Olympieum. See C.I.G.G.S. 1-14; Mitth. VIII, 183 sq. — 35. φθειρόντες Μεγαρεῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν: cf. Thuc. 2, 31; Plut. Pericles, 30. — 37. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι: as to Theocosmos, see also 6, 7, 2; 10, 9, 8. The remark about the collaboration of Phidias was probably due to the similarity of this statue with the gold and ivory Zeus at Olympia, on which it was closely modeled. The passage is of interest as throwing some light on the process of making a gold and ivory statue. See A. S. Murray, History of Greek Sculpture, II, 117. On coins of Megara Zeus is represented as sitting

in the attitude of the Zeus at Olympia, grasping a sceptre in his raised left hand and holding an eagle or a Victory in his outstretched right hand. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. pp. 4 sq., with pl. A, iii.

48. Σόλωνα: this is an allusion to the story that Solon, to arouse the Athenians from their lethargy, composed verses inciting them to engage in the struggle once more for the possession of Salamis, and, feigning madness, rushed into the market-place and recited his verses. The people were stirred, once more fought with Megara, and conquered Salamis. See Plut. Solon, 8; Dem. 19, 252; Diog. Laert. 1, 2, 46 sq.

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ὀνομάζουσιν. ἀφικομένους παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμίῳ κληρούχους προδοῦναι Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναίους.

55 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν. ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου. πεποιήται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας ἱερὸν καὶ Νυκτὸς καλούμενόν ἔστι μαιτεῖον. καὶ Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξις καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Ὑγίαν ἐποίησεν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλούμενον Μέγαρον· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βασιλεύοντα Κᾶρα ἔλεγον.

41 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατιοῦσιν. ἧ̄ πρὸς ἄρκτον τέτραπται

55. ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν . . . Καρίαν: Steph. Byz. s.v. Καρία makes a similar statement, perhaps copied from Pausanias. — 57. Νυκτελίου: see Verg. Aen. 4, 303; Ovid, Met. 4, 15. In the nocturnal rites of Dionysus the mystery of the death and resurrection of the god seems to have been set forth. Licentious orgies under the cloak of these rites were put down by the Romans. See Servius on Virgil l.c. — Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας: Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. I, 368, interprets Ἐπιστροφή (from ἐπιστρέφειν, to turn towards) as meaning "she who turns the hearts of man to love." The converse of Epistrophian Aphrodite was Apostrophian Aphrodite (9, 16, 3 sq.). There was another sanctuary of Aphrodite at Megara (1, 43, 6). — 58. Νυκτός: Rohde, Psyche, 342, rem. 1, brings this in close connection with Dionysus Nyctelius, and recalls that Dionysus was established at Delphi before Apollo. See also Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité, II, 256. — 60. Βρύαξις: Bryaxis was a contemporary and rival of Scopas. He

sculptured the frieze on the north side of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (Pliny, N. H. 36, 30 sq.). Columella (de re rustica, I, praef. 31) mentions him as one of the great masters of sculpture, along with Lysippus, Praxiteles, and Polyclitus. A considerable number of his works are known to us by name. See Brunn, Gesch. d. gr. Künstler, I, 383 sqq. An Asclepius by Bryaxis is mentioned also by Pliny (N. H. 34, 73). Both Asclepius and Hygieia, separately and jointly, appear on coins of Megara, and the types were probably modeled after these statues of Bryaxis. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. pl. A, vi, vii; Wroth, Jour. Hell. Stud. V, 90. — 61. τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλούμενον Μέγαρον: for Megarian coins with image of Demeter, see Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, pl. A, xii.

41. Monument of Alemena — Rhos — Tomb of Hyllus — Temples of Isis, of Apollo, and of Artemis — Alectious and the Lion of Cithaeron — Heronm of Pandion — Hippolyte — Terens, Proene, and Philomela.

τὸ χωρίον, μνημὰ ἐστὶν Ἀλκμήνης πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμ-  
 πείου. βαδίζουσαν γὰρ εἰς Θήβας ἐξ Ἄργους τελευτῆσαι  
 καθ' ὁδὸν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις, καὶ τοὺς Ἴρα-  
 5 κλείδας εἰς ἀμφισβήτησιν ἔλθειν, τοὺς μὲν εἰς Ἄργος ἐθέλον-  
 τας ὀπίσω κομίσει τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἀλκμήνης, τοὺς δ' αὐτῶν  
 εἰς Θήβας· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς Ἱρακλέους παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ Μεγάρας  
 τάφον εἶναι καὶ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐν Θήβαις. ὁ δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς  
 θεὸς ἔχρησε θάψαι Ἀλκμήνην ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις ἄμεινον  
 10 εἶναί σφισιν. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡμῖν ἐξηγητῆς  
 ἠγείτο εἰς χωρίον Ῥοῦν ὡς ἔφασκεν ὀνομαζόμενον, ταύτη  
 γὰρ ὕδωρ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄρων τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ῥύηται·  
 Θεαγένης δέ, ὃς τότε ἐτυράννει, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐτέρωσε τρέψας βω-  
 μὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀχελῷω ἐποίησε. καὶ Ὑλλου πλησίον τοῦ  
 15 Ἱρακλέους μνημὰ ἐστὶν ἀνδρὶ Ἀρκάδι Ἐχέμω τῷ Ἀερό-  
 που μονομαχῆσαντος· καὶ ὅστις μὲν Ἐχεμος ὧν ἀπέκτεινεν  
 Ὑλλου, ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου δηλώσω, τέθραπται δὲ καὶ Ὑλλος  
 ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις. αὕτη καλοῖτο ἂν ὀρθῶς στρατεία τῶν  
 Ἱρακλειδῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος.

2. μνημα . . . Ἀλκμήνης: the story of the death of Alcmena in the territory of Megara and of the contest of the Heraclidae occurs only in Pausanias. According to Pherecydes in Anton. Lib. 33 (fr. 39), she died in Thebes, where, however, there was no grave of her (9, 16, 7). According to another legend, her grave was at Haliartus in Boeotia (cf. 9, 32, 5; Plut. Lys. 28; de genio Socr. 5, p. 578A).

11. εἰς χωρίον Ῥοῦν: cf. Plut. Thes. 27, who says that the Megarians pointed out a grave of the Amazons in their city, on the way from the agora to the place called *Rhus*. The grave of the Amazons here mentioned by Plutarch is probably the tomb of Hippolyte mentioned by Pau-

sianias (1, 41, 7). — 14. Ἀχελῷω: the river god Achelous was worshiped also at Oropus. Ephorus, quoted by Macrobius, Saturn. 5, 18, 6 sqq., says that Achelous is the only river-god worshiped by all men, as the proper name Achelous is used in a general sense to designate water. This designation was given by the oracles of Dodona (Schol. Il. Ω, 616). There was a sanctuary of Achelous near the Ilissus at Athens (Plato, Phaedrus, p. 230 B). — Ὑλλου: cf. 1, 44, 10, and see 8, 5, 1, where Pausanias corrects his present statement by saying that this invasion took place in the reign of Echemus, not of Orestes. So Herodotus (9, 26) represents Echemus, the conqueror of

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20 οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἰλλου μνήματος Ἰσιδος γαῖος καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· Ἀλκάρθουν δὲ φασὶ ποιῆσαι ἀποκτείναντα λέοντα τὸν καλούμενον Κιθαιρώνιον. ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ λέοντος διαφθαρῆναι καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Μεγαρέως φασὶ τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως παῖδα Εὐπίπουν. τὸν δὲ  
 25 πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ Τίμαλκον ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Θησέως, στρατεύοντα ἐς Ἀφιδναν σὺν τοῖς Διοσκούροις· Μεγαρέα δὲ γάμον τε ὑποσχέσθαι θυγατρὸς καὶ ὡς διάδοχον ἔξει τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅστις τὸν Κιθαιρώνιον λέοντα ἀποκτείνει· διὰ ταῦτα Ἀλκάρθουν τὸν Πέλοπος ἐπιχειρή-  
 30 σαντα τῷ θηρίῳ κρατῆσαί τε καὶ ὡς ἐβασίλευσε τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, Ἀγροτέραν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀγραῖον ἐπονομάσαντα. ταῦτα μὲν [οὖν] οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἄ  
 ἐγὼ δὲ γράφειν μὲν ἐθέλω Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁμολογοῦντα, οὐκ ἔχω δὲ ὅπως εὐρωμαί πάντα σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν λέοντα  
 35 ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρώνι ὑπὸ Ἀλκάρθου πείθωμαι, Μεγαρέως δὲ Τίμαλκον παῖδα τίς μὲν ἐς Ἀφιδναν ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἔγραψε; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀφικόμενος ἀναιρεθῆναι νομίζοιτο ὑπὸ Θησέως, ὅπου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶν ποιήσας ἄσμα ἐς τοὺς Διοσκούρους, ὡς Ἀθήνας ἔλοιεν καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀγάγοιεν  
 40 μητέρα αἰχμάλωτον. ὅμως Θησέα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀπέειναι· Πύλλου δὲ τούτοις τε κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησε καὶ γαμβρὸν τοῖς Διοσκούροις Θησέα εἶναι βουλόμενον ἐς ὃ ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν Πειρίθῳ τὸν λεγόμενον γάμον συμπράξοιτα. ὅστις δὲ ἐγευεαλόγησε, δῆλον ὡς πολλὴν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι στυγαίειν

Pyllus, as king of Tegea. According to Diod. 4, 58, Pyllus challenged Echemus, not Echemus Hyllus.

28. τὸν Κιθαιρώνιον λέοντα: the scholiast to Apoll. Rhod. 1, 517 supplements Pausanias's version of the story of Alcathous and the lion of Cithaeron.

33. Μεγαρεῦσιν: according to the

Megarian tradition as given by Pausanias, Timaleus was a contemporary both of Theseus, who slew him, and of Alcathous, who married his sister. This, Pausanias argues, was impossible, since Alcathous was the son, and Theseus the great-grandson, of Pelops through his mother Aethra.

45 εὐήθειαν, εἴ γε Θησεὺς ἦν ἀπόγονος Πέλοπος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸν  
 ὄντα λόγον οἱ Μεγαρεῖς εἰδότες ἐπικρύπτουσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι  
 δοκεῖν ἀλῶναί σφισιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Νίσου τὴν πόλιν,  
 διαδέξασθαι δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν γαμβρὸν Νίσου τε Μεγαρέα  
 καὶ αὐθις Ἀλκάθου Μεγαρέως. φαίνεται δὲ τελευτήσαντος 6  
 50 Νίσου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐφθαρμένων ὑπὸ  
 τοῦτον Ἀλκάθου ἀφικόμενος τὸν καιρὸν ἐξ Ἑλιδος· μαρτύ-  
 ριον δέ μοι· τὸ γὰρ τεῖχος ὤκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅτε τοῦ  
 περιβόλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου καθαιρεθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν.

Ἀλκάθου μὲν καὶ τοῦ λέοντος, εἴτε ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι αὐτὸν  
 55 εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἀποκτείνας ναὸν Ἀγροτέρας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος ἐποίησεν Ἀγραίου, ἐς τοσούδε ἔστω μνήμη· ἐκ  
 τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιοῦσι Πανδιόνος ἐστὶν ἠρώων. καὶ  
 ὅτι μὲν ἐτάφη Πανδίων ἐν Αἰθυίας Ἀθηναῖς καλουμένῳ σκο-  
 πέλω, δεδηλώκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι· τιμὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 60 παρὰ Μεγαρέων ἔχει.

Πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πανδιόνος ἠρώου μνήμα Ἰπολύτης· 7  
 γράφω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ὅποια Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσιν. ὅτε  
 Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους στρατεύσασαι δι' Ἀντιόπην ἐκρα-  
 τήθησαν ὑπὸ Θησεῶς, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς συνέβη μαχομένας  
 65 αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, Ἰπολύτην δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν Ἀντιόπης

58. Αἰθυίας Ἀθηναῖς: cf. 1, 5, 3. Hesych. s.v. ἐν δ' Αἰθυια says that Athena was worshiped by the Megarians under the title Αἰθυια, "diver-bird," because, transforming herself into a diver and hiding Cecrops under her wings, she had carried him to Megara. Lycophron (Alexandra, v. 359) refers to Athena under this title. The bluff of Athena Αἰθυια is perhaps the spit of land now called *Skala*, jutting into the sea on the south side of the hill of Nisaea.

61. μνήμα Ἰπολύτης: the tomb seems to have been called the Rhomboid (Plut. Thes. 27), but Bursian, p. 376A, 1, would here translate *ρhomboideés kreiselförmig*. The Amazonian shield is represented as a crescent in shape on some works of art. See Baummeister, Denkm. pp. 62, 369, 2015. It also appears in art as an oval shield with two notches, one on each side (Baum op. cit. p. 59), or as an unbroken oval. See also Baum. p. 2038; Roscher's Lexikon, I, 272.

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- καὶ τότε ἡγουμένην τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν σὺν ὀλίγαις ἐς  
 Μέγαρα. ἅτε δὲ κακῶς οὕτω πράξασαι τῷ στρατῷ τοῖς τε  
 παροῦσιν ἀθύμως ἔχουσιν καὶ περὶ τῆς οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Θερμί-  
 σκυραν σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀποροῦσαν ὑπὸ λύπης τελευτή-  
 70 σαι· καὶ θάψαι αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν. καὶ οἱ τοῦ μνημάτος  
 σχῆμά ἐστιν Ἰλμαζονικῆ ἀσπίδι ἐμφερές. τούτου δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ  
 οὐ πόρρω τάφος Τηρέως τοῦ Πρόκηνου γήμαυτος τὴν Παιδί-  
 ονος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ὁ Τηρεὺς, ὡς μὲν λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγα-  
 ρεῖς. περὶ τὰς Παγὰς τὰς καλουμένας τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ὡς δὲ  
 75 ἐγὼ τε δοκῶ καὶ τεκμήρια ἐς τόδε λείπεται. Δαυλίδος ἦρχε  
 τῆς ὑπὲρ Χαιρωνείας· πάλαι γὰρ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλά-  
 δος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ᾤκησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν καὶ Τηρεὺς τὰ  
 ἐς Φιλομήλαν ἐξειργασμένα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 γυναικῶν . . . ἐλεῖν σφᾶς ὁ Τηρεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο· καὶ ὁ μὲν 9  
 80 ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις ἀντοχειρία, καὶ οἱ τάφον ἀν-  
 τικά ἔχουσιν καὶ θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ψηφίσις ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ  
 ἀντὶ οὐλῶν χρώμενοι καὶ τὸν ἔποπα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἐνταῦθα  
 φανῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσιν· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν Ἀθήνας  
 ἀφίκοντο, θρηνοῦσαι δὲ οἶα ἔπαθον καὶ οἶα ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ  
 85 δακρῶν διαφθείρονται, καὶ σφισι τὴν ἐς ἀηδόνα καὶ χελι-  
 δόνα μεταβολὴν ἐπεφήμισαν ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ αἶται αἱ ὄρνιθες  
 ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρήνῳ ὅμοιον ἄδουσιν.
- 42 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Μεγαρεῦσιν ἀκρόπολις ἀπὸ Ἀλκάβου 1  
 τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα· ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνιούσιν ἐστὶν  
 ἐν δεξιᾷ Μεγαρέως μνημα. ὃς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τῶν  
 Κρητῶν ξύμμαχος σφισιν ἦλθεν ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ. δείκνυται  
 5 δὲ καὶ ἐστία θεῶν Προδομέων καλουμένων· θύσαι δὲ σφισιν

72. τάφος Τηρέως: on the story of Tereus, Proene, and Philomela, see 1, 5, 4 and note.

42. The Acropolis of Alcathous and its antiquities — Alcathous and Apollo

— Image of Memnon — Council House — The temple of Athena — Temple and images of Apollo — Nature of ebony — End of the sons of Alcathous — Heron of Ivo.

Ἀλκάθου λέγουσι πρῶτον, ὅτε τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ τείχους  
 ἔμμελλεν ἄρχεσθαι. τῆς δὲ ἐστίας ἐγγὺς ταύτης ἐστὶ λίθος,  
 ἐφ' οὗ καταθεῖναι λέγουσιν Ἀπόλλωνα τὴν κιθάραν Ἀλκάθῳ 2  
 τὸ τεῖχος συνεργαζόμενον. . . . δηλοῖ τέ μοι καὶ τόδε ὡς  
 10 συνετέλουν ἐς Ἀθηναίους Μεγαρεῖς· φαίνεται γὰρ τὴν θυ-  
 γατέρα Ἀλκάθου Περιβοίαν ἅμα Θησεί πέμψαι κατὰ τὸν  
 δασμὸν ἐς Κρήτην. τότε δὲ αὐτῷ τειχίζοντι, ὥς φασιν οἱ  
 Μεγαρεῖς, συνεργάζεται τε Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν κιθάραν κατέ-  
 θηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον· ἦν δὲ τύχη βαλὼν τις ψηφίδι, κατὰ  
 15 ταῦτα οὗτός τε ἤχησε καὶ κιθάρα κρουσθεῖσα. ἐμοὶ δὲ 3  
 παρέσχε μὲν καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσαι, παρέσχε δὲ πολλῷ μά-  
 λιστα Αἰγυπτίων ὁ κολοσσός. ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις,  
 διαβᾶσι τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς τὰς Σύριγγας καλουμένας, εἶδον

8. Ἀπόλλωνα: see 1, 41, 6, on the building of the walls of Megara by Alcathous. Theognis (vv. 773 sq.) represents Apollo himself as fortifying the acropolis in honor of Alcathous. Ps.-Verg. Ciris, vv. 105 sqq., has Megara fortified by the joint labor of Alcathous and Apollo and tells how one of the stones, when struck, gave forth a musical tone like the note of a lyre. Ovid (Met. 8, 14 sqq.) calls the walls of Megara "vocal," due to Apollo's laying down his gilded lyre upon them; and he elsewhere (Tristia, 1, 10, 39) speaks of "the walls of Alcathous."

17. Αἰγυπτίων ὁ κολοσσός κτλ.: what the Greeks called the statue of Memnon was a colossal statue, carved out of a single block of hard breccia, which with a companion statue stood in front of a temple of Amenophis III at Thebes. The temple is gone, but the statues still remain. Each is about sixty feet high. Strabo (17, p. 216) says one was complete, but of the other the upper

part had been thrown down by an earthquake, and that once a day, at sunrise, a sound proceeded from the part of the broken statue which remained in its chair; he himself visited the statue and heard it. The explanation usually given is that the sound was caused by the expansion of the air in the crevices at sunrise, due to the increase of temperature. — 18. πρὸς τὰς Σύριγγας καλουμένας: the Greeks gave the name of σύριγγες or "pipes" to the great necropolis which is hewn out of the rock in the range of limestone hills to the west of Thebes. Each sepulchral chamber is approached through a series of passages, all subterranean and hewn out of the rock. The Theban kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties are buried there. See Strabo (17, p. 816), Aelian (Nat. Anim. 6, 43), Ammianus Marcellinus (22, 15, 30), and Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, I, 260 sqq.



Ch. 42, 5

ἔτι καθήμενον ἄγαλμα ἤχου — Μέμνονα ὀνομάζουσι οἱ  
 20 πολλοί, τοῦτον γάρ φασι ἐξ Λιβυοῦ ὀρμηθῆναι εἰς Αἴγυ-  
 πτον καὶ τὴν ἄχρι Σούσων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Τη-  
 βαῖοι λέγουσι, Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὐ τοῦτο τὸ  
 ἄγαλμα ἦν, ἤκουσα δὲ ἤδη καὶ Σέσωστριν φαμένωφον εἶναι  
 25 τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα ὃ Καμβύσης διέκοψε· καὶ τὴν ὀπίσσω ἐκ  
 κεφαλῆς εἰς μέσον σῶμά ἐστιν ἀπερριμμένον. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν  
 κάθηται τε καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου βοᾷ.  
 καὶ τὸν ἤχον μάλιστα εἰκάσει τις κιθάρας ἢ λύρας ῥαγεύσης  
 χορδῆς.

Μεγαρεῦσι δὲ ἔστι μὲν βουλευτήριον, Τιμάλκον δὲ ἦν 4  
 30 ποτε ὡς λέγουσι τάφος. ὃν πρότερον ὀλίγον τούτων οὐκ ἔβην  
 ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀποθανεῖν. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς  
 ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν  
 χειρῶν καὶ ἄκρων ποδῶν· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν ἐστιν  
 ἐλέφαντος. καὶ ἕτερον ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς πεποιήται  
 35 καλουμένης Νίκης καὶ ἄλλο Λιαντίδος· τὰ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸ Μεγα-  
 ρέων μὲν παρέται τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια νομίζω γενέ-  
 σθαι γράψω. Τελαμῶν ὃ Λιακοῦ θυγατρί Ἀλκάθου Περιβοῖα  
 συνώκησεν· Λίαντα οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀλκάθου διαδεξά-  
 μενον ποιῆσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἠγοῦμαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

40 Τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν ὃ ἀρχαῖος ναός· ὅστε-  
 ρον δὲ βασιλεὺς ὠκοδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ. ὃ μὲν  
 δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὃ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις  
 μάλιστα εἰκόασι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐποιομάζουσι.

40. πλίνθου: as to the use of the unburnt brick in ancient Greek architecture, see Frazer's note on 5, 16, 1. An inscription (C.I.G.G.S. 42) dating between 242 B.C. and 223 B.C. speaks of the repair of the temple of Apollo at Megara. Here was also another sanctuary of Apollo (1, 44, 2). — 41.

Ἀδριανός: Hadrian was a lavish patron of Megara (cf. 1, 44, 6) and in return the Megarians named a tribe after him (C.I.G.G.S. 72, 74, 101) and erected many statues in his honor (note on 1, 40, 2). — ὃ . . . Πύθιος . . . καὶ ὃ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις . . . εἰκόασι ξοάνοις: this passage has been cited,

Λιγυνητικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος· ἐβένου δὲ πάντα ὁμοίως  
 45 πεποιήται. ἤκουσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς Κυπρίου διακρῖναι πόας ἐς  
 ἀνθρώπων ἴασιν εἰδότης, ὃς τὴν ἔβενον φύλλα οὐκ ἔφη φύειν  
 οὐδὲ εἶναι καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ὀρᾶσθαι τὸ παρά-  
 παν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ἡλίου, ρίζας δὲ ὑπογαίους εἶναι, ταύτας δὲ  
 50 ὀρύσσειν τοὺς Λιθίοπας καὶ ἄνδρας εἶναι σφισιν οἳ τὴν  
 ἔβενον ἴασιν εὐρίσκειν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Θε-  
 σμοφόρου. κάτιουσι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Καλλιπόλιδος μνημᾶ ἐστὶν  
 Ἄλκᾶθου παιδός. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἄλκᾶθω πρεσβύ-  
 55 τερος υἱὸς Ἰσχεπόλις. ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ πατήρ Μελεάγρῳ τὸ  
 ἐν Λιτωλία θηρίον συνεξαيرهσοντα. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐνταῦθα  
 πρῶτος τεθνεῶτα ἐπύθετο ὁ Καλλίπολις, ἀναδραμῶν δὲ ἐς  
 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν — τηρικαῦτα δὲ ὁ πατήρ οἱ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι  
 ἐνέκαεν — ἀπορρίπτει τὰ ξύλα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ· Ἄλκᾶθους  
 60 δὲ ἀνήκοος ὢν ἔτι τῆς Ἰσχεπόλιδος τελευτῆς κατεδίκαζεν  
 οὐ ποιεῖν ὅσια τὸν Καλλίπολιν καὶ εὐθέως ὡς εἶχεν ὀργῆς  
 ἀπέκτεινε παίσας ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν ἀπορριφέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 βωμοῦ ξύλω.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδὸν Ἴνους ἐστὶν ἠρώων, 7  
 περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ θριγκὸς λίθων· πεφύκασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ  
 ἐλαῖαι. μόνοι δέ εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῖς οἱ λέγοντες τὸν  
 65 νεκρὸν τῆς Ἴνους ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια σφισιν ἐκπεσεῖν  
 τῆς χώρας, Κλησῶ δὲ καὶ Ταυρόπολιν εὐρεῖν τε καὶ θάψαι —

on very insufficient grounds, to prove the direct dependence of early Greek art on the art of Egypt. See Overbeck, *Gesch. d. gr. Plastik*<sup>4</sup>, I, 37 sq.; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*<sup>2</sup>, I, 76 sq. This dependence, however, has been maintained on other grounds by some writers. Thus the archaic male figures known as the Apollos of Orchomenos, Tenea, etc., are believed by these authorities to have been

modeled, directly or indirectly, on Egyptian statues. See Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, I, 117 sq.; Furtwängler, *Meisterw. d. gr. Plastik*, pp. 712 sqq. — 46. *φύλλα οὐκ ἔφη φύειν*: this absurd belief was not shared by Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 4, 4, 6) or Pliny (*N. H.* 12, 17 sqq.). Cf. Paus. 2, 19, 3; 4, 32, 1; 7, 5, 5.

64. *τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Ἴνους*: cf. 1, 44, 7 sq.; 4, 34, 7.

Ch. 43, 2

θυγατέρας δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι Κλήσωνος τοῦ Λέλεγος -- καὶ Λευκοθέαν τε ὀνομασθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι πρώτοις φασὶν αὐτὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἄγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

- 43 Λέγουσι δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἰφιγενείας ἡρώων· ἀποθαιεῖν γὰρ 1  
καὶ ταύτην ἐν Μεγάροις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἐς  
Ἰφιγένειαν λόγον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων λεγόμενον. οἶδα δὲ Ἰσίοδοον  
ποιήσαντα ἐν καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθαιεῖν.  
5 γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐκάτην εἶναι· τούτοις δὲ Ἡρόδοτος  
ὁμολογοῦντα ἔγραψε Ταύρους τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Σκυθικῇ θύειν  
παρθένῳ τοὺς ναυαγούς, φάναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὴν παρθένον Ἰφι-  
γένειαν εἶναι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος. ἔχει δὲ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσι  
καὶ Ἄδραστος τιμάς· φασὶ δὲ ἀποθαιεῖν παρὰ σφίσι καὶ  
10 τοῦτον, ὅτε ἐλὼν Θήβας ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν. αἷτια δὲ  
οἱ τοῦ θανάτου γῆρας καὶ τὴν Λιγιάδεως γενέσθαι τελευτήν.  
καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ὃ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποίησεν. ἡνίκα ἦλλε  
Κάλαχαντα οἰκοῦντα ἐν Μεγάροις ἐς Ἴλιον ἔπεισθαι πείσων.  
ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανείῳ τεθάφθαι μὲν Εὐύπποι Μεγαρέως παῖδα. 2  
15 τεθάφθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀλκάθου λέγουσιν Ἰσχέπολι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ

43. *Iphigenia* — *Adrastus* — *Graves in the Prytaneum* — *The rock Anaclethra* — *Graves in the city* — *The Aesymnium* — *Worship of Iphinoe* — *Temples of Aphrodite and of Dionysus with their images* — *Temple of Tyche with image by Praxiteles* — *Temple with statues by Lysippus* — *Coroebus and his tomb in the market-place.*

1. *Ἰφιγενείας ἡρώων*: on the Iphigenia legend, consult Roscher, *Lexikon* s.v. Hdt. 4, 103 relates the story here referred to him. Strabo, 7, p. 308, mentions a sanctuary of the Virgin in the city of Tauric Chersonese, and says that on a cape called *Parthenium*, about eleven miles from the city, there

was a temple with an image of her. Herodotus does not mention the identification of Iphigenia with Hecate.

9. *Ἄδραστος*: Dieuchidas, the native historian of Megara, quoted by Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 9, 30, says that the actual grave of Adrastus was in Megara, while a cenotaph of him was at Sicyon. — 12. *Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν*: not identical with the temple of Artemis Soteira mentioned above, but situated probably in the neighborhood of the Prytaneum.

14. *ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανείῳ*: it is perhaps to be inferred that when a hero enjoyed especial honor, his grave also was placed in a prominent position.

πρυτανείου πέτρα πλησίον· Ἀνακληθρίδα τὴν πέτραν ὀνομάζουσιν. ὡς Δημήτηρ, εἶ τῷ πιστά, ὅτε τὴν παῖδα ἐπλανάτο ζητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν. εἰκότα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δρῶσιν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι αἱ Μεγαρέων γυναῖκες.

- 20 Εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει· καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς 3 ἀποθανούσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Αἰσύμνιον καλούμενον μνήμα ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἡρώων. Ὑπερίονος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος — οὗτος γὰρ Μεγαρέων ἐβασίλευσεν ὕστατος — τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ 25 Σανδίωνος διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὕβριν, βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν οὐκέτι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐδόκει σφίσι. εἶναι δὲ ἄρχοντας αἰρετοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀκούειν ἀλλήλων. ἐνταῦθα Αἰσυμνος οὐδενὸς τὰ ἐς δόξαν Μεγαρέων δεύτερος παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡρώτα τρόπον τίνα εὐδαιμονήσουσι· καὶ οἱ 30 καὶ ἄλλα ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε καὶ Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν. ἦν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλεύσονται. τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐς τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἔχειν νομίζοντες βουλευτήριον ἐνταῦθα ὠκοδόμησαν, ἵνα σφίσι ὁ τάφος τῶν ἡρώων ἐντὸς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου γένηται.

Ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς τὸ Ἀλκάθου βαδίζουσιν ἡρώων, ᾧ Μεγαρεῖς 4

16. Ἀνακληθρίδα: in the Etymol. Magn. p. 96, s. v. Ἀνακληθρίς, this rock is called Anacletus, and a similar story is told of the origin of the name.

20. τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν: only the heroic and worshiped dead were buried within the walls of a city. The account shows that the men who fell in the battles against the Persians were regarded as heroes in the religious sense. The epitaph composed by Simonides on the Megarian dead is preserved (C. I. G. G. S. 53). Of other great Greeks, Coroebus and Orsippus were buried in the agora of Megara (1, 43, 8; 1, 44, 1); Thersander in that of Elaea (9, 5, 14);

Euphron in that of Sicyon (Xen. Hell. 7, 3, 12); Philopoemen in that of Megalopolis (C. I. G. 1536); and Brasidas in front of the agora of Amphipolis (Thuc. 5, 11). — 22. τὸ δὲ Αἰσύμνιον: according to Pausanias the Aesymnium, which was the grave of the heroes, must have been within the Council House. It was probably a chamber in which the officials called Αἰσυμνήται (C. I. G. G. S. 15) met. Here was probably a tomb of Aesymnus, a mythical personage invented to explain the name. See Pauly-Wissowa, I, 1090, s. v. Aisymnetes; Busolt, Griech. Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer<sup>2</sup>, pp. 46 ff.

Ch. 43, 6

35 ἐς γραμμάτων φυλακὴν ἐχρῶντο ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, μνήμα ἔλεγον  
 τὸ μὲν Πυργοῦς εἶναι γυναικὸς Ἀλκάθου πρὶν ἢ τὴν Μεγα-  
 ρέως αὐτὸν λαβεῖν Εὐαίχμην, τὸ δὲ Ἴφινόης Ἀλκάθου θυγα-  
 τρός· ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν φασιν ἔτι παρθένον. καθέστηκε  
 δὲ ταῖς κόραις χοὰς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἴφινόης μνήμα προσφέ-  
 40 ρειν πρὸ γάμου καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν τριχῶν. καθὰ καὶ τῇ  
 Ἐκαέρῃ καὶ Ὠπιδι αἱ θυγατέρες ποτὲ ἀπεκείροντο αἱ Δη-  
 λίων. παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ Διονύσιον τάφος ἐστὶν  
 Ἀστυκρατείας καὶ Μαντοῦς· θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Πολυεῖδου  
 τοῦ Κοιράνου τοῦ Ἀβαντος τοῦ Μελάμποδος ἐς Μέγαρα  
 45 ἔλθόντος Ἀλκάθου ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῷ Καλλιπόλιδος καθῆραι  
 τοῦ παιδός. ὠκοδόμησε δὴ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ ἱερὸν Πολυεί-  
 δος καὶ ξόανον ἀνέθηκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ' ἡμῶν πλὴν  
 τοῦ προσώπου· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ φανερόν. Σάτυρος δὲ παρέ-  
 στηκεν αὐτῷ Πραξιτέλους ἔργον Παρίου λίθου. τοῦτου  
 50 μὲν δὴ Πατρῶον καλοῦσιν· ἕτερον δὲ Διόνυσον Δασύλλιον  
 ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐχήμερα τὸν Κοιράνου τοῦ Πολυεῖδου τὸ  
 ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι λέγουσι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἱερόν  
 6 ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ναός. ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐλέφαντος Ἀφροδίτη πε-  
 ποιημένον Πράξις ἐπέκλησιν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον ἐν  
 55 τῷ ναῷ· Πειθῷ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα θεός, ἣν Παρήγορον ὀνομάζουσι,

40. τῇ Ἐκαέρῃ καὶ Ὠπιδι: cf. 5, 7, 8, ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων καὶ αὐταὶ . . . ἀφί-  
 κοντο ἐς Δῆλον, Hyperborean maidens  
 perhaps identical with Artemis herself.  
 See Roscher, Lexikon, I, 2810 sqq.;  
 Preller-Robert, p. 299.

46. Πολυεῖδος . . . Εὐχήμερα: here  
 two descendants of Melampus, Poly-  
 idus and Echenor, are named as found-  
 ers of sanctuaries of Dionysus. Melam-  
 pus himself was an important patron  
 of Dionysus worship. Polyidus was an  
 illustrious seer (Il. N, 663 sqq.; Pind.

Ol. 13, 105, with Schol.). Echenor is  
 called son of Polyidus in Hom. l.c. and  
 Schol. Pind. Ol. 13, 78.

53. Ἀφροδίτης ναός: named Aphro-  
 disium in Plut. Agesilaus, 27; Xen.  
 Hell. 5, 4, 58 mentions this temple,  
 and says that once when Agesilaus  
 was in Megara a vein in his leg burst  
 as he was ascending from the sanctuary  
 of Aphrodite to the government office.  
 — 55. Πειθῷ: Peitho is the personifi-  
 cation of persuasion to love, and Pare-  
 gorus of consolation in unfortunate

ἔργα Πραξιτέλους· Σκόπα δὲ Ἔρως καὶ Ἴμερος καὶ Πόθος, εἰ δὴ διάφορά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτὸ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἔργα σφίσι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ναοῦ Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, Πραξιτέλους καὶ αὕτη τέχνη· καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ  
60 τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος.

Ἔστι δὲ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Κοροΐβου τάφος· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν 7  
ἔπη κοινὰ ὅμως ὄντα τοῖς Ἀργείων ἐνταῦθα δηλώσω. ἐπὶ  
Κροτώπου λέγουσιν ἐν Ἀργεὶ βασιλεύοντος Ψαμάθην τὴν  
Κροτώπου τεκεῖν παῖδα ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ ἰσχυρῶς  
65 τοῦ πατρὸς δείματι τὸν παῖδα ἐκθεῖναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν διαφθεί-  
ρουσιν ἐπιτυχόντες ἐκ τῆς ποίμνης κύνες τῆς Κροτώπου.  
Ἀπόλλων δὲ Ἀργείους ἐς τὴν πόλιν πέμπει Ποινῆν. ταύτην  
τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων φασὶν ἀρπάζειν, ἐς ὃ Κόροϊ-  
βος ἐς χάριν Ἀργείους φονεύει τὴν Ποινῆν. φονεύσας δὲ —  
70 οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει σφᾶς δεύτερα ἐπιπεσοῦσα νόσος λοιμώδης —  
Κόροϊβος ἐκὼν ἦλθεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὑφέξων δίκας τῷ θεῷ τοῦ  
φόνου τῆς Ποινῆς. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ Ἄργος ἀναστρέφειν οὐκ εἶα 8  
Κόροϊβον ἢ Πυθία, τρίποδα δὲ ἀράμενον φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ

love. Peitho is frequently portrayed in art, especially on vases, but Paregorus is not elsewhere mentioned. — 56. Ἔρως καὶ Ἴμερος καὶ Πόθος: see Preller-Robert, p. 502, concerning these personifications of Love, of Desire, and of Yearning. Urlichs, Skopas, p. 89, conjectured that these three images of Scopas stood facing the old ivory image of Aphrodite and the two images of Peitho and Paregorus by Praxiteles, each triplet of images being placed on a single pedestal. — 58. Τύχης: the type of Fortune on coins of Megara, representing the goddess as a draped woman standing with a cup in her right hand and a horn of plenty in

her left, may be copied from Praxiteles' statue. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. p. 7, with pl. A, xiv. — 60. Λύσιππος: probably a pedestal found in Megara, consisting of a number of ancient blocks of gray marble, and bearing the inscription Θηραμένης Τιμοζένου ἀνέθηκε, Λύσιππος ἐποίησε, supported this group of statuary. The inscription seems to date from the end of the fourth century B.C. See A.M. X (1885), 145-150.

61. Κοροΐβου τάφος: τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπη κτλ.: Statius, Theb. 1, 579 sqq., and Conon, Narrat. 19, tell the story of Coroebus and Psamathe, with more picturesque details.

Ch. 44, 2

- τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἔνθα ἂν ἐκπέσῃ οἱ φέρουντι ὁ τρίπους. ἐνταῦθα  
 75 Ἀπόλλωνος οἰκοδομησαὶ ναὸν καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ὁ  
 τρίπους κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Γερανίαν ἀπολισθῶν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖ  
 ἐκπεσῶν· καὶ Τριποδίσκουσ κώμην ἐνταῦθα οἰκίσαι. Κο-  
 ροίβῳ δέ ἐστι τάφος ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἀγορᾷ· γέγραπται  
 δὲ ἐλεγεία τὰ ἐς Ψαμάθην καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα Κόροιβον.  
 80 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπίθημά ἐστι τῷ τάφῳ Κόροιβος φοιρέων τὴν  
 Ποινήν. ταῦτα ἀγάλματα παλαιότατα. ὅποσα λίθου πεποιη-  
 μένα ἐστὶν Ἑλλησιν, ἰδῶν οἶδα.
- 44 Κοροίβου δὲ τέθαπται πλησίον Ὀρσιππος. ὃς περιεζωσμέ- 1  
 νων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δὴ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν Ὀλύμ-  
 πια (πρῶτος) ἐνίκα στάδιον δραμῶν γυμνός. φασὶ δὲ καὶ  
 στρατηγοῦντα ὕστερον τὸν Ὀρσιππον ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν  
 5 τῶν προσοίκων· δοκῶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ περίζωμα  
 ἐκόντι περιρρυῆναι, γνόντι ὡς ἀνδρὸς περιεζωσμέτου δραμεῦν  
 ῥάων ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ γυμνός. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατιοῦσι τῆς 2

77. **Τριποδίσκουσ κώμην**: Thucydides (4, 70) speaks of this as a village in the territory of Megaris at the foot of Mt. Gerania. The remains of the village are to be seen about six miles northwest of Megara, at the entrance to the pass which leads through the mountains to the Isthmus of Corinth. Three forms of the name occur, Tripodiscus (Thuc. l.c.), Tripodiscium (Strabo, 9, p. 394), and Tripodisci (Paus.). — 78. **γέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεία κτλ.**: these verses are preserved in Anthol. Palat. 7, 154.

44. **Orsippus** — *Temple of Apollo Proslaterius with statues* — *A Gymnasium with antiquities* — *Antiquities of Nisaea and of Pagae* — *Worship of Melanthus in Aegosthena* — *Grove of Autonoe in Erenia, and of the phle-*

*player Telephanes* — *The Scironian Way and the rock Moluris* — *Ino and Melicertes* — *The robber Sciron* — *Temple of Zeus Aepheius* — *Images of Aphrodite, of Apollo, and of Pan* — *Tomb of Eurystheus* — *Temple of Latoan Apollo.*

1. **Ὀρσιππος**: a copy of the epitaph on Orsippus's grave was found in Megara in 1769 engraved on a block of stone, in the Megarian dialect (C.I.G. 1050; C.I.G.G.S. 52). This epitaph was manifestly the source of Pausanias's information. The victory of Orsippus was won in Ol. 15 (720 B.C.). See Euseb. Chron. vol. I, p. 195, ed. Schöne. The war in which Orsippus gained distinction was probably waged against Corinth, which claimed, under the Bacchid dynasty, suzerainty over Megara, till the Megarians revolted and

ὁδοῦ τῆς Εὐθείας καλουμένης Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Προστατηρίου· τοῦτο ὀλίγον ἐκτραπέντα ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς  
 10 ὁδοῦ ἀνευρεῖν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κείται θεάς ἄξιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Λητώ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγάλματά ἐστι . . . Πραξιτέλους ποιήσαντος Λητώ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλ-  
 15 λωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν· καὶ Εἰλειθυῶν ἐστὶν ἐναῦθα ἱερόν.

Τοσαυτὰ σφισιν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παρείχετο ἡ πόλις· ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον, καλούμενον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Νίσαιαν, ἐς τοῦτο κατελθοῦσιν ἱερόν Δήμητρός ἐστι Μαλοφόρου· λέγεται δὲ καὶ

threw off the yoke (Schol. Pind. Nem. 7, 155).

8. Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν: two inscriptions, dating from the third century B.C., with dedications to Tutelary Apollo have been found at Megara (C.I.G.G.S. 39, 40). — 12. Λητώ καὶ οἱ παῖδες: there were also images of Latona and her children by Praxiteles in a temple at Mantinea (8, 9, 1). The one group was perhaps a replica of the other. Coins of Megara present a group of Apollo standing between Latona and Artemis, probably a copy of the Praxitelian group. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. pp. 7, 154, with pls. A, x, FF, ii. — 13. Νυμφάδων: since Pausanias, after mentioning the old gymnasium, quits Megara and proceeds to the port, the Gate of the Nymphs must have been on the south side of Megara, and probably through this the road to the port passed. An inscription (C.I.G.G.S. 31) mentions a certain Matroxenus, who was "master of the gymnasium in the Olympieum." This gymnasium in the Olympieum (1,

40, 4) was probably the new one. — 14. πυραμίδος σχῆμα: on some coins of Megara an obelisk appears between two dolphins, probably a copy of the pyramidal image of Apollo. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numism. Comm. on Paus. p. 6, with pl. A, viii. — 15. Εἰλειθυῶν . . . ἱερόν: Homer (Il. A, 270) mentions these goddesses in the plural.

16. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον: Thuc. 4, 66 says the distance from Nisaea to Megara was about eight stadia. When Megara joined the Athenian alliance about 459 B.C., the Athenians constructed and garrisoned two long walls between Megara and Nisaea (Thuc. 1, 103). But in 424 B.C. the Megarians seized the walls and razed them to the ground. Phocion rebuilt them in the following century (Plut. Phocion, 15); and Strabo speaks as if they still existed in his time. At present hardly any remains of these walls can be pointed out. The hill of St. George on the eastern side of the harbor appears to have been the acropolis of Nisaea, mentioned by Pausanias. Ruins of the fortifications may



Ch. 44, 4

ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους πρόβατα ἐν τῇ γῆ  
 20 θρέψαντας Δήμητρα ὀνομάσαι Μαλοφόρον, καταρρηῆται δὲ  
 τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν ὄροφον τεκμαίροιο ἂν τις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. καὶ  
 ἀκρόπολις ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ὀνομαζομένη καὶ αὐτὴ Νίσαια·  
 καταβάσι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως μνημᾶ ἐστὶ πρὸς θαλάσσην  
 Λέλεγος, ὃν ἀφικόμενον βασιλεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.  
 25 παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Λιβύης τῆς Ἐπάφου. παρή-  
 κει δὲ παρὰ τὴν Νίσαιαν νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη Μινῶα· ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Νῆσον παρώρμει τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν  
 Κρητῶν. ἣ δὲ ὄρεινὴ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐστὶν  
 ὄμορος, ἐν ἣ Μεγαρεῦσι Παγαὶ πόλις. ἑτέρα δὲ Αἰγόςθυνα  
 30 ᾗκισται. ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὰς Παγὰς ἐκτραπομένοις ὀλίγον τῆς  
 λεωφόρου πέτρα δείκνυται διὰ πάσης ἔχουσα ἐμπεπηγότας

be traced.—26. **νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη Μινῶα**: the lower hill on the western side of the harbor appears to have been what Thuc. 3, 51, and Pausanias call the island of Minoa. Thucydides (l.c.) speaks of it as an island off Megara, not far from the shore, to which it was united by a bridge built over a shoal. The Megarians used the island as a fort, but in 427 b.c. it was captured by the Athenians and fortified by them, with a view to blockading Megara. In 424 they captured Nisaea also (Thuc. 4, 69). In the treaty of 423 they retained Minoa and Nisaea but under rigid restrictions (Thuc. 4, 118).

29. **Παγαί**: Pagae or Pegae (so, Attic writers and others, Thuc. 1, 103, 107, 111, 115; Plut. Pericles, 19) was a port on the west coast of Megaris, on the Gulf of Corinth. The distance from Pagae to Nisaea was one hundred and twenty stadia (Strabo, 8, p. 334). When Megara joined Athens in 459 b.c., the Athenians took and held Pagae for

some years, but evacuated it in 445 b.c., when they concluded the 'Thirty Years' Peace with Sparta (Thuc. l.c.).—**Αἰγόςθυνα**: the ruins of Aegosthena are to be found on the west shore of Megaris, at the head of a bay now called Porto Germano, formed by a western projection of Mt. Cithaeron on the north and by the mountains of Megara on the south. The walls of the town are amongst the finest and best preserved of ancient Greek fortifications. The place is rarely mentioned by ancient writers. Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 17 sq. tells of a storm which in 378 b.c. wrought havoc in a Laedaemonian army under Cleombrotus as they were approaching Aegosthena; and Xen. Hell. 6, 4, 25 sq. tells how the Laedaemonian army, retreating after the disaster at Leuctra, were met at Aegosthena by reinforcements under Archidamnus.—31. **πέτρα**: Pausanias has now turned northward and is following the road to Pagae, a port on the Gulf of Corinth. In the

διοστους, ἐς ἣν οἱ Μῆδοί ποτε ἐτόξευον ἐν τῇ νυκτί. ἐν δὲ  
 ταῖς Παγαῖς θεάς ὑπελείπετο ἄξιον Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτείρας ἐπί-  
 κλησιν χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα, μεγέθει τῷ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἴσον  
 35 καὶ σχῆμα οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον. καὶ Λιγιάλεως ἐνταῦθά  
 ἐστὶν ἡρώων τοῦ Ἀδράστου· τοῦτον γάρ, ὅτε Ἀργεῖοι τὸ  
 δεύτερον ἐς Θήβας ἐστράτευσαν, ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην μάχην  
 πρὸς Γλισᾶντι ἀποθανόντα οἱ προσήκοντες ἐς Παγὰς τῆς  
 Μεγαρίδος κομίσαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ Λιγιάλειον ἔτι καλεῖται  
 40 τὸ ἡρώον. ἐν Λίγισθένεισι δὲ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθιάνοδος 5  
 ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνὴρ οὐ μέγας ἐπειργασμένος ἐν στήλῃ· καὶ  
 θύουσι τῷ Μελάμποδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. μαν-  
 τεύεσθαι δὲ οὔτε δι' ὄνειράτων αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄλλως λέγουσι.  
 καὶ τόδε δὲ ἄλλο ἦκουσα ἐν Ἐρενεῖᾳ τῇ Μεγαρέων κώμῃ,  
 45 Ἀυτονόην τὴν Κάδμου τῷ τε Ἀκταίωνος θανάτῳ, συμβάντι  
 ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τῇ πάσῃ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρώου τύχῃ περισ-  
 σότερον ἀλογοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα ἐκ Θηβῶν μετοικῆσαι· καὶ Ἀυ-  
 τονόης μνήμᾳ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ.

Ἴουσι δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων ἐς Κόρινθον ἄλλοι τέ εἰσι τάφοι καὶ 6  
 50 αὐλητοῦ Σαμίου Τηλεφάνους· ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν τάφον Κλεο-  
 πάτραν τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου λέγουσι. καὶ Καρὸς τοῦ  
 Φορωνέως μνήμᾳ ἐστὶ. τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χῶμα γῆς, ὕστερον  
 δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος ἐκοσμήθη λίθῳ κογχίτῃ. μόνοις δὲ

neighborhood of Tripodisci there rises on the south of the road a height now called Karydi ("walnut-tree"), on the rocky summit of which there are many holes. These holes gave rise to the fable which is cited here by Pausanias.

40. **Μελάμποδος**: Mr. A. B. Cook, Cl. Rev. VIII (1894), 381 sqq., presents some specious reasons for holding that Melampus was originally a goat deity.

49. **ἐκ Μεγάρων**: from Megara Pausanias proceeded to Corinth by the route now followed by the highroad

and railway, along the southern shore close to the sea. He therefore passed through the necropolis now to be seen a little to the southwest of Megara. — 50. **Τηλεφάνους**: Telephanes, the Samian flute-player, was a contemporary of Demosthenes, who speaks well of him (21, 17, p. 520). He is mentioned also in Athen. 8, p. 351 E. The epitaph on his tomb by Nicarchus is preserved in Anthol. Palat. 7, 159. — 53. **λίθῳ κογχίτῃ**: Dodwell (Tour, II, 178) thus describes this stone: "A soft and

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Ἑλλήνων Μεγαρεῦσιν ὁ κογχίτης οὗτός ἐστι, καὶ σφισιν  
 55 [καὶ] ἐν τῇ πόλει πεποίηται πολλὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ ἄγαν  
 λευκὸς καὶ ἄλλον λίθου μαλακώτερος· κόγχοι δὲ αἱ θαλάσ-  
 σιαι διὰ παντὸς ἔνεισίν οἱ. οὗτος μὲν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος·  
 τὴν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἀπὸ Σκίρωνος καὶ ἐς τὸδε κῶδον· Σκί-  
 ρων, ἥνικα Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐπολεμάρχει, πρῶτος ὡς λέγουσιν  
 60 ἐποίησεν ἀνδράσιν ὀδεύειν εὐζώνους· Ἀδριανὸς δὲ [ὁ] βα-  
 σιλεὺς καὶ οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἄρματα ἐναντία ἐλαύνηται κατέστη-  
 σεν εὐρυχωρῇ τε καὶ ἐπιτηδείαν εἶναι.

Λόγοι δὲ εἰσιν ἐς τὰς πέτρας αἱ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ·  
 μάλιστα ἀνέχουσιν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Μολουρίδα, ὡς ἀπὸ ταύτης  
 65 αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν Ἰνώ ῥύβαι Μελικέρτην ἔχουσα τῶν παί-  
 δων τὸν νεώτερον· τὸν γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν Λέαρχον  
 ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ πατήρ. λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ μακρὰ δρᾶσαι  
 ταῦτα Ἀθάμαντα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἰνώ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ  
 αὐτῆς παίδας χρῆσαιτο ἀκρατεῖ τῷ θυμῷ τὸν συμβάιντα Ὀρ-  
 70 χομενίοις λιμὸν καὶ τὸν δοκοῦντα Φριξὸν θάνατον αἰσθόμε-  
 νος, οὐ τὸ θεῖον αἴτιον οὐ γενέσθαι. βουλευσάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσι  
 πᾶσι Ἰνώ μητριὰν οὔσαν· τότε δὲ φεύγουσα ἐς θάλασσαν

porous compound of petrified shells and marine substances, that are easily decomposed and crumbled into dust." Cf. Curtius, Peloponnesus, I, 8.-58. τὴν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἀπὸ Σκίρωνος καὶ ἐς τὸδε κτλ.: Strabo (9, p. 391) describes the difficulties and dangers of this famous pass along the sea-cliffs, known in antiquity as the Scironian road (Hdt. 8, 71). Alciphron (3, 70) speaks of the robbers who here lay in wait for travelers. It was easy to make such a pass impassable. Hence, after the annihilation of Leonidas and his men at Thermopylae, the Peloponnesians blocked the Scironian road and

built a fortification-wall across the isthmus (Hdt. 8, 71).

64. ἐς μὲν τὴν Μολουρίδα . . . Ἰνώ . . . Μελικέρτην: Schol. Pind. Isthm. Introd. p. 515, ed. Boeckh, and Schol. Lycophron, 229, agree in saying that Ino fled with the infant Melicertes over Mt. Gerania and flung herself and him from the Molurian rock into the sea. Cf. Zenob. 4, 38; Lucian, Dialogi Marini, 8, 1. — 68. λέγεται: this is the well-known story of Helle and Phrixus, who were on the point of being killed through the wiles of their stepmother Ino, and who were carried away through the air on the ram with the golden fleece. It is

αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας τῆς Μολουρίδος ἀφίη-  
 σιν, ἐξενεχθέντος δὲ ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ὑπὸ δελφίνος  
 75 ὡς λέγεται τοῦ παιδός, τιμαὶ καὶ ἄλλαι τῷ Μελικέρτῃ δίδον-  
 ται μετονομασθέντι Παλαίμονι καὶ τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μολουρίδα πέτραν Λευκο-  
 θέας καὶ Παλαίμονος ἱερὰν ἤγητο· τὰς δὲ μετὰ ταύτην  
 νομίζουσιν ἐναγεῖς, ὅτι παροικῶν σφισιν ὁ Σκίρων, ὁπόσοις  
 80 τῶν ξένων ἐπετύγχανεν, ἠφίει σφᾶς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. χε-  
 λῶνῃ δὲ ὑπενήχето ταῖς πέτραις τοὺς ἐσβληθέντας ἀρπάζειν·  
 εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ θαλάσσιαι πλὴν μεγέθους καὶ ποδῶν ὅμοιαι ταῖς  
 χερσαίαις, πόδας δὲ ἐοικότας ἔχουσι ταῖς φώκαις. τούτων  
 περιῆλθεν ἡ δίκη Σκίρωνα ἀφεθέντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν  
 85 ὑπὸ Θησεώς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῆ ἄκρα Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἄφεσιου ἡ  
 καλουμένου ναός· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Λιακοῦ κατὰ δὴ τι λόγιον τῷ  
 Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Λίγινῃ . . . κομίσαντα δὲ ἀφεῖναι καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο Ἄφεσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀφροδίτης  
 90 ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Πανός. προελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς 10

told at greater length by Zenobius (4, 38) and Hyginus (Fab. 2).

76. τῶν Ἰσθμίων: cf. 2, 1, 3. Schol. Pind. Isthm. Introd. p. 514, ed. Boeckh, explains that when the corpse of Melicertes was washed ashore on the Isthmus, a famine befell Corinth, and an oracle declared it would not cease until the people paid the due obsequies to Melicertes and honored him with funeral games. When they afterwards omitted the games, the famine came again, and the oracle told them that the honors paid to Melicertes must be eternal. All the most famous Greek games — the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympic, and Pythian — appear to have been originally funeral games. — 80. χε-

λῶνῃ: hence Sciron was said to feed the tortoise (Schol. Eur. Hippol. 979). The death of Sciron is depicted on vase-paintings, and in some of them the tortoise is represented as waiting below for its prey. It is also the subject of one of the sculptured metopes of the so-called Theseum at Athens.

85. Διὸς . . . Ἄφεσιου καλουμένου ναός: the site of this sanctuary, about an hour and a half southwest of Megara, on an eminence above the road to Corinth, was excavated in 1889. The temple was a tiny building, about twenty feet long and fourteen feet wide, consisting merely of a cella with a portico facing southeast. See A.M. XIV (1889), 327; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890, pp. 35 sqq., 63 sq.

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τὸ πρόσω μνήμᾳ ἔστιν Εὐρυσθέως· φεύγοντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡρακλείδας μάχην ἐνταῦθα ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἰολάου λέγουσιν. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καταβᾶσιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι Λατώου καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Μεγαρεῦσιν ὄροι πρὸς τὴν Κορινθίαν, ἔνθα Ὕλλον τὸν Ἡρακλέους μονομαχήσαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρκάδα Ἐχεμον λέγουσιν.

91. **Εὐρυσθέως**: according to Apollod. 2, 8, 1, Eurystheus, after his defeat in Attica, fled in his chariot, but was overtaken at the Scironian rocks and slain by Hyllus, who cut off his head and brought it back to Almena. According to Eur. Heracl. 859 sqq., Iolaus took Eurystheus prisoner at the Scironian rocks, and brought him back

to Almena, who had him put to death. — 94. **Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν**: after passing the long line of the Scironian cliffs the road descends into a little plain beside the sea, where at present is a small settlement named *Kineta*. The sanctuary of Latoan Apollo was probably in this neighborhood. — 95. **ἔνθα Ὕλλον**: see 1, 41, 2, note.

## APPENDIX

### A. MANUSCRIPTS

The text of Pausanias has been handed down to us in wretched condition. It contains a number of bad faults and a great many lacunae for which the author is not to blame. The extant manuscripts are without exception of late date and were not transcribed by the best copyists. Schubart, to whom we are indebted for the first careful collation of the manuscripts, has shown that they go back to one archetype, but that there already existed in the archetype a *varia lectio*, introduced above the lines and on the margin, so that the copyists had really two recensions to choose from. In some instances they preferred the reading of the text; in others they chose the marginal reading; and at times they even took both, either by noting the variation on the margin or by embodying the two ideas in the text. The manuscripts are more than twenty in number and date chiefly from the 15th century. Hitzig has brought the critical apparatus of the Schubart-Walz edition up to date and has revised the text in the light of forty years of modern scholarship. For a full discussion of the manuscripts consult the prefaces of Schubart, Hitzig, and Spiro. The principal manuscripts are divided by Hitzig into three classes, in order of excellence as follows:

- CLASS I.—Codex Leidensis 16 K, La, of the 15th and 16th centuries; in five parts by four different hands.  
Codex Parisinus 1410, Pc, written by Michael Suliardus in 1491; closely related to La.  
Codex Parisinus 1411, Pd, of the 15th century; closely related to Pc.  
Codex Angelicus 2 c ii, Ag, of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century; akin to La and Pd.  
Codex Laurentianus Plut. LVI 10, Fa, of the 15th century, with marginal glosses; it accords very frequently with Ag.  
Codex Laurentianus Plut. LVI 11, Fb, of the 15th century; it is perhaps copied from Fa.

- CLASS II. — Codex Vaticanus 56, Vt, of the 16th century.  
 Codex Mosquensis, M, probably of the 14th century.  
 Codex Monacensis 404, Mo, of the 16th century; it is almost identical with M.  
 Codex Venetus 413, Vn, of the 15th century.  
 Codex Leidensis 16 L, Lb, of the 15th century.
- CLASS III. — Codex Parisinus 1399, Pa, of the 15th century.  
 Codex Neapolitanus iii A 16, N, of the 15th century.  
 Codex Vindobonensis Hist. Gr. XXIII, Va, of the 16th century.  
 Codex Vindobonensis Hist. Gr. LI, Vb, of the 16th century.

## B. EDITIONS

EDITOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	DATE
Editio Princeps (M. Musurus)	Venice	Aldus	1516
Xylander-Sylburgius	Frankfort	Hered. A. Wecheli	1583
Xylander-Sylburgius	Hanover	Typis Wechelianis	1613
Kuhnus	Leipzig	Fritsch	1696
Facius	Leipzig	Weigel	1794
Clavier	Paris	Eberhart	1814
Siebelis	Leipzig	Weidmann	1822-1828
Bekker	Berlin	Reimer	1826-1827
Schubart and Walz	Leipzig	Hahn	1838-1839
Dindorf	Paris	Didot	1845
Schubart	Leipzig	Teubner	1853-1854
Schubart	Leipzig	Teubner	1875
Weise	Leipzig	Tauchnitz	1877
Hitzig and Bluemner	Leipzig	Reisland	1896
Spiro	Leipzig	Teubner	1903

For a full description of the early editions and translations, see *Diblin, T. F.*, An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, London 1827; *Moss, J. W.*, Manual of Classical Bibliography, London 1825; *Schweiger, F. L. A.*, Handbuch der klassischen Bibliographie, Leipzig 1830-1834.

## C. TRANSLATIONS

LANGUAGE	TRANSLATOR	PLACE	PUBLISHER	DATE
Latin	Calderinus	Venice	Bernardin	1498
Latin	Amasaetus	Rome	—	1547
Latin	Loescher	Basle	Oporinus	1550
Latin	Amasaetus	Florence	Torrentinus	1551
Latin	Amasaetus (with Sylburg ed.)	Frankfort	Wechel	{ 1624 1670
Italian	Bonnaccinoli	Mantua	Osanna	1593
Italian	Nibby	Rome	Poggioli	1817
German	Goldhagen	Berlin	Reimer	{ 1765-1766 1798-1799
German	Wiedasch	Munich	Fleischmann	1826-1833
German	Siebelis-Reichardt	Stuttgart	Metzler	{ 1827 1858
German	Schubart	Stuttgart	Hoffmann	1857-1863
French	Gedoyne	Paris	Nyon	{ 1731 1733 1797
French	Clavier	Paris	Eberhart	1822-1828
English	U. Price	London	Evans	1780
English	Thomas Taylor	London	Jeffry	{ 1793 1824
English	Frazer	{ London New York	Macmillan	1890

D. COMMENTARIES AND WORKS BEARING ON  
PAUSANIAS

## 1. WHOLE BOOKS AND LARGER TREATISES .

*Harrison, Jane E.*, and *Verrall, Margaret de G.*: *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, being a translation of a portion of the Attica of Pausanias by Mrs. Verrall with introductory essay and archaeological commentary by Miss Harrison, London and New York, Macmillan, 1890; *Hitzig, H.*, and *Bluemner, H.*: *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*, edited with apparatus criticus by Hitzig, with commentary etc. by Hitzig and Bluemner, Leipzig, Reisland, 1896; *Frazer, J. G.*: *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, translated with a commentary. Six volumes, London and New York, Macmillan, 1898; *Imhoof-Blumer, F.*, and *Gardner, P.*: *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (J. H. S. vi, 1885, 50-101; vii, 1886, 57-113;



viii, 1887, 6-63); *Kalkmann, A.*: Pausanias der Perieget, Untersuchungen über seine Schriftstellerei und seine Quellen, Berlin 1886; *Gurlitt, W.*: Ueber Pausanias, Graz 1890; *Bencker, M.*: Der Anteil der Periegesis an der Kunstschriftstellerei der Alten, Munich 1890; *Heberdey, R.*: Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland (Abh. d. arch. epigr. Seminars der Universität Wien x, Vienna 1894).

## 2. IMPORTANT ARTICLES

*v. Wilamowitz*, *Hermes* xii (1878), 365 ff.; *Schoell*, *Hermes* xiii (1879), 432 ff.; *Brunn*, *Jb. f. Kl. Philol.* xxx (1884), 23 ff.; *Enmann*, *ibid.* 497 ff.; *v. Sybel*, *ibid.* xxxi (1885), 177 ff.; *Lolling*, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1890, 627 ff.; *Weil*, *Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1890, 1101 ff.; *Fischbach*, *Wien. Stud.* xv (1893), 161 ff.; *Kalkmann*, *Arch. Anz.* 1895, 12 ff.; *Wachsmuth* in *Pauly-Wissowa*, *Realencycl. Supplem.* i, 200 ff., 1903; *Carroll*, *George Washington University Bulletin* vi (1907), No. 3, 61 ff.

## 3. SELECT DISSERTATIONS

*Büchh*: De Pausaniae stilo Asiano, 1824; *Brause*: Commentationes criticae de quibusdam locis Pausaniae Periegetae, 1851; *Krueger*: Theologumena Pausaniae, 1860; *Hitzig*: Beitr. z. Texteskritik d. Pausanias, 1873; *Hitzig*: Weitere Beitr. z. Texteskritik d. Pausanias, 1876; *Koenig*: De Pausaniae fide et auctoritate in historia mythologia artibusque Graecorum tradendis praestita, 1832; *Pfundtner*: Pausanias Periegeta imitator Herodoti, 1866; *Pfundtner*: Des Reisebeschreibers Pausanias Lebens- und Glaubensanschauungen, 1868; *Scheffler*: Ueber die Persönlichkeit des Periegeten Pausanias, 1880; *Storch*: Syntaxeos Pausanianae part. I de anacoluthis, 1869; *Storch*: Syntaxeos Pausanianae capp. viii, 1872; *Wernicke*: De Pausaniae Periegetae studiis Herodoteis, 1884; *Rueger*: Die Präpositionen bei Pausanias. Beitrag zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache, 1889.

## E. ATHENS AND ATTICA

### 1. GENERAL WORKS

On the older literature pertaining to Athenian topography, consult *Léon*, *Comte de Laborde*, *Athènes aux xv<sup>e</sup>, xvii<sup>e</sup> et xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1854, and *Judeich*, *Topographie von Athen*, pp. 14 ff. We give below the more important works that have appeared since the beginning of the seventeenth century.

*Spon, J., and Wheler, G.*: Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676. Vols. i, ii, iii, Lyons 1678; vols. i, ii, Amsterdam 1679 and The Hague 1724; *Wheler, G.*: A Journey into Greece by George Wheler, Esq., in company with Dr. Spon of Lyons, etc., London 1682; *Stuart, J. and Revett, N.*: The Antiquities of Athens, 4 vols. London, i 1762, ii 1789, iii 1794, iv 1816; new edition 1825-1830; *Chandler, R.*: Travels in Greece; or an account of a tour made at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti, Oxford 1776; *Clarke, E. D.*: Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, London 1814: Athens in ii, 462-596; *Dodwell, E.*: A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805, 1806. Vols. i, ii, London 1819; *Müller, K. O.*: "Attika." Ersch and Gruber's Realencyklopädie Sekt. 1, Bd. vi, 1820, 228 ff.; *Hawkins, J.*: On the Topography of Athens. Walpole's Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, etc., London 1817, 2d ed. 1818, 480 ff.; *Gell, W.*: Itinerary of Greece, containing one hundred routes in Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Loeris, and Thessaly, London 1819; Unedited Antiquities of Attica, by the Society of Dilettanti, London 1817; 2d ed. 1833; *Leake, W. M.*: The Topography of Athens, London 1821; Topography of Athens and the Demi of Attica, 2 vols., London 1841; *Leake, W. M.*: Travels in Northern Greece, vols. i-iv, London 1835; *Pittakis, K.*: L'Ancienne Athènes, Athènes 1835; *Wordsworth, Chr.*: Athens and Attica, London 1836; 4th ed. 1869; *Wordsworth, Chr.*: Greece, a Descriptive, Historical, and Pictorial Account, London 1839; 2d ed. 1859; revised by H. F. Tozer 1882; *Mure, W.*: Journal of a Tour in Greece and the Ionian Islands, with remarks on the recent history, present state, and classical antiquities of those countries. Vols. i, ii, Edinburgh and London 1842; *Ross, L.*: Wanderungen in Griechenland, Halle 1851; *Ross, L.*: Archäologische Aufsätze (i Leipzig 1855, ii hrsg. v. K. Keil 1861); *Rochette, R.*: Sur la topographie d'Athènes, Paris 1852; *Bretou, E.*: Athènes décrite et dessinée, Paris 1862; 2d ed. 1868; *Welcker, F. G.*: Tagebuch einer griechischen Reise, vols. i, ii, Berlin 1865; *Götting, C. W.*: Ges. Abhandlungen a. d. klassischen Altertume, vol. i Halle 1854, vol. ii Munich 1863; *Forchhammer, P. W.*: Topographie von Athen. Kiel 1841; *Penrose, F. C.*: Principles of Athenian Architecture, London 1851; *De Laborde, L.*: Athènes aux xv<sup>e</sup>, xvii<sup>e</sup>, et xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles, Paris 1854; *Fischer, W.*: Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland, Basel 1857, 103-216; *Bursian, K.*: Geographie von Griechenland, Leipzig 1862-1868: Attica in i, 264-325; *Ulrichs, H. N.*: Reisen und Forschungen, Berlin 1863: ii, 133 ff.; *Dyer, T. H.*: Ancient Athens, its History, Topography, and Remains, London 1873; *Milchhofer, A.*: "Athen,"

Baumeister's Denkmäler, Munich 1885: i, 144 ff.; *Milchhoefer, A.*: Die attischen Demeu, Berlin 1887; *Milchhoefer, A.*: Schriftquellen zur Topographie von Athen (published with Curtius' Stadtgeschichte von Athen, Berlin 1891); *Hertzberg, G. F.*: Athen, Halle 1885; *Mahaffy, J. P.*: Rambles and Studies in Greece, 3d ed. revised, London 1887; *Curtius, E.*: Attische Studien, Göttingen, vol. i 1862, vol. ii 1865; *Curtius, E.*: Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen, mit einer Uebersicht der Schriftquellen zur Topographie von Athen von A. Milchhoefer, Berlin 1891; *Curtius, E.*: Ges. Abhandlungen, Berlin 1894; *Wachsmuth, C.*: Die Stadt Athen im Altertum, vol. i 1874, first half vol. ii 1890, Leipzig; *Wachsmuth, C.*: Neue Beiträge zur Topographie von Athen (Abh. d. K. S. Ges. d. Wiss. xli); *Lolling, H. G.*: Topographie von Athen, Müller's Handbuch d. kl. Alt., 1st ed.; iii, 290 ff.; *Jahn, O.*, and *Michaelis, A.*: Arx Athenarum a Pausania descripta, Leipzig 1901; *Michaelis, A.*: Tabulae arcem Athenarum illustrantes, Leipzig 1901; *Gardner, E. A.*: Ancient Athens, New York 1902; *Butler, H. C.*: The Story of Athens, New York 1902; *Καστρίσις*: Τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, 3d ed., Athens 1895; *Ambrosoli, S.*: Atene, brevicenni sulla città antica e moderna, Milan 1901; *Baedeker, K.*: Greece, 4th ed., Leipzig 1904; *Meyer*: Türkei und Griechenland, 5th ed., 1901; *Murray*: Handbook for Travellers in Greece, 7th ed. revised, London 1900; *Guides Joanne*: Athènes et ses Environs, Paris 1890; *Wachsmuth*: "Athenai," Pauly-Wissowa, Realencycl. Supplem. i, 159 ff., Stuttgart 1903; *Harrison, Jane E.*: Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides, Cambridge 1906.

## 2. PERIODICALS

*American Journal of Archaeology*, founded 1885: Series i, vols. i-xi (1885-1896); Series ii, since 1897. (A. J. A.)

*Annual of the British School at Athens*, since 1894-1895.

*Antike Denkmäler*, a collection of valuable plates published at irregular intervals. (Ant. Denkm.)

*Archäologische Zeitung*, vols. i-xliii (1843-1885). (Arch. Zeit.)

*Archäologischer Anzeiger*: appendix to the *Jahrbuch*, but paged separately. (Arch. Anz.)

*Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, since 1877. (B. C. H.)

*Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, published at irregular intervals from 1837 to 1883, and since then annually. (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.)

*Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich-Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, since 1880. (A. Jb.)

*Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien, mit Beiblatt*, since 1898. (Jh. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.)

*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, since 1880. (J. H. S.)

*Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich-Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung*, founded 1876, since 1886 with slight change of title. (A. M.)

*Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*: vols. i-vi (to 1897).

Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας, vol. i published in 1871. (Πρ.)

*Revue archéologique*: Series i, 1844-1860; Series ii, 1860-1882; Series iii, 1883-1902; Series iv, 1903- . (Rev. Arch.)

*Revue des Études grecques*, since 1888. (R. Ét. Gr.)

### 3. ATLASES, MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS

*Atlases*. — *Curtius, E.*: Sieben Karten von Attika, Gotha 1868; *Curtius, E.*, and *Kaupert, J. A.*: Atlas von Athen, Berlin 1878, 12 large folio plates; *Curtius* and *Kaupert*: Karten von Attika, mit erläuterndem Text, Berlin 1881 ff.

*Wall Maps*. — *Reinhard, H.*: Athenae in us. scholarum, Stuttgart 1868; *Curtius* and *Kaupert*: Vienna 1900; *Loeper, R.*: Cybulski's Tabulae xiv. a. b., Leipzig 1903.

*Views*. — The photographs of Rhomaides, the English Photograph Co., and the collection of the German Archaeological Institute; Barth's Bookstore's "Ἑλλάς, a collection of views of Athens and Greece"—all in Athens; Reconstruction of Ancient Athens by Joseph Hoffmann, Ed. Holzels Kunstverlag in Vienna, 1880; Paul Acker, Les Villes antiques, Athènes. Restauration archéologique, Paris 1899; Model of Ancient Athens, after Curtius and Kaupert, H. Walger, Berlin 1880.

### 4. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR EXCURSUSES

#### (1) WALLS AND FORTIFICATIONS

For the earlier literature, consult Wachsmuth, Curtius, Frazer, and Hitzig-Bluemner (ll. cc.).

*Leake*: Topography of Athens, 300-375; *Wachsmuth*: Stadt Athen, ii, 1-50; *Curtius*: Stadtgeschichte, 104 ff.; *Milchhoefer*: "Peiraeus," Baumeister's Denkm., ii, 1195 ff.; Karten von Attika, Text i, 24 ff.; ii, 1 ff.; *von Allen*: Karten von Attika, Text i, 10-22; *Angelopoulos*: Περὶ Πειραιῶς καὶ

τῶν λιμένων αὐτοῦ, Athens 1898; *Carroll*: The Site of Ancient Phalerum, George Washington University Bulletin iii, 1904, No. 3, 82 ff.; *Frazer*: on Paus. 1, 1, 2; 1, 2, 2; 1, 2, 4; 1, 28, 3; *Hitzig-Bluemner*: on Paus. 1, 1, 2; 1, 2, 2; 1, 2, 4; 1, 28, 3; *Gardner*: Ancient Athens, 36-72, 542-563; *Judeich*: Topographie von Athen, 107-154.

## (2) THE MARKET-PLACE OF ATHENS

The literature on the Agora is most fully given by Wachsmuth, ii, 305, note 1, and Hitzig-Bluemner, note on Paus. 3, 1. The most important references are:

*Wachsmuth*: Die Stadt Athen, i, 152-172, 180-182, 199-212; ii, 305 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa Supplem. 1, 181 ff.; *Curtius*: Attische Studien, ii, Der Kerameikos und die Geschichte der Agora von Athen; Stadtgeschichte, 169 ff.; Ges. Abhandlungen, i, 339 ff.; *Leake*: Topography of Athens, 98-134; *Kaupert*: Die Rekonstruktion der Agora des Kerameikos, Berl. Philol. Woch. vii (1887), 571 ff.; *Lange*: Haus u. Halle, 1885, 60 ff.; *Weizsäcker*: Jahrb. f. kl. Philol. 1887, 577 ff.; Verh. d. 39. Philologenvers. in Zurich 1888, 210 ff.; *Miss Harrison*: Ancient Athens, 14 ff.; *Fallis*: Pausanias auf der Agora von Athen, Munich 1895; *Dörpfeld*: Ant. Denkm. ii, Taf. 37, Text p. 1; *Mülchhoefer*: Berl. Philol. Woch. 1900, 351 f., 379 ff.; *Frazer*: Pausanias ii, pp. 55 ff., etc.; *Hitzig-Bluemner*: on Paus. 1, 3, 1, etc.; *Gardner*: Ancient Athens, 126 ff., 381, 455; *Judeich*: Topographie von Athen, 293-339.

## (3 a) "THE ENNEACRUNUS EPISODE"

For a more complete statement of the literature on the Enneacrunus question, consult Hitzig-Bluemner, i, 166 ff., and Frazer, Pausanias, ii, 114, 117 f. Here follow the more important titles:

*Leake*: Topography of Athens, i, 127 ff.; *Curtius*: Attische Studien, ii, 15 ff.; Stadtgesch. 88-294; Ges. Abhandl. ii, 401-408; *Wachsmuth*: Stadt Athen, i, 272-284; Rh. Mus. xxiii, 35 ff.; *Unger*: Sitzungsber. d. Akad. Münch. phil. hist. Cl. (1874), 263 ff.; *Löschke*: Die Enneacrunos-episode bei Pausanias, Progr. Dorpat (1883), 9 ff.; *Dörpfeld*: A. M. xvi (1891), 444 ff.; xvii (1892), 92 ff., 439-445; xix (1893), 143 ff.; *Miss Harrison*: Ancient Athens (1890), 88 ff.; *Gardner*: Ancient Athens, 18-23, 149-151, 535-538; *Gräber*: Die Enneacrunos, A. M. xxxi (1906), 1-61; *Judeich*: Topographie (1905), 180 ff.; *Watzinger*: A. M. xxvi (1901), 305 ff.; *Miss Harrison*: Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides, Cambridge 1906.

(3*b*) THE DIONYSIUM IN LIMNIS

*Curtius*: Stadtgesch. 76 ff.; *Wilamowitz*: *Hermes*, xxi (1886), 615 ff.; *Oehmichen*: Sitzungsber. Akad. Münch. phil.-hist. Kl. ii (1889), 122 ff.; *v. Maass*: *De Lenaeo et Delphinio*, Progr. Greifswald, 1891/1892, 111 ff.; *Pickard*: *A. J. A.* viii (1893), 56 ff.; *Dörpfeld*: *A. M.* xvii (1892), 439; xix (1894), 506 ff.; xx (1895), 161 ff., 368 ff.; *Milchhofer*: *Philol.* lv (1896), 171 ff.; *Wachsmuth*: *Abh. Gesellschaft d. W. Leipz.* (1897), 33 ff.; *v. Prött*: *A. M.* xxiii (1898), 205 ff.; *Bates*: *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* xxx (1899), 97 ff.; *Carroll*: *Class. Rev.* xix (1905), 325 ff.; *Gardner*: *Ancient Athens*, 111 ff., 123 ff., 148 ff.; *Judeich*: *Topographie*, 261 ff.; *Miss Harrison*: *Primitive Athens*, 83-100; *Schrader*: *A. M.* xxi (1896), 265 ff.; *Capps*: *Class. Philol.* ii (1907), 25 ff.

## (4) THE SO-CALLED THESEUM

*Wachsmuth*: *Die Stadt Athen*, i, 357-365; *Leake*: *Athens*, i, 498-512; *Curtius*: *Stadtgeschichte*, 120-136, 294-296; *Dörpfeld*: *A. M.* ix (1884), 326 ff.; *Miss Harrison*: *Ancient Athens*, 112-122, 146-149; *Gardner*: *Ancient Athens*, 410 ff.; *Graef and Baumeister*: *Baumeister's Denkm.* 1774-1786; *Ross*: *Das Theseion und der Tempel des Ares in Athen*, Halle 1852; *Perranoglu*: *Philologus*, xxvii (1868), 660-672; *Sauer*: *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*, Leipzig and Berlin 1899; *Bates*: *A. J. A.* v (1901), 37 f.; *Lolling*: *Nachr. der Gött. Ges. d. Wissensch.* 1874, 17 ff.; *Judeich*: *Topographie*, 325 ff.

## (5) THE OLYMPIEUM

*Stuart and Revett*: *The Antiquities of Athens*, London 1794, 11-17; *Dodwell*: *Travels in Greece*, i, 387 ff.; *Leake*: *Athens*, i, 513-516; *Dyer*: *Ancient Athens*, 272-279; *Milchhofer*: *Athen*, 177 f.; *Bevier*: *Papers of Am. School at Athens*, i (1882-1883), 183-212; *Guide Joanne*: i, 98 f.; *Baedeker*: 49 f.; *Lolling*: *Athen*, 321 f.; *Miss Harrison*: *Ancient Athens*, 188 ff.; *Penrose*: *J. H. S.* viii (1887), 272 ff.; *Penrose*: *Principles of Athenian Architecture* (ed. of 1888), with pl. xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix; *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1883, 195 f.; *Berl. Philol. Woch.* vii (1887), 702; *Frazer*: *Pausanias*, ii, 178 f.; *Gardner*: *Ancient Athens*, 116-119, 498-499, etc.; *Judeich*: *Topographie*, 340 ff.

## (6) THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS

*Dyer*: Ancient Athens, 307-343; *Julius*: Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst, xiii (1878), 193-204, 236, 242; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1877, 6 ff.; *ibid.* for 1878, 8 ff.; *Wheeler*: Papers of Am. School at Athens, i (1882-1883), 123-179; *Milchhoefer*: Athen, 190-192; *Müller*: Die griech. Bühnenalterthümer, 82-101; *Dörpfeld*: *ibid.* 415 ff.; *Karverau*: Baumeister's Denkm. 1734-1738; *Guide Joanne*: i, 69-72; *Baedeker*: 53-55; *Bötticher*: Die Akropolis von Athen, 236-255; *Haigh*: The Attic Theatre, Oxford 1898; *Miss Harrison*: Ancient Athens, 271-295; *Frazer*: Pausanias, ii, 222 ff.; *Gardner*: Ancient Athens, 123-125, 398-399, 453-454, etc.; *Dörpfeld* and *Reisch*: Das griechische Theater, Athen 1896; *Dörpfeld*: A. M. xxii (1897), 439 ff.; xxiii (1898), 326 ff.; xxiv (1899), 310 ff.; xxviii (1903), 383 ff.; *Puchstein*: Die griechische Bühne: eine architektonische Untersuchung, Berlin 1901; *Judwich*: Topographie, 276 ff.; *Capps*: University of Chicago Studies in Class. Philol. i (1893), 93 ff.; *Class. Rev.* viii (1894), 318 ff.; A. J. A. x (1896), 287 ff.

## (7) THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

*Beulé*: L'Acropole d'Athènes, 2 vols. 1853-1854 (2d ed. 1862); *De Laborde*: Athènes aux xv<sup>e</sup>, xvi<sup>e</sup>, xvii<sup>e</sup> siècles, 1854; *Wachsmuth*: Die Stadt Athen im Altertum, 1874; *Burnouf*: La Ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes, 1877; *Bötticher*: Die Akropolis von Athen, Berlin 1888; *Gregorovius*: Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter, 1889; *Curtius*: Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen, 1891; *Miller*: History of the Acropolis of Athens, A. J. A. viii (1893), 473 ff.; *Luckenbach*: Die Akropolis von Athen, 1896; *Gross*: Die Akropolis von Athen und ihre Kunstdenkmäler, Progr. Kronstadt, 1900; *Michaelis*: Arx Athenarum a Pausania descripta, with atlas, 1901; *Hachmann*: Die Akropolis von Athen im Zeitalter des Perikles, Gymnasialbibl. Heft 35, Gütersloh 1903; *Miss Harrison*: Ancient Athens, 343 ff.; *Primitive Athens*, 5-65; *Gardner*: Ancient Athens, 208 ff.; *Judwich*: Topographie, 190-255; *Dörpfeld*, *Petersen*, *Wolters*: Die Ausgrabungen der Akropolis, A. M. xi (1886) -xiv (1890).

## (8) THE PROPYLAEA

*Wheeler*: Journey in Greece, 358 f.; *Stuart and Revett*: ii (1787), 37 ff., with pl. i-xiii; *Leake*: Athens, i, 527 f.; *Beulé*: L'Acropole d'Athènes, i, 162 ff.; *Ivanoff*: Sulla grande Scalinata de' propilei dell'Acropoli d'Athene, Annali dell' Instituto, xxiii (1861), 275-293; *Dyer*: Ancient Athens,

362 ff.; *Julius*: A. M. i (1876), 216–228; ii (1877), 192–194; *Robert*: Aus Kydathen, 172–194; *Bohn*: Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen (Berlin and Stuttgart 1882); *Milchhofer*: Athen, 200–202; *Dörpfeld*: A. M. x (1885), 38–56, 131–144; *White*: 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1894, 1 ff.; *Boetticher*: Die Akropolis von Athen, 175–187; *Lolling*: Athen, 339–341; *Baumeister's* Denkm., 1414–1422; *Miss Harrison*: Ancient Athens, 350–367; *Curtius*: Stadtgesch. 130 ff.; *Weller*: A. J. A. [N. S.] viii (1904), 33–70; *Judeich*: Topographie, 207 ff.

### (9) THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE

*Michaelis*: Arch. Zeit. xx (1862), 249–267; *Bötticher*: Philologus xxi (1864), 41–72; *Pervanoglu*, Bulletino dell' Instituto, 1868, 162–164; *Julius*: A. M. i (1876), 224 ff.; *Michaelis*, ibid. 279 ff.; *Curtius*: Arch. Zeit. xxxvii (1879), 97 f.; *Bohn*: Arch. Zeit. xxxviii (1880), 85–91; A. M. v (1880), 259–267, 309–316; *Kekulé*: Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike (Stuttgart 1881); *Petersen*: Zeit. f. d. oest. Gym. xxxii (1881), 261–282; *Baumeister's* Denkm., 1021–1027; *Wolters*: Bonner Studien, 1890, 92–101; *Frédéricks-Wolters*: Gipsabgüsse, Nos. 747–804, pp. 281–290; *Yorke*: J. H. S. xiii (1892–1893), 272–280; *Karvialis*: 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, 174 ff.; *Dörpfeld*: A. M. xxii (1897), 227 ff.; *v. Wilamowitz*: Deutsch. Lit. Zeit. 1898, 383 ff.; *Furtwängler*: Meisterw. 207–222; *Judeich*: Topographie, 204 ff.

### (10) THE PARTHENON

The literature on the Parthenon is given fully in Jahn-Michaelis, *Arch.* 53 ff.<sup>1</sup> We give only the principal titles:

1. *Architecture*. — *Michaelis*: Der Parthenon, Leipzig 1871; *Fergusson*, The Parthenon, London 1882; *Penrose*: Principles of Athenian Architecture, new ed., London 1888; *Magne*: Le Parthenon: Études faites au cours de deux missions en Grèce 1894–1895, Paris 1895; *Dörpfeld*: A. M. vi (1881), 283–302; xix (1894), 529–531; xxvii (1902), 379 ff.; *v. Sybel*: *Baumeister's* Denkm. ii, 1171–1188; *Boetticher*: Akropolis, 110 ff.; *Furtwängler*: Meisterw. 162 ff.; *Miss Harrison*: Ancient Athens, 430–480; *Gardner*: Ancient Athens, 257–352; *Judeich*: Topographie, 225–237.

2. *Sculpture*. — *Petersen*: Die Kunst des Pheidias, Berlin 1873; *Waldstein*: Essays on the Art of Phidias, Cambridge 1885; *Puchstein*: A. Jb., v (1890), 79–117; *Sauer*: A. M. xv (1891), 59–94; *Furtwängler*: Meisterw. 184 ff., 223–250; *Six*: A. Jb., ix (1894), 83–87; *Pernice*: A. Jb., x (1895),

<sup>1</sup> For subsequent literature see Frazer, ii, 310 f.; Hitzig-Bluemner, i, 271–273; *Judeich*, 225–237, 1–7.



93-103; *Wizemann*: Die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon, Stuttgart 1895. *Schwerzek*: Erläuterungen zu der Reconstruction des Westgiebels des Parthenon, Vienna 1896; *Michaelis*: A. Jb., xi (1896), 300-301; *Malenbery*. A. Jb., xii (1897), 92-96; *Treu*: A. Jb., xii (1897), 101 ff.; *Omont*: Dessins des sculptures du Parthenon, Paris 1898; *Murray*: The Sculptures of the Parthenon, London 1903.

## (11) THE ERECHTHEUM

For literature on the Erechtheum, cf. Frazer, ii, 338 f.; Hitzig-Bluemner, i, 284 f.; Judeich, Topographie, 243-245.

*Fergusson*: The Erechtheum and the Temple of Athena Polias, Trans. Royal Institute British Architects, 1876-1879, and J. H. S. xi (1882), 83 ff.; *Fowler*: Papers of Am. School at Athens, i (1885), 215-236; *Michaelis*: A. M. ii (1877), 15-37; *Borrmann*: A. M. vi (1881), 372 ff.; *Rhangavé*: A. M. vii (1882), 258 ff., 321 ff.; *Petersen*: A. M. x (1885), 1 ff.; *Dörpfeld*: A. M. xxviii (1903), 465 ff.; xxix (1904), 101 ff.; *Schultz and Gardner*: J. H. S. xii (1891), 1 ff.; *Barnsley*: *ibid.* 381 ff.; *Middleton*: J. H. S. Supplem. iii, pl. 9-17; *Sterenson*: A. J. A. [N. S.] x (1906), 47-71 [pl. vi-ix]; *Washburn and Frickenhaus*: *ibid.* 1-17 [pl. i-iv]; *Miss Harrison*: Ancient Athens, 483-496; Primitive Athens, 37-48; *Furtwängler*: Meisterw. 192-200; *Gardner*: Ancient Athens, 353-372; *Judeich*: Topographie, 243-255.

## (12) THE OLD ATHENA TEMPLE

For literature on the Old Athena Temple, cf. Judeich, Topographie, 238-240, 2, 3.

*Dörpfeld*: A. M. x (1885), 275 ff.; xi (1886), 337-351; xii (1887), 25-61, 190-211; xv (1890), 420-439; xxii (1897), 159-178; xxviii (1903), 468 f.; xxix (1904), 106-107; *Petersen*: A. M. xii (1887), 62-72; *Wernicke*: *ibid.* 184-189; *Schrader*: A. M. xxii (1897), 59-112; *Frazer*: J. H. S. xiii (1892-1893), 153-187, reprinted with a few slight changes as App. Paus. ii, 553-582; *Fowler*: A. J. A. viii (1893), 1-17; *Miller*: *ibid.* 473 ff.; *White*: Harvard Studies vi (1895), 1-54; *Belger*: Berl. Philol. Woch. xvii (1867), 1372 ff., 1405 ff., 1438 ff.; *Cooley*: A. J. A. [N. S.] iii (1899), 355 ff.; *Miss Harrison*: Ancient Athens, 496-513; *Gardner*: Ancient Athens, 78-81, 209-210, 363-364; *Judeich*: Topographie, 237-242; *Wiegand*: Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen. Leipzig 1904; *Lechat*: La Sculpture attique avant Phidias. Paris 1904; *Schrader*: A. M. xxx (1905), 305-322.

## EXCURSUSES

[For Bibliography see Appendix E]

### EXCURSUS I. THE HARBORS AND FORTIFICATIONS OF GREATER ATHENS

In this discussion it may be said that I accept the following :

(1) The site of Old Phalerum is to the west of the Bay of Phalerum, on the eastern slope of the hill of Munychia and extends eastward along the Bay, the view held by Leake and Gardner. Other topographers locate it either (*a*) at Trispyrgi, crowned by the chapel of St. George at the southeast corner of the Bay, as Ulrichs and Frazer, or (*b*) on a conspicuous rocky elevation about one and one fourth miles north of St. George and 1400 yards from the sea, near the chapel of the Savior, as Milchhoefer and Judeich.

(2) Where Thucydides and Pausanias refer to the three harbors of the Piraeus, they always mean (*a*) the greater harbor, (*b*) the oval basin southwest of the hill of Munychia, now known as the harbor of Zea or Pashalimani, and (*c*) the small harbor, southeast of Munychia and west of the Bay, the old harbor of Phalerum now known as Munychia or Fanari.

(3) Cape Colias was what is now known as the promontory of St. George, at the southeast corner of the Bay, frequently falsely called the site of Old Phalerum.

(4) The so-called Third Long Wall of Athens, usually called the Phaleric Wall, has never existed except in the fancy of certain topographers, notably Wachsmuth, Curtius, Frazer, and Judeich. In this I agree with Leake, Angelopoulos, and Gardner.

For a complete discussion of these views and of the passages in ancient authors involved, see my paper, "The Site of Ancient Phalerum," *The George Washington University Bulletin*, Vol. III, no. iii, pp. 82-90, October, 1904.

A. *History*. — Three periods are to be distinguished in the history of the fortifications of Athens: (1) The period of the Acropolis fortifications, dating from prehistoric times; (2) that of a pre-Persian city wall in

addition to the Acropolis fortifications; and (3) that of the fortifications of Greater Athens, including Piræus, dating from the rebuilding of the city after the Persian Wars.

1. The fortifications of the Acropolis date from prehistoric times, but were not of any practical importance after the Persian Wars, when the Acropolis ceased to be a citadel and became the sacred precinct of Athena. The primitive wall about the hill was similar to the walls about the citadels of Mycenæ and Tiryns, and the story goes that the Athenians employed the Pelasgians to fortify the Acropolis. The wall was known as the *Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος*, or *Πελαργικόν*, later *Πελασγικόν*. It followed the natural contours of the rock, and its course may be traced on plans of the Acropolis, where remains are indicated on the south, east, and west sides. At the west end was a kind of terraced outwork, known as the *Enneapylon*, or the Nine Gates, to which the name Pelargikon was given *par excellence*. The exact arrangement of the gates is not known, but they were doubtless set within one another in a series of bastions or terraces.

The Pelargikon doubtless existed intact up to the sixth century B.C. The Pisistratidæ made use of the Acropolis with its fortifications as their citadel. After their occupation the Pelargikon was held to be under a curse and was no longer used for profane purposes. It was either demolished by the Persians or was removed for the embellishment of the Acropolis as a sacred precinct. It was never restored, but considerable portions of the outworks doubtless survived to imperial times.

2. The Pelargikon was for a long time the only fortification of Athens. It is probable that in the seventh century, certainly not later than the time of Solon, the enlarged city was surrounded with a wall. The course and extent of this wall cannot be determined in detail, as actual remains fail us, but we can in general identify its course. We infer that it was of narrower compass than the Themistoclean Wall (Thuc. 1, 93), that the older city developed round the Acropolis (Herod. 7, 140), and that the rivers, the Ilissus and the Eridanus, were recognized as boundaries to the south and north respectively (Plat. Critias, p. 112 A). An important factor for the course of the earlier wall is the gate of Hadrian with its inscriptions, which distinguish "the city of Theseus" from "the city of Hadrian." A similar landmark to the north is seen by some topographers in the gate mentioned by Paus. 1, 15, 1, at the north entrance of the market. (Judeich.)

Assuming these two points as fixed, on the northeast and southwest sides, we can conjecture the course of the wall from the configuration of

the land. Thus the wall probably ran from where the arch of Hadrian was built later, westward to the Philopappus hill, thence northwest over the Pnyx to the Hill of the Nymphs, thence over Market hill to the northwest gate. From there it ran in semicircular fashion, first eastward, then southeast, then southwest, to the Arch of Hadrian. Thus could originate very well the oracle's observation regarding the wheel-formed city, with the Acropolis as the hub. The entire course was about three miles. Others regard the Dipylum as the site of the northwest gate of the early city wall as well as of the later, basing their argument on Thucydides's (6, 57) narrative of the assassination of Hipparchus. Hipprias is superintending the arrangements for the Panathenaic festival outside in the Ceramicus (ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμείῳ καλουμένῳ). "The conspirators, fearing they have been betrayed, rush within the gates (ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν) and slay Hipparchus near the Leocorium. This would make the circuit somewhat greater. Concerning the material and the style of building we can only conjecture, but probably they were much the same as in the later wall. This wall was probably neglected in the sixth and early part of the fifth centuries, as it seems to have afforded no protection whatever against the Persians. After the Persian War very little of it was left standing. Cf. Thuc. 1, 89, 3, τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τεῖχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέει εἰστήκει κτλ.

3. The first strong fortification of Athens falls in the time when the enthusiasm of the Athenians was stirred over the victories of Salamis and Plataea, and is coincident with the expansion of the city which began soon after those battles. We have an account of the rebuilding in Thuc. 1, 93: τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτειχίζοντο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ· καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ὅτι κατὰ σπονδὴν ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ συνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοὶ ποτε προσέφερον. πολλοὶ τε στήλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῆ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ὁμοίως κινούντες ἠπέριγοντο. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν. ὑπήρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐμνητὸν Ἀθηναῖος ἦρξε· καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τεύχους ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κτλ.

The date of Themistocles's archonship during which he induced the Athenians to begin the fortification of the Piraeus was 493-492 B.C. It is likely, however, that the work was not prosecuted in earnest until after the Persian Wars, when the city walls were being built and brought to a finish. The work of fortification was inaugurated under Themistocles,

continued under Cimon, and completed under Pericles. Similarly the north wall of the Acropolis dates from the time of Themistocles. The south and east walls were built by Cimon out of the spoils won by him from the Persians at the battle of the Eurymedon in 468 B.C.

The construction of the Long Walls was a later work. According to Thuc. 1, 107, the Athenians began to build the Long Walls to the sea, namely the wall to Phalerum and the wall to Piraeus, about 460 B.C. The walls were completed within four years, apparently soon after the battle of Oenophyta in 456 B.C. (Thuc. 1, 108; Plut. Cimon, 13). Those who hold to the construction of a Middle Wall, usually known as the South Piraeic Wall, date its construction in 445 B.C. on the untrustworthy evidence of Andocides (3, 7) and Aeschines (2, 174). For a full discussion of the so-called Third Long Wall, see the paper already mentioned, pp. 88-90. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the fortifications were still intact (Thuc. 2, 13). The Piraeus fortifications and the Long Walls were demolished by the Lacedaemonians after the defeat at Aegospotami in 404 B.C. (Plut. Lysander, 14; Diod. 13, 107; 14, 85). The walls of Athens were apparently spared.

During 394-392 B.C. the Piraeus fortifications and the Long Walls were restored, chiefly under Conon (Xen. Hell. 4, 8, 9-10, Diod. 14, 85). The Long Walls may have been destroyed again in 256 B.C. by Antigonus when he withdrew his garrison from Athens (Paus. 3, 6, 6): at any rate they were half in ruins in 200 B.C. when Philip V of Macedon attacked Athens (Livy, 31, 26). During this time the city wall had undergone extensive improvements after the battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C. (Aeschin. 3, 27, 31; Liban. ad Dem. 30, 221, 1), and had been restored, according to inscriptions, under Habron, the son of Lyeurgus, in 307/306 B.C. (C.I.A. II, 167), and under Euryclides and Micion (C.I.A. II, 379). The final ruin occurred when Sulla in 87-86 B.C. assailed Athens. He razed the fortifications of the Piraeus and burnt the arsenal and the docks: he utilized what was left of the Long Walls in building the mound against the city close to the Dipylum; and he destroyed the city wall from the Dipylum to the Piraeus gate (Plut. Sulla, 14; Appian, Mithrid. 41; Strabo, 9, p. 396). Probably from that time the Piraeus fortifications and the Long Walls were a memory only. The extension of the city circuit occurred under the Emperor Hadrian. This enlargement of the city to the south and southeast is confirmed by the inscription on the gate of Hadrian, and by actual remains of the wall, which enable us to trace its course. The extension measured nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles. With the Hadrian Wall, the story of the ancient

fortifications is completed. Not to antiquity but to the later Middle Ages belongs what has been usually known as the "Valerian Wall," which connected the northern part of the city with the Acropolis (see W. Vischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 385 Anm. 1, and Judeich, *Topographie*, 103 and 154).

B. *Description*.—The fortifications of Greater Athens naturally fall into three sections, which we shall treat in the following order: (1) The Extent and Course of the City Wall; (2) Fortifications of the Piræus and its Harbors; (3) The Construction of the Long Walls uniting the city with its port.

1. To determine the line of the wall, we must rely partly on the literary evidence, partly on the study of the configuration of the land and of extant remains. We naturally begin at the Dipylum, where substantial remains of the Themistoclean wall, with later additions, were excavated in 1872–1874. The Dipylum was a double gate, that is, there was an outer and an inner entrance, separated by an inclosed court about 133 feet long; and each of these entrances consists of two gates, each about 11 feet wide, hinging on a pillar in the middle. The outer gate stands about 25 feet back from the outer surface of the city wall, and the approach to it is flanked by towers on both sides. So strong a defense was doubtless constructed because the low land about this gate made it the most vulnerable spot of the city. Here Philip V of Macedon in 200 B.C. made his unsuccessful assault (*Livy*, 31, 24); with a body of cavalry Philip forced his way through the outer gate into the court, where the missiles of the enemy poured down upon him, and he had great difficulty in extricating himself; beside this gate Sulla built the mound by which he captured the city (*Plut. Sulla*, 14).

The same excavations brought to light what was taken to be another gate, southwest of the Dipylum at a distance of 60 yards. Some have named it the Sacred Gate, but Dörpfeld believes it was merely an opening in the wall for the passage of the Eridanus, and that the term "Sacred Gate" is merely another name for the Dipylum, as through it the sacred processions passed on their way to Eleusis. (*A. M.* XIII, 1888, p. 214; XIV, 1889, pp. 414 f.)

Between the Dipylum and the so-called Sacred Gate there are considerable remains of the old city walls, consisting of an inner wall of polygonal limestone blocks nearly 8 feet thick, and an outer wall, built at a later time to strengthen the inner, about 14 feet thick, composed of an outer and inner facing of conglomerate blocks with the space between filled with earth. Beyond the Sacred Gate to the southwest both walls are

prolonged for about 40 yards to the rocky slope of the Athanasius hill, where they come to an end. Here the inner wall, mostly of limestone, reaches at times the height of 13 feet. The outer wall is about 30 feet distant from the inner; it consists of quadrangular blocks of conglomerate, and is preserved in part to a height of sixteen courses. Northeast of the Dipylum the inner and the outer wall may be traced for about 55 and 40 yards respectively; the inner wall is well preserved, but the outer is in a ruinous condition. Of these walls and gates, the lower polygonal part of the inner wall dates from Themistocles's fortifications. The Dipylum was probably built by Pericles. The outer wall probably dates from the Macedonian period.

From the Athanasius hill, the course of the wall up to the Hill of the Nymphs is clearly marked. Thence it ran in a southeasterly direction, following the configuration of the land, over the Hill of the Nymphs, along the ridge of the Pnyx to the Hill of the Muses. Beyond this point we can conjecture its course partly from certain landmarks, partly from literary evidence. Thus the wall continued eastward from the summit of the Hill of the Muses, and probably included the terrace of the Olympieum, the southeast corner of which seems to have formed the angle whence the wall turned northward (see Strabo, 9, 404, and Judeich l.c.). Its course northward probably extended in the direction of the present English Church, thence northwestward on the line of the present Stadion Street as far as the Police Court on the *Ὁδὸς Νομισματοκοπείου*, where there was unmistakable evidence of its presence. Thence, making a turn, it proceeded in a southwesterly direction in a line parallel with the Piræus Street, until it met the double wall extending northeast from the Dipylum.

2. In spite of the ruin effected by time and the hand of man, enough has been preserved to enable one to trace the line of fortification-wall almost entirely round the peninsula of Piræus. The sea-wall skirts the shore at a distance of about 20 to 40 yards. It is from 9 to 12 feet thick and consists of carefully cut blocks of native limestone without mortar; in some parts the wall is still standing to a height of 9 feet, and is flanked by towers at intervals of 55 to 66 yards.

The mouths of the harbors were contracted by moles which ran out to meet each other and left only a narrow entrance between their extremities. Thus the harbor of Cantharus, which has a mouth 336 yards wide, was protected by moles each 141 yards in length, narrowing the entrance to about 51 yards. As Zea consisted of a circular basin extending inland with a mouth only about 108 yards broad, it needed less elaborate fortifications. Walls ran along the channel leading to the basin on each side.

and at the inner end of the channel on either side were towers of solid masonry built out into the water. Munychia, being semi-elliptical in shape, was originally altogether too accessible, and required extensive constructions to convert it into a harbor that was safe in time of war. Its moles have been regarded as the most magnificent specimen of ancient Greek fortification that has survived. The southern mole built on a reef is about 206 yards long; the northern mole, resting partly on a spit of land, partly in the sea, is about 31 feet wide and 184 yards long. The entrance to the harbor, between towers terminating each mole, was 40 yards in width. In times of danger heavy chains, coated with tar, were stretched across the entrances of the harbors from tower to tower. The wall running round the peninsula joined the harbor fortifications:

On the landward side, the wall started from the northeast corner of the Munychia harbor, ran along the coast a short distance northward, ascended the hill and followed the plateau first westward and then northward, connected with the Long Walls, then turned westward across a bight of the harbor, and then followed the rocky promontory of Eetionia southwestward to the sea. Four gates can be distinguished on the landward side, the principal one being just outside the northern Long Wall.

The hill of Munychia was from early times the acropolis of Piraeus. In the latter part of the sixth century a strong fortress was here constructed by the tyrant Hippias (*Arist. Resp. Ath.* 38). After the Spartan occupation it was seized by Thrasybulus and his band of patriots who restored the democracy. Demetrius Poliorcetes (294 B.C.) demolished the Munychian fortress, and built a fortress on the Museum hill at Athens.

3. Though but scant traces of the Long Walls can now be detected, remains were visible to seventeenth and eighteenth century travelers. In 1676 Wheeler noticed the foundations in many places (*Journey*, p. 420). A century later Stuart (*Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen*, II, 188) saw remains of the walls 12 feet thick, with square towers at intervals. Leake (*I*, 295 ff.) traced the foundations of the northern Long Wall for a mile and a half, beginning half a mile from the head of the great harbor, and running in the direction of the entrance to the Acropolis. These foundations, 12 feet thick, consisted of large quadrangular blocks of stone. The southern Long Wall was not so easily traceable, except at its junction with the wall about Munychia, and for half a mile thence toward Athens. See Leake, *I*, 417 ff. The modern highroad from Athens to Piraeus, constructed in 1835, is largely laid on the foundations of the northern Long Wall (*Wachsmuth*, II, 188).



The southern Long Wall joined the landward Piræus Wall directly north of the summit of the Munychia hill, and west of the Bay of Phalerum; the northern, where the Piræus Wall turned westward, toward the north of the harbor. Starting northeastward, they first converged, then ran parallel to each other at a distance of 550 feet until they approached Athens, when they again diverged. "The northern wall seems to have joined the ring-wall of Athens on the west side of the Nymphæum hill near the modern Observatory; while the southern wall joined the city wall on the summit of the Museum hill. At the point where the Long Walls began to diverge as they approached Athens, they were joined by a cross-wall in which there was a gate."

Thucydides's estimate (2, 13) of the extent of the fortifications of Greater Athens is as follows: Circuit of city (exclusive of space between Long Walls), 43 stades; Piræus Wall, 40 stades; Phaleric Wall, 35 stades; circuit of Piræus peninsula, 60 stades, of which 30 were guarded. Gardner (p. 71) shows that, as judged by extant remains and geographic conditions, the circuit of the city wall as stated by Thucydides is far too great; the length of both the Long Walls is too short; the figures given for the circuit of Piræus is about correct. He says the discrepancy may be adjusted by taking the figure for the city walls to include the portions of the Long Walls down to where they became parallel, and where a cross-wall is marked in Curtius's map. Roughly measured, the circuit of the old city wall was 28 stades; the additional piece thus added is about 15 stades, making a total of 43 stades. This enables the two Long Walls to diverge more widely at the Piræus so that about half the wall might be left undefended, as Thucydides states.

By the completion of the Long Walls the city of Athens and its port were converted, as the orator Aristides says (13, vol. 1, 305, ed. Dindorf) into one vast fortress a day's journey in circumference. Taking Thucydides's figures the total was 178 stades or nearly 20 miles.

## EXCURSUS II. THE AGORA OF ATHENS

The determination of the site of the ancient Agora of Athens and its monuments is the turning-point of almost the whole study of Athenian topography. Yet it is this section of the city which presents the most difficult problems to the archaeologist, and about which there exists the most uncertainty. This is due to a number of causes. Of all parts of the city, the market-place and its neighborhood have been most sensitive to changes

of population, most subject to growth and decay, and thus its appearance has changed with every important epoch of Athenian history — Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Venetian, Frank, and Turkish. Of the many buildings in and about the Agora of the fifth century only one remains, an evidence of the destruction and decay that have here taken place. Again, with the passing centuries the lie of the land has changed, and relief-maps of Athens of the fifth century and of the twentieth century would show decided differences of level. Furthermore, while literary references to the market-place are numerous, they tell us of its life, of its frequenters and their occupations, but give scant information as to its site, its extent, and the relative location of its buildings and monuments. Even Pausanias's hints as to direction are indefinite and obscure, and throw little light on many questions of the utmost importance to modern scholars.

Finally, archaeologists and topographers differ among themselves in their interpretation of the testimony of antiquity. Basing their conclusions upon the description of the one authority, Pausanias, they have so differed in their interpretations of the same statements that we have eight or more ground-plans meant to show the relative location of the various buildings.

The topography of the Agora is accordingly uncertain, and it will require further excavations to put it on a basis of sound knowledge. In the meantime we shall follow the lead of Dr. Dörpfeld.

A. *Historical Development of the Agora.* — The Agora of Athens, like the Roman Forum, was at all periods the centre of the political and commercial life of the city. There are likewise many analogies in the historical and topographical development of the Agora and the Forum.

When the Greeks first established communities they were in danger of robbers by land and of pirates by sea. Hence they built their settlements upon a rock which they fortified against the attacks of their enemies.

Thus originated the citadels, or *Ἀκροπόλεις*, of primitive Greece, of which the Acropolis of Athens became the most celebrated. The low ground nearest to the citadel became the place of parley and of barter with neighboring tribes. And this constituted the primitive *Ἀγορά*, a term first used to denote a gathering of the people at the call of the king or chief, then the place of such gatherings, and later the general place of meeting for commercial and political purposes.

Thucydides (2, 15) says that before the centralization under Theseus the Acropolis constituted the primitive city, together with the ground lying under it, especially to the south. In proof of this statement he cites the location of a number of ancient sanctuaries, and of the spring which





furnished water for the early inhabitants. From this it seems clear that the hollow ground to the southwest of the Acropolis, bounded by the Areopagus, Pnyx, and Museum hills, was the site of the original Agora. The Roman Forum presents a striking analogy. The hollow ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, with its spring of Juturna and its primitive cults, there became the place of parley and of barter, the embryo centre of the later political and commercial life of Rome.

Thus the Agora, at first a place of truce-making and of buying and selling, became with the growth of the city the place for law courts, for shrines of the gods, for business centres—for in ancient times law and religion and commerce went hand in hand. But as society became more highly organized, the Agora for business would gradually separate from the Agora of politics and religion, and thus the territory covered by the various activities of the market-place would gradually spread.

B. *Course and Extent of the Agora.*—We can trace in general terms the course of the Athenian Agora. The centre of the growing city gradually shifted northward and westward. Hence, as law and politics and business demanded greater accommodations, the Areopagus became the centre round which the market spread, chiefly round its western slope, until the district lying north and northwest of it was entirely devoted to public buildings. The political Agora naturally kept as much as possible to its old haunts, while the business Agora spread in a northwesterly direction, toward the principal gate of the city—the Dipylum.

Hence the Agora is not to be regarded as a rectangular space carefully laid off, as in the plans of Curtius and of others, but rather as a long rambling quarter of the town, approached by the avenue from the Dipylum, with the Colonus Agoraeus as its northwest limit; east of this hill and north of the Areopagus was its principal section, but it stretched round the western slope of the Areopagus and embraced the older sites between the Areopagus and the Pnyx and extending toward the Acropolis.

C. *Site of Buildings and Monuments mentioned by Pausanias.*—We shall now endeavor to locate the buildings and monuments mentioned by Pausanias.

Pausanias entered Athens at the Dipylum, and proceeded along the Dromos, a broad avenue extending in a southeasterly direction, until he entered the Ceramicus at the foot of the Colonus Agoraeus. He then mentions as the first building on the right-hand side the Royal Colonnade, and in its immediate neighborhood the Colonnade of Zeus the Deliverer and the temple of Apollo the Paternal. These three buildings were doubtless in a line just beneath the Colonus hill, as indicated on the plan. (See Fig. 1, facing p. 236.)

The next group, which Pausanias expressly says were near each other,—the Metroum or sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, the Buleuterium or Council House of the 500, and the Tholos or Rotunda,—appear to have stood at the southern end of the market-place, just at the northern foot of the slope of the Areopagus, for reasons given in the Notes. Above this group of buildings on the northern slope of the Areopagus stood the statues of the Eponymi. Pausanias now follows the main thoroughfare round the western slope of the Areopagus, with these buildings to his left, while opposite, on his right, in a conspicuous spot known as the “orchestra,” were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

The next group—the Odeum, the fountain Enneacrunus, the temples of Demeter, Persephone, and Triptolemus or the Eleusinium, and the temple of Eucleia—are discussed in Excursus III. As is there argued (p. 251), the Enneacrunus is at the foot of the Pnyx hill, the Odeum near it on the traveler’s right, the temples of the Eleusinian deities to the south of the Areopagus, and the temple of Eucleia a little farther on.

After visiting the Eucleia shrine, Pausanias turns directly back and gives us a clew to his movements by stating that the monuments he next visits are above the Ceramicus and the Royal Colonnade. These are the temple of Hephaestus, and the shrine of Aphrodite Urania located on the Colonus hill, as shown in Excursus IV, the former being identical with the so-called Theseum.

After describing these temples to the west of the Agora, Pausanias once more enters the market-place and describes three objects whose site has aroused considerable discussion—the Painted Colonnade, the Hermes Agoraeus, and a market-gate with a trophy upon it.

The exact site of the three depends upon (1) the site of the buildings earlier mentioned, (2) the point at which Pausanias again entered the market-place, and (3) whether we assume that the Agora was single in its form or double, consisting of a business and a political section.

Another factor to be taken into consideration is one not mentioned by Pausanias, namely a row of Hermae noted in Harpocration s.v. Ἑρμαῖ: ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλείως στοᾶς εἰσιν οἱ Ἑρμαῖ καλούμενοι. In what direction, then, did these Hermae run? Other important passages for the solution of this important topographical question are Xen. Hipparch. 3, 2, where the Hermae are mentioned as the starting and concluding point for the sacred processions; Schol. Aristophanes, Eq. 297, which says that the Hermes Agoraeus stood ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορῇ; and Lucian Juppr. Trag. 33, which locates the Hermes as ὁ ἀγοραῖος ὁ παρὰ τὴν ποικίλην.

The Harpocraton passage has been variously interpreted, and the theories as to the site of the Painted Colonnade, and in fact as to the form of the market-place, have turned largely on the direction given the row of Hermae.

1. Some take it to mean that the row of Hermae connected the Royal with the Painted Colonnade. So Curtius (*Att. Stud.* II, 25, *Stadtgesch.* p. 170), who locates the latter on the east side of the market, just below the Colonnade of Attalus. The market-gate he locates between the Painted and the Attalus Colonnades, with the Hermes Agoraeus just before it.

2. Many topographers, however, set the Painted Colonnade on the west border of the market, north of the Royal Colonnade, the gate between the two halls, with the Agoraeus close by, and the row of Hermae extending across the market from the two colonnades. See Wachsmuth, I, 201 ff., Lange, *Haus und Halle*, p. 64, Bursian, *De Foro*, p. 12.

3. Lolling (p. 314) and Miss Harrison (p. 126) locate the Painted Colonnade on the northern boundary of the market; the former has the Hermae running from the market-gate right and left to the two Colonnades; Miss Harrison, however, has it meet at its right corner the north side of the Colonnade of Attalus, while west of this is the gate with the Hermes Agoraeus, but she has the Hermae extending in two rows from the northwest corner of the market, one eastward to the Painted Colonnade, the other southward to the Royal Colonnade.

Thus there is considerable doubt as to the site of this celebrated Colonnade. The choice seems to lie between the north side and the southern half of the east side, just below the Colonnade of Attalus. The advantage of the latter hypothesis is that it permits the row of Hermae to run from west to east, dividing the market into a political and a commercial section, the Colonnade of Attalus being at the southeast corner of the latter. This would account for Pausanias's failure to mention this Colonnade, and this view is perhaps open to fewest objections. But the whole question is problematical, and can only be settled, if at all, by excavations.

D. *Sites in the Neighborhood of the Agora, mentioned by Pausanias.*—Pausanias now fairly leaves the Agora, and passes to the description of two buildings not far distant to the east—the gymnasium of Ptolemy and the sanctuary of Theseus. All we know as to their site from Pausanias is that they were near each other and “not far from the Agora.” Further on he comes to the Anaceum or sanctuary of the Dioscouri, while near at hand just above the Anaceum lay the precinct of Aglaurus, the site of which can be approximately determined, and which serves as a fixed point for the

determination of all the monuments mentioned as in its vicinity. About 65 yards west of the northern porch of the Erechtheum is the staircase used by the Arrephori in descending to the precinct of Aglaurus on the northern slope of the Acropolis. Hence the monuments previously mentioned were at intervals north of the Acropolis and east of the Agora. Hard by was the Prytaneum, the centre and hearth of the state. As Pausanias is moving regularly eastward, it probably lay a little to the east of the Aglaurus precinct, and it doubtless stood somewhat high on the Acropolis slope, since when Pausanias leaves it to go to the Serapeum he speaks of descending to the lower parts of the city.

E. *Sites and Monuments of the Agora, not mentioned by Pausanias.* — It is natural that Pausanias should not mention every building and statue in the region of the Agora, especially as he leaves the commercial market altogether out of consideration. We append therefore a brief list of objects known from other topographical and literary sources as being in or near the Agora at the time of his visit :

i. The Colonnade of Attalus, to the east of the market, of which extensive remains still exist.

ii. The Colonnade of Hadrian, east of the Attalus Colonnade and north of the Acropolis—the northern side of the western façade of which is still in good condition, consisting of a wall before which stand a row of detached Corinthian columns, originally eighteen in number.

iii. A Propylaeum of four columns, known as the Propylaeum of Athena Archegetis, regarded as the entrance to a Roman market-place. The gate and broken columns of the market still stand south of the Hadrian Colonnade.

iv. The Tower of the Winds, or the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, one of the most conspicuous extant monuments of Athens, east of the Roman market-place.

v. The Altar of the Twelve Gods, erected by Pisistratus in the market-place, to which the various roads of Attica converged and from which miles were measured. Of this there are no remains and the site is uncertain.

vi. The Leocorium, in the neighborhood of which Harmodius and Aristogiton slew Hipparchus. Its site, though it cannot be definitely fixed, was certainly in the Agora.

F. *The Commercial Agora.* — The commercial market surrounded the political Agora on all sides excepting the south, as we conclude from Pausanias's description, from certain approximately determined limits of the market, and from the site of the Colonnade of Attalus. More accurate boundaries cannot be determined. We must regard the whole commercial



market, in the manner of oriental bazaars, as a quarter of the city intersected by narrow streets, lined with stalls or booths. At least in classical times it had this form, and preserved it in large measure in Hellenistic and Roman times. The sections for shops were called *κύκλοι* (Harpoer., Hesych., s.v. *κύκλος*, Suid. s.v. *κύκλοι*, Schol. Ar. Eq. 137, Poll. 10, 18, 82, etc.), or *σκηναί* (Harpoer., Suid., s.v. *σκηνίτης*, Isoc. 19, 33, Dem. 18, 169, 51, 7, etc.), or *κλίται* (Theophr. Char. 23, 8). In them stood the counters (*τράπεζαι*, Plat. Apol. p. 17 c, Hipp. Min. p. 368 b, Theophr. Char. 9, 4), with the wares of the merchants. The market-halls came relatively late, chiefly after the middle of the fourth century (Xen. de Vect. 3, 13), and previously to that time were used only for flour and grain.

As in the bazaar of to-day, only certain goods were sold in certain *κύκλοι*, and the sections took the name of the goods offered for sale in them. Unfortunately, we cannot determine the exact location of any of them, except, perhaps of the metal and iron market (*τὰ χαλκᾶ*, Bekk. Anecd. 1, 316, 23, *ὁ σίδηρος* Xen. Hell. 3, 3, 7), on the Market hill, and the rag market. *Κερκώπων ἀγορά*, near the Heliaea, apparently to the southeast of the political Agora (Hesych. s.v. *Κερκώπων ἀγορά*).

The names of the *κύκλοι* preserved to us are very numerous. This is especially true of provisions of all sorts. The general name for the provision market was probably *τὸ ὄψον* (Aeschin. 1, 65 Schol.). Provisions were sold in separate *κύκλοι*, as e.g. meats (*τὰ κρέα*, cf. Theophr. Char. 9, 4, 22, 7, Poll. 7, 25), birds (*οἱ ὄρνιθες*, Dem. 19, 245, Ar. Av. 13 and Schol.), and fish (*οἱ ἰχθύες*, Alciphr. Ep. 1, 3, 2). In the great fish market (*ἰχθυόπωλις* sc. *ἀγορά*, Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 849 d), single groups were distinguished, as that of salt fish (*ταριχόπωλις*, Athen. 3, p. 120 a, Theophr. Char. 6, 9, 4, 15), and that for cheap sea fish (*αἱ μεμβράδες*, Ar. Vesp. 493, etc.).

In the vegetable market (*τὰ λάχανα*, Ar. Lys. 557, etc.), were separate stalls for garlic (*τὰ σκόροδα*, Schol. Ar. Ran. 1068), onions (*τὰ κρόμυνα*, Eustath. Od. θ, 260), etc. We might name also the *κύκλοι* for fresh cheese (*χλωρὸς τυρὸς*, Lys. 23, 6), perfumeries (*τὰ ἀρώματα*, Schol. Ar. Pac. 1158), pottery (*αἱ χύτραι*, Ar. Lys. 557), clothing (*ἱματιόπωλις* or *σπιροίπωλις ἀγορά*, Poll. 7, 78), etc. An especial place was assigned to the bankers (*αἱ τράπεζαι*, Theophr. Char. 5). There was, finally, also a horse market (*οἱ ἵπποι*, Theophr. Char. 23, 7) and a slave market (*τὰ ἀνδράποδα*, Poll. 7, 11, 10, 19).

The great territory covered by the commercial market, apart from the circles and rows of booths, was itself intersected by streets, dwellings, and public buildings. Most prominent of all were the streets leading to the

Thriasian gate and the great Dromos leading to the Dipylum. The buildings along this are known especially from Pausanias's description (1, 2, 4-6). Traces of single buildings mentioned by him are found, as for instance of the Pompeium, near the gate, and of the monument of Ebulides. Another fixed point is the northeast corner of the Market hill. The northern boundary is uncertain. From the Dipylum to the Market, colonnades lined the Dromos, before which were bronze statues of eminent men and women (Paus. 1, 2, 4, cf. Himerius, 3, 12). They served as places of barter and trade, which alternated with sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias. Of the places on the southern side of the Dromos we hear nothing from Pausanias, but near the end of the Dromos we may with certainty set the Long Colonnade (*Μακρὰ Στοά*). This was doubtless the same as the *Stoa Aphetopolis*, the great grain-hall of Athens. On the Market hill directly behind the Long Colonnade was the Hephaestum. On the southwest corner of the hill was located the Eurysaceum (C.I.A. IV, 2, 597 *d* 22), in which the son of Salaminian Ajax was honored.

What we know of the territory north and east of the Dromos all arranges itself apparently along the old street extending from the Thriasian gate.

### EXCURSUS III. THE ENNEACRUNUS AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD

There is great truth in Leake's statement (Topography, p. 45) that "the fountain Enneacrunus is the most important point in Athens for the elucidation of the topography of Pausanias." The discussion that has centred about the site of this fountain, mentioned by Pausanias in 1, 14, 1, has involved many other important monuments and has occasioned so much debate that the so-called "Enneacrunus Episode" has called forth a vast amount of literature and a countless number of divergent views from classical scholars and archaeologists.

Fortunately, the actual discovery of the original Callirrhoe and the investigation into the system of water-works installed by Pisistratus — the result of Dr. Dörpfeld's scientific work — have made possible the final solution of the problem and have caused many other difficulties in Athenian topography to disappear. With the greater light we now possess it seems surprising how far afield the early topographers were. Yet they did not have the benefit of those excavations which have made pre-Persian Athens almost as well known to us as the Athens of the Periclean age.

The questions involved in the Enneacrunus investigation have been so thoroughly discussed by Miss Harrison (who presents Dr. Dörpfeld's views) in her latest work, *Primitive Athens as Described by Thucydides*, Cambridge, 1906, that it will be necessary in this Excursus merely to state the points at issue and the results attained, referring the reader to this work for the arguments. As I agree with Dr. Dörpfeld and Miss Harrison in all particulars, with one important exception, my statement is largely a summary of their views.

The problem that vexed the earlier topographers was this: The place in the text devoted to Pausanias's description of the fountain Enneacrunus, earlier called Callirrhoe, and the adjacent buildings, naturally demands that the fountain and these monuments should be in close proximity to the objects in the market-place described in adjoining chapters. Yet tradition and classical authors locate a fountain Callirrhoe, called at times Enneacrunus, on the banks of the Ilissus, and Thucydides (1, 15) speaks of a sanctuary of Olympian Zeus (and other shrines) as being in its neighborhood — naturally identified with the celebrated Olympieum and adjacent sanctuaries.

The explanations that have been given may be classified as follows: 1. Leake, Curtius, and others, relying chiefly on Thucydides 1, 15, hold that the Enneacrunus was certainly in the valley of the Ilissus, and believe that the fountain and the other buildings mentioned as adjacent to it are for some reason inserted here out of the topographical order. Various theories are propounded to justify the break in the narrative. 2. Wachsmuth, Frazer, and others who agree with Leake as to the position of the Enneacrunus, but who cannot accept so great a deviation from the topographical order in Pausanias's description, think that Pausanias must have seen or been shown some other spring close to the end of the Agora, which he mistook for Enneacrunus. 3. Dr. Dörpfeld, on the contrary, both insists on the topographical order, and takes the testimonies of Thucydides and Pausanias as evidence of the presence of the fountain called Enneacrunus within the limits of the Agora, adjacent to the Pnyx hill. Proving his faith by his works, he made excavations to find it, and in so doing he has not only discovered what he believes to be the fountain Callirrhoe-Enneacrunus, but has also demonstrated the ancient system of water-works installed by Pisistratus.

The difficulties involved have been removed by showing that the nature of the primitive city required the fountain to be not far from the Acropolis; that the statements of Thucydides and Pausanias are entirely in accord:

that there were really two fountains named Callirrhoe, one of which—that in the market-place—changed its name, with its enlarged functions, to Enneacrunus; that there was a duplication of certain sanctuaries about the Acropolis and adjacent to the Ilissus; and finally that excavations have laid bare and explained the Pisistratean water-system and proved the accuracy of Pausanias.

In this Excursus it will suffice to notice, first, the statements of ancient writers bearing on Enneacrunus; second, the probable sites of adjacent shrines; third, the results of excavations.

#### A. ANCIENT WRITERS ON ENNEACRUNUS

1. The famous passage in Thucydides, 2, 15, 3-6,<sup>1</sup> is to this effect:

Before the synoikismos under Theseus, "what is now the Acropolis was the *polis*, together with what is below it, especially towards the south" (τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον), the latter phrase being added evidently as a detail or afterthought. Then follow many reasons in proof of this statement. *τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερά ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἔστι*, "The sanctuaries are on the Acropolis itself, those of other deities as well (as of the Goddess)." Then proceeding: *καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἴδρυνται τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν λίμναις Διονύσου, κτλ.* "And the sanctuaries outside are situated toward this part of the city more than elsewhere, as that of Zeus Olympius, and the Pythium, and that of Ge, and that of Dionysus in the Marshes, etc." The usual interpretation, making *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως* refer exclusively to *πρὸς νότον* above, is obviously incorrect. Thucydides is arguing that the ancient city was limited to a certain portion of the later city, namely the Acropolis and its slopes especially southwards, and proves it by naming certain primitive shrines in or near this section. "Furthermore," he proceeds, "other ancient sanctuaries are situated here" (*ἴδρυνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα*). Then follows the statement about the Enneacrunus: *καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὔτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακροῖν φησὶ καλουμένην, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομισμένην, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστον ἄξιμ' ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι*, — "And the spring which is now called Enneacrunus, from

<sup>1</sup> On the interpretation of this passage, see A. W. Verrall, *Class. Rev.* xiv (1900), 271 ff.; Mitchell Carroll *ibid.* xix (1905), 325 ff.; Judeich, *Topographie*, 51-56 and n. 4; Miss Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, 7 ff.; Capps, *Class. Philol.* ii (1907), 25 ff.

the form given to it by the tyrants, but which formerly, when the wells were visible, was named Callirrhoe — this spring, being near [i.e. to the Acropolis district], they used for the most important purposes, and even now it is still the custom derived from the ancient (habit) to use the water before weddings and for other sacred purposes." The concluding sentence adds an argument from the local use of language: *καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτη κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις*. "And furthermore the Acropolis is still to this day called by the Athenians, because of the ancient settlement here, the *polis*."

Thus the whole argument was merely to prove that the primitive city comprised the Acropolis together with such territory about it, especially but not entirely towards the south, as could in a loose and popular way be regarded as actually pertaining to and included in the Acropolis. Thucydides states that those ancient sanctuaries which are outside are placed towards this part of the city more than elsewhere and that the Enneacrunus is near.

It seems then, on the face of it, that a settlement stretching from the Acropolis to the Ilissus, half a mile off, would be much too large for primitive Athens. Hence this passage calls for the determination of ancient sanctuaries of Zeus Olympius, of Pythian Apollo, of Ge, and of Dionysus in the Marshes, on the slopes of the Acropolis, and of the Enneacrunus fountain near at hand.

2. Pausanias, after his account of the statues of the Tyrannicides and his mention of the Odeum, speaks thus of Enneacrunus (1, 14, 1): *πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον. οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσιν ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτων· φρέατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐστί. πηγὴ αὖ αὐτῆς κρήνης ἡ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης. ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολεμῷ κείμενα ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα*. After thus mentioning temples of Demeter and Kore, and of Triptolemus, Pausanias continues (1, 14, 1-4) in a way that suggests, though it does not assert, that these temples were in a precinct known as the Eleusinium. In section 5 Pausanias remarks, "Still farther on is a temple of Eucleia" (*ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας*). Hence the narrative of Pausanias calls for evidence as to the site of (1) the Odeum, (2) the temples of Demeter and Kore, and of Triptolemus, and (3) the temple of Eucleia — all of which were in the Enneacrunus neighborhood.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other important passages bearing on Callirrhoe are as follows:

Hdt. 6, 137: *αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι . . . φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θεγατέρας ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον . . . ὅπως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐταί, τοὺς Ηελασγοῦς κατοικημένους*

## B. SITES OF MONUMENTS IN NEIGHBORHOOD OF ENNEACRUNUS

1. *The Olympieion*.—This is one of the sanctuaries mentioned in the passage of Thucydides as being "outside" the Acropolis, but towards this part of the city (τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον κτλ.), in conjunction with the Pythium and the sanctuaries of Ge and of Dionysus in the Marshes. Cf. Paus. 1, 18, 6–8, where the great precinct of Olympian Zeus near the Ilissus is described in detail, with which also a Pythium is associated. Till recently it was inferred that this was the sanctuary Thucydides had in mind; if this is too remote we must show there is evidence for another Olympieion and another Pythium in Athens, adjacent to the Acropolis. Dörpfeld cites, as proof of such a sanctuary northwest of the Acropolis, Strabo, 9, p. 401, where we are told the Athenians watched the Harma on Mt. Cithaeron for the lightning ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ ἀστραπαίου Διὸς which is ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. There is convincing evidence of a Pythium on the Long Rocks northwest of the Acropolis, and Dörpfeld interprets this passage as referring to the Acropolis Wall. Though there are no certain remains of this Olympieion, it must have been adjacent to the Pythium, the exact site of which has been determined.

ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησῶ . . . βιᾶσθαι σφεας. This naturally refers to a spring adjacent to the primitive fortified settlement and gives the later name.

Ps-Plat. Axioch. p. 361A: ἐξιδόντι μοι ἐς Κυνόσαργες καὶ γενομένη μοι κατὰ Ἴλισσὸν . . . Κλεινίαν ὀρώ τὸν Ἀξιώχου θέοντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρρόην—a manifest reference to the spring by the Ilissus.

Etymol. Magn. s.v. Ἐννεάκρουνος: κρήνη Ἀθήνησι παρά τὸν Ἴλισσὸν ἢ πρότερον Καλλιρρόη ἔσκεν. Πολύζηλος Δημοτυνδάρῳ δὲ (Com. Att. Frgm., ed. Koek, I, p. 790, 2) "ἕξει πρὸς Ἐννεάκρουνον, εὐνδρον τόπον." This and similar statements of late date may result from a confusion of the Callirrhoe with the Enneacrunus tradition. By the time this work was compiled, the old Callirrhoe at the Pnyx had been long forgotten. Over against this set the statement of another lexicographer, Suidas, s.v. νυμφικὰ λουτρά: τὰ εἰς γάμοις ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ κρήνης λαμβανόμενοι.

Cratinus, frgm. 186, in Schol. Ar. Eq. 526: "Ἀναξ Ἀπολλων, τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν βενυμάτων καταχοῦσι Πηγαὶ δωδεκάκρουνον τὸ στόμα, Ἴλισσὸς ἐν τῇ φάρυγι. Frazer considers this certainly an allusion to the Enneacrunus, though the poet speaks of twelve instead of nine jets of water.

Hierocles Hippiatr. praef.: Ταραντίνος δὲ ἱστορεῖ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν κατασκευάζοντα Ἀθηναίους Ἐννεακρούνον πλησίον εἰσελαθῆναι ψηφίσασθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ζεύγη ἅπαντα· κτλ., discussed by Miss Harrison, pp. 154–156, who shows that Tarantinus, an author of uncertain date, tells of the Olympieion a story told by others of the Parthenon; he is not worthy of credence.

2. *The Pythium*.—The Pythium is the second sanctuary named by Thucydides (2, 15, 4). Pausanias (1, 19, 1) speaks of an image of Apollo near the great temple of Olympian Zeus (Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ἀγαλμὰ ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου) and we know there was a Pythium or sanctuary of Pythian Apollo in that quarter of Athens (see note l.c.).

But literary evidence of itself proves that there was another Pythium, naturally that referred to by Thucydides, somewhere on the Long Rocks at the northwest end of the Acropolis. Pausanias (1, 28, 4) speaks of “a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave” on the Acropolis slope, and another writer applies to it the name of Pythium (cf. Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 1, 7, where it is stated that the route followed by the ship in the Panathenaic procession was from the Ceramicus to the Eleusinium, then round the Eleusinium and past the Pelargicum to the Pythium, where the ship was moored). As Pausanias (1, 29, 1) says the ship was kept near the Areopagus, this cannot well be the Pythium on the Hissus. Cf. also Eur. Ion, 7 ff., 285 ff., where the caves of the Long Rocks are made the scene of the nuptials of Apollo and Creusa.

The actual cave of Apollo has also been found and thoroughly cleared out, and numerous votive offerings with inscriptions have come to light which make the identification certain. The Olympieum probably lay somewhat east of the Pythium, but there is no archaeological evidence to prove it. It stands or falls with the Pythium. See Miss Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, pp. 67–82, for an extended description of the Pythium.

3. *The Sanctuary of Ge*.—This is the third sanctuary cited by Thucydides (2, 15, 3). In 1, 18, 7 Pausanias mentions the temenos of Ge Olympia within the peribolus of the great Olympieum; and in 1, 22, 3 he speaks of the shrine of Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe, in describing his approach to the Propylaea along the southern slope of the Acropolis. The sanctuary of Ge was probably at the southwest corner of the Acropolis, presumably somewhere along the winding road followed by Pausanias. It is doubtless to this latter sanctuary that Thucydides refers.

4. *The Odeum* (Paus. 1, 8, 6; 1, 14, 1).—This is the first object of interest mentioned by Pausanias after leaving the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton on the northwest slope of the Areopagus. Frazer (note l.c.), Dörpfeld in *A. M.* xvii (1892), 252–260, and Judeich (*Topographic*, 312) agree in concluding that “the theatre called Odeum” (Paus. 1, 8, 6) was identical with the theatre in the Ceramicus called the Agrippicum mentioned by Philostratus (Vit. Soph. 2, 5, 4; 8, 4). Dörpfeld thinks it occupied the

site of the old market orchestra, southwest of the Areopagus and north of the Hill of the Nymphs. Cf. Tim. Lex. Plat. Ὁρχήστρα τόπος ἐπιφανῆς εἰς πανήγυρα. ἔνθα Ἀρροδίων καὶ Ἀριστογέιτος εἰκόνας. Those who place Enneacrumus and adjacent structures along the Ilissus consider this a suburban Odeum, situated in Agrae. There are no definite data as to such a site. The two other well-known Odeums are the Odeum of Pericles near the theatre (Paus. 1, 20, 4) and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus on the southern slope of the Acropolis. "Near the Odeum," says Pausanias, "is a fountain called Enneacrumus" (1, 14, 1).

5. *The Temples of Demeter and Persephone, and of Triptolemus.* — "Above the fountain," continues Pausanias, "are temples; one of them is a temple of Demeter and Kore, in the other is an image of Triptolemus" (1, 14, 1-3). He then proceeds to tell the story of Triptolemus and says he purposed to describe all the objects "in the sanctuary at Athens called the Eleusinium," but was prevented by a vision in a dream.

All who see in Enneacrumus the Callirrhoe on the Ilissus distinguish the two temples from the Eleusinium, and locate them in Agrae where the *μικρὰ μυστήρια* were celebrated (see Milchh. S. Q. xxiv). Dr. Dörpfeld and Miss Harrison, on the contrary, believe that the two temples were comprised in the Eleusinium. Judeich, p. 257, locates the temples somewhere south of the Areopagus, but asserts they were not in the Eleusinium. The site of the Eleusinium is well attested as being south of the Areopagus and west of the Acropolis. Cf. Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 13, who speaks of the Eleusinium "which was beneath the Acropolis"; Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 1, 5, who in describing the Panathenaic procession says that "the ship, starting from the Ceramicus with a thousand oars, sailed up to the Eleusinium, and, having made the circuit of it, passed the Pelargicum." The natural inference is that the two temples were comprised in the Eleusinium.

6. *Temple of Eucleia.* — "Further on" (ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω), says Pausanias, after his account of the Eleusinium, "is a temple of Eucleia" (1, 14, 5).

The goddess Eucleia, or Good Fame, is identified with Artemis Eucleia by Dr. Dörpfeld and Miss Harrison on the authority of Plutarch (Aristid. 20), who think this temple is identical with a shrine of Artemis Aristoboule dedicated by Themistocles and located "in Melite near to his own house (Plut. Them. 15, 22)." Others deny the identification and locate the temple of Eucleia on the left bank of the Ilissus. Hitzig-Bluemner (note l.c.) think the identification altogether uncertain, as in inscriptions Eucleia is joined with Eunomia (see S. Q. xxix). Judeich, pp. 355, 336, also regards



the identification as unprovable and improbable, but locates the temple somewhat distant from the Triptolemus temple, and certainly not far from that of Artemis Aristoboule.

7. *The Dionysium in Limnis*.—This is the last of the sanctuaries mentioned by Thucydides (2, 15), as being "outside" the Acropolis, but within the limits set for the primitive city.

We observe that up to this point in the discussion there have developed in different localities two Callirrhoes, two sanctuaries of Zeus, two of Apollo, two of Ge, two or more of the Eleusinian deities, two or more Odeums, and two Eucleias. Fortunately there is only one Dionysium in Limnis, and if we can determine the site of this we have the key to the whole topographical situation. True, there have been many sites assigned to it. The early topographers and the latest authority on the Dionysiac cult, Paul Foucart (*Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique*, Paris, 1905), locate it in the Dionysus precinct containing the theatre, on the southwest slope of the Acropolis. Others located it in the Ilissus neighborhood or outside the city. Dr. Dörpfeld, on the contrary, is firmly convinced that he has excavated its site and determined the authenticity of it in the territory excavated by the German school, between the Areopagus, Pnyx, and Acropolis. Miss Harrison devotes pp. 83-100 of *Primitive Athens* to proving this identification and to describing the precinct.

The precinct in question is northwest of the ancient road laid bare by Dr. Dörpfeld, just south of the western end of the Areopagus. It is triangular in shape, being bounded by three streets, and is about 600 square yards in area. It is surrounded by a limestone wall which shows several styles of construction from the Cyclopean to the quadrangular. It consists of two parts, divided by a wall with a door, the southern section being the smaller. In the southern part is a small temple; in the middle of the northern part is a table-like altar, and in the northwest corner is a wine-press. Above a considerable portion of the precinct are the foundations of a building of Roman date, which contained a large hall with two rows of columns, dividing it into a central nave and two aisles. Here was found an altar decorated with scenes from the worship of Dionysus, and the drum of a column on which is an inscription giving the statutes of a club of persons calling themselves *Iobakchoi*, and showing the name of the hall to be the *Bakcheion*. No inscriptions of an earlier date were found anywhere in the precinct, and no orchestra has come to light. The altar, the wine-press, and the small temple of very early date are taken as sufficient evidence that this is the Dionysium in Limnis.

Dr. Dörpfeld and Miss Harrison present their arguments so cogently that the reader feels impelled to accept their conclusions without hesitation; but when he reviews once more the literary evidence cited by them he finds that what applies strictly to the Dionysium in Limnis does not afford conclusive proof of this identification, any more than do the archaeological remains. If this precinct is not the Dionysium in Limnis, what is it then? This question I am not prepared to answer, but I shall summarize the arguments to prove that the Dionysium in Limnis was embraced in the Dionysiac precinct on the southwest slope of the Acropolis, referring the reader to my paper in the *Classical Review*, xix (1905), 325-328, for a fuller statement.

1. The oft-quoted passage in Thucydides mentions four sanctuaries, three of which we have seen to be on the Acropolis slopes, namely, the Olympieum to the northwest, the Pythium west of it, the sanctuary of Ge on the southwest; then follows the Dionysium in Limnis in regular order from northwest to southeast, and here it is on the southeast slope. This order suggests that Thucydides was thinking of the site of the Dionysiac theatre, and not a locality some distance away southwest of the Areopagus. Did not Thucydides add the phrase *πρὸς νότον μάλιστα*, "chiefly to the south," so as to include this site?

2. Pausanias (1, 20, 3) says: *Τοῦ Διονύσου δέ ἐστι πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν, κτλ.* The *ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια* of the Thucydides passage were celebrated *ἐν τῷ ἀρχαιοτάτῳ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀγνωτάτῳ ἐν Λίμναις* (Ps.-Dem. 59, 76), and Pausanias tells us that *τοῦ Διονύσου . . . τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν* was *πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ*. Though Pausanias does not mention the Dionysium in Limnis by name, he doubtless had the Thucydides passage in mind, and the Pseudo-Demosthenes passage serves as a connecting link to justify this interpretation.

3. I hold with M. Foucart (p. 109), in regard to the famous chorus of the *Frogs* (218 ff.),

ἦν ἀμφὶ Νυσθίων | Διὸς Διόνυσον ἐν  
 Λίμναις ἰαχῆσαμεν | ἦνίχ' ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος  
 τοῖς ἱεροῖσι χύτροισι  
 χωρεῖ κατ' ἐμὸν τέμενος λαῶν δχλος, κτλ.

that the scene of the *Frogs* is the actual theatre itself, where the play was celebrated, with the neighborhood. The word *λίμναις* probably denotes the sacred pools, round which Xanthias runs instead of crossing in a ferry boat.

The statement that the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes was opened once only in each year on the 12th of the month Anthesterion, as

given in Ps.-Demosthenes l.c., is no conclusive objection to this interpretation, as the primitive shrine was probably closed, not the whole sacred precinct which contained also the orchestra and the temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus.

### C. EXCAVATIONS

Excavations made in the bed of the Ilissus on the traditional site of Callirrhoe by the Greek Archaeological Society, in 1893, reveal artificial methods of embellishment which, Frazer and others believe, may have caused the water to issue from nine spouts in such a way as to justify the name Enneacrunus. But, as Judeich (p. 182) and Miss Harrison (p. 153) point out, these remains show conclusively that in classical times no considerable fountain could have existed there; and there are no traces of an artistic treatment and no evidence whatever that the work was of an early date.

Dr. Dörpfeld's excavations, however, have revealed the Pisistratean system of water-works and have given the unanswerable solution to the Enneacrunus problem. It is beside our purpose to describe in detail the artificial water supply of ancient Athens.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that in the Pnyx rock, as indicated on the plan facing p. 236, is the spring Callirrhoe. It has been reënforced by water from the district of the Ilissus, brought in a conduit laid by Pisistratus. In front of the ancient Callirrhoe once stood a fountain house called Enneacrunus, or Nine Spouts. Several stones have been found which belonged to this artificial fountain. That these remains belong to the Pisistratean epoch is indicated by the materials, the stamps, and the similarity of construction with other Pisistratean buildings and with the fountains of Megara and Corinth of similar date. The plan gives the general disposition of the place of the Enneacrunus, showing the spring Callirrhoe in the Pnyx rock, the large reservoir, immediately in front of it the draw-well, and to the right of the reservoir, and equally fed by it, the fountain house, Enneacrunus. In front of the fountain house is a great open space, which was at one time the heart and centre of the Agora.

*Conclusion.* — On the whole the balance of evidence seems to justify the following inferences :

1. Pausanias and Thucydides are in accord in locating the Enneacrunus in the neighborhood of the Acropolis, and Pausanias did no violence to the topographical order of his narrative.

<sup>1</sup> See especially Fr. Grüber, *Die Enneakrunos*, A.M. xxxi (1905), 1-64.

2. Of the sites mentioned by Pausanias and Thucydides in connection with Enneacrunus, there were primitive sanctuaries of Olympian Zeus, of Pythian Apollo, and of Gè, on the Acropolis slopes as well as along the Ilissus, and Thucydides doubtless referred to the former; the Odeum was doubtless in the Agora just southwest of the Areopagus; there were sanctuaries of the Eleusinian deities both west of the Acropolis, south of the Areopagus, and in Agræ across the Ilissus, but the Eleusinium was in the former locality; if Eucleia is Artemis Eucleia, her sanctuary was in the Areopagus region, but if the shrine mentioned by Pausanias was of Eucleia merely, the site is uncertain; the Dionysium in Linnis is either where Dr. Dörpfeld locates it, south of the western end of the Areopagus, or more probably it is identical with the theatre precinct where Pausanias locates the most ancient sanctuary of Dionysus.

3. The excavations of Dr. Dörpfeld and the recent investigations into the water supply of ancient Athens, together with the testimony of ancient writers, afford conclusive evidence that the site of the Enneacrunus of Pisis-tratus has been identified at the foot of the east slope of the Pnyx hill.

#### EXCURSUS IV. THE THESEUM

It has been already stated that the Royal Colonnade was doubtless situated at the eastern foot of the hill known as Colonus Agoræus, on which the Doric temple commonly known as the Theseum now stands. Now Pausanias informs us: *Ἐπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στὸν τὴν καλουμένην βασιλείων νῆος ἔστιν Ἡφαίστου* (1, 11, 6). Hence it seems evident that the temple of Hephaestus "above" the Agora and Royal Colonnade must have been on this hill. Add the testimony of Harpocration (s.v. *Κολωνέας*) that the Hephaestum and the Eurysaceum stood on the Colonus Agoræus near the Agora, and that the Eurysaceum was in the quarter Melite (s.v. *Ἐὐρυσακείων*), which we know from other sources lay to the west and southwest of the market-place.

Since the evidence is strong that the temple of Hephaestus was on the Colonus Agoræus, it raises the interesting question whether the temple still standing there, known as the Theseum, is not actually the Hephaestum.

This temple, the best-preserved architectural relic of the ancient world, has been the subject of an interesting controversy as to its identity. It has been by various writers at different times attributed respectively to Ares, Apollo, Heracles, Aphrodite, the Amazons, Theseus, and Hephaestus. But before entering upon this controversy let us briefly describe the temple.

The so-called Theseum is a peripteral hexastyle *in antis*. It stands upon a marble stylobate raised three steps from the ground, the lowest step being of Piræus limestone. The building is 104 feet long, and 45 feet wide. To front and rear are six Doric columns, and at the sides are thirteen, the corner columns being twice counted.

The columns are 19 feet in height, varying in diameter from 3 feet 5 inches at the base to 2 feet 7 inches at the top; they are accordingly somewhat more slender than those of the Parthenon. The intercolumniation is  $5\frac{1}{4}$  feet, at the corners  $4\frac{1}{8}$  feet. Above the architrave runs a Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes, encircling the whole building; only a few of these, however, are sculptured. Above the frieze is the usual cornice and pediment.

The cella, which is about 40 feet in length by 20 feet in breadth, has a fore-chamber (pronaos) at the east end and a back-chamber (opisthodomus) at the west end, formed by the prolongation of the side walls terminating in antae; at each end a pair of columns occupied the space between the antae.

Of the sixty-eight metopes only eighteen were embellished with sculptured reliefs, namely, the ten on the east front, and the four on the north and south sides respectively at the eastern end. The metopes of the east front represent the labors of Heracles. The scenes from left to right are as follows: (1) Heracles and the Nemean lion; (2) Heracles and the Lernaean hydra; (3) Heracles and the Cerynaean hind; (4) Heracles and the Erymanthian boar; (5) Heracles and the horses of Diomedes; (6) Heracles and Cerberus; (7) Heracles and Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons; (8) Heracles and Eurytion; (9) Heracles and Geryon; (10) Heracles and one of the Hesperides. The eight reliefs on the side walls, which are better preserved, celebrate the achievements of Theseus. Those on the south side, beginning from the east, are: (1) Theseus and the Minotaur; (2) Theseus and the bull of Marathon; (3) Theseus and the robber Sinis; (4) Theseus and Procrustes. Those on the north, beginning from the east, are: (1) Theseus and the robber Periphetes; (2) Theseus and the Arcadian Ceryon; (3) Theseus and Sciron; (4) Theseus and the Crommyonian sow.

There is also a sculptured frieze at each end of the cella, over the inner columns, the western frieze extending merely from anta to anta, while the eastern frieze extends beyond the antae to meet the epistyle. The west frieze is about 25 feet long; the east frieze is about 37 feet long. The subject of the former is the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths; of the latter, a battle fought in the presence of six seated deities divided into two groups of three each. The subject is uncertain.

The date of the temple and its sculptures is agreed to be about the middle of the fifth century B.C.; but whether it falls soon before, or soon after, or contemporaneous with, the Parthenon, is disputed. Dörpfeld and other architects would place it later, because of its more advanced tendencies to Ionicism in architectural details. The sculptures, furthermore, favor the later date, as for example the resemblances between the west frieze of this temple and the metopes of the Parthenon. Similarly certain Attic vase-paintings suggest the later date, as the metopes are frequently imitated on Attic vases, but never of an earlier date than 430 B.C., whereas the Parthenon dates from 447-432 B.C. It has been conjectured from the style of the metopes that the sculptures were the work of Myron or of pupils of Myron; but the names of the sculptors are not known.

Frazer thus summarizes the arguments for and against the view that this Doric temple is actually the Theseum, described by Pausanias (1, 17, 2-6), *πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν, κτλ.*

In favor of its being the Theseum are, (1) the tradition which for some centuries at least has designated the temple as the Theseum; (2) the evidence of the sculptured metopes, representing the deeds of Theseus, and of the west frieze, representing the contests of Centaurs and Lapiths, in which Theseus took part; (3) the fact that the inside walls are covered with stucco, which suggests that they were once embellished with paintings, as we know from Pausanias to have been true of the Theseum.

In regard to (1), the anonymous author of a Greek tract on the topography of Athens, of the fifteenth century, preserved in the Paris library, was the first writer in modern times to call the temple Theseum. Henceforth the temple bore this name without question until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Ross proposed to identify it with the temple of Ares (Paus. 1, 8, 2), a name earlier suggested by the traveler Cyriacus of Ancona.

The arguments against its being the Theseum are, (1) Theseus was not a god but a hero. The *heroum* of the latter was always sharply distinguished from the *naos* of the former. The terms used by Pausanias (1. 17. 2 and 6) for the Theseum and other memorials of Theseus better suit a heroic shrine. Besides, this temple is a regular temple facing east with three steps, whereas the heroum has two steps and faces west. (2) This temple, as we have seen, is of the age of Pericles, while the Theseum was built in the age of Cimon and seems to have been begun not later than 493 B.C. (see 1, 17, 6, note). (3) The evidence as to the site of the Theseum derived from Aristotle, Plutarch, and Pausanias (note l.c.) is in favor of

placing it to the east of the Agora, and north of the Acropolis. (4) The argument based on the fact that eight of the metopes and at least one of the friezes represented the exploits of Theseus is met by showing that the subject of metopes and friezes had no necessary relation to the deities of the temples, as e.g. the labors of Heracles on the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the Centaurs on the Parthenon metopes.

On the whole the preponderance of evidence is against identifying the temple with the Theseum.

If not, then, the Theseum, to what god was the temple dedicated? Various have been the answers given: (1) Ross thought it was the temple of Ares (see 1, 8, 4, note). (2) Wachsmuth and Curtius identified the temple with the famous sanctuary of Heracles, Averter of Evil, in Melite (cf. Schol. Ar. Ran. 501). But Pausanias makes no mention of a temple of Heracles. (3) Köhler, Loeschke, and Milchhoefer make it a temple of Apollo the Paternal. But that temple, as we have seen (see 1, 3, 4, note), was in the Agora. (4) Lange would regard it as the sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania (Paus. 1, 14, 7, note), and (5) Dr. Dyer conjectured it might have been the sanctuary of the Amazons (see Plut. Theseus, 27). (6) Finally, the proposal first made by Pervanoglu, to identify the so-called Theseum with the temple of Hephaestus described by Pausanias (1, 14, 6), has been accepted by Lolling, Dörpfeld, and Miss Harrison.

Arguments in favor of the temple being a Hephaesteum are as follows: (1) It fits the topographical requirements. We know from Pausanias that the temple of Hephaestus stood on high ground, above the market-place and the Royal Colonnade, and from other sources that together with the Eurysaceum it stood on the hill *Colonus Agoraeus*. The hill on which the so-called Theseum stands has been identified as the Market hill. The only objects mentioned as being on this hill are the naos of Hephaestus, the hieron of Aphrodite Urania, and the Eurysaceum. As this temple is a naos, this is strong evidence that it was the Hephaesteum. (2) There was a natural fitness in having the temple of Hephaestus overlook the potter's quarter. (3) An inscription of 440-416 B.C. speaks of the revival or institution of the worship of Hephaestus and Athena, and the setting up of an altar or an image to Hephaestus. This would harmonize with the date approximately assigned to this temple. (4) In answer to the objection that in none of the sculptured metopes nor in the frieze is there any reference to Hephaestus, it may be said that, as we have seen, these sculptures appear to have often had little or no relation to the god of the temple, while the pediment sculptures, which generally had a direct reference to the temple

deity, have entirely disappeared; Bruno Sauer connects them with the Hephaestus legend.

The balance of probabilities, therefore, seems in favor of identifying as the temple of Hephaestus the temple popularly known as the Thescum, and we shall provisionally accept this designation.

#### EXCURSUS V. THE OLYMPIEUM

Sixteen imposing Corinthian columns sixty feet in height, situated on a broad plateau to the southeast of the Acropolis, form one of the most conspicuous features in the landscape of Athens. These columns form two groups: eastward are thirteen surmounted by an architrave; separated from these by a gap of 100 feet are three others, two standing, one prostrate. During the Middle Ages the name given these remains of antiquity was the palace of Hadrian; among the modern Greeks the ruin is popularly known as *Staes Kolonnaes* (εἰς ταῖς κολόννας, "at the columns").

The grounds for identifying these massive ruins with the Olympieum are fortunately beyond doubt. (1) The great size of the columns and of the foundation of the structure comports with the statements of Livy (41, 20, 8, *unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine dei*) and of Aristotle (Pol. 5, 11), who compares them with the works of the Cypselidae in Corinth, the pyramids of Egypt, and the public buildings of Polyocrates of Samos. (2) Vitruvius says that the temple of Olympian Zeus was dipteral of the Corinthian order (7, praef. 15, 17) and octostyle (3, 1, 8), as is the case here. (3) Pausanias states that the peribolus was full of statues of Hadrian; and among the ruins have been found many bases with dedicatory inscriptions to this emperor (C.I.A. III, 479-482, 484, 486, 487, 491, 494). (4) The four sides of the peribolus are 668 m. in length, which agrees roughly with Pausanias' statement (1, 18, 6) that the whole inclosure was four stadia in circuit. And, finally, (5) Vitruvius states that the architect selected by Antiochus was named Cossutius, and the base of a statue has been found with the inscription: Δέκμος Κοσσοῦτίος Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος (C.I.A. III, 561).

The site was hallowed from the earliest time, for here, as says Pausanias, was the primitive sanctuary of Zeus founded by Deucalion in the neighborhood of the cleft through which the water of the flood disappeared. This primitive sanctuary probably gave way in early times to a temple in which was kept the bronze statue of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias. But the work of building the massive temple we are considering



belongs to three epochs separated by long intervals: (1) under Pisistratus and his sons; (2) under Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria; (3) under the Roman Emperor Hadrian.

About 530 B.C. the tyrant Pisistratus began on this site the erection of a temple of such massive proportions as to rival the temples of Hera at Samos and of Artemis at Ephesus. He employed four architects, Antistates, Callaeschrus, Antimachides, and Pormus (Vitruv. 7, praef. 15). The original style employed was Doric, as is evident from its early date and its colossal size. Aristotle charges (Pol. 5, 11, 8) that the building of the temple was a device of the tyrant to keep the minds of the people diverted from revolutionary projects. The work was stopped at the expulsion of the Pisistratidae in 510 B.C., and it is impossible to determine how far it had progressed.

The interval between the expulsion of the tyrants and the reign of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, of Syria (510-175 B.C.) is a blank in the history of the Olympieum. During the acme of Athenian greatness the temple was disregarded, and we have no mention of it whatever in classical literature. At length, about 174 B.C., Antiochus determined to continue the work of building the temple at his own expense. Vitruvius (l.c.) gives the particulars. A Roman Cossutius was the architect who planned and superintended the construction of the temple, cella, columns, epistyle, and ornamentation; he chose the Corinthian order and surrounded it with a double row of columns. The death of Antiochus put an end to the work, which must have been very far advanced. From the evidence of the earlier Greek taste seen in the carving of the capitals and the curve of the abacus, the extant columns belong to this period, and we may conclude that the entire peristyle was set up by Antiochus.

Much, however, remained to be done — certainly the roofing, the finishing of the interior, the sculptural embellishment of the whole. Yet almost three centuries passed by, leaving the half-finished temple substantially unchanged. Strabo speaks of it (9, p. 396) as half-finished; Plutarch (Solon, 32) compares it to Plato's Critias as an unfinished work; and Lucian (Icarom. 24) represents Zeus as impatiently asking whether the Athenians ever meant to complete his temple. Sulla in 86 B.C. carried off some columns, probably from the cella, for use in building the temple of Capitoline Jupiter in Rome (Pliny, N. H. 36, 45).

The temple was finally completed by the Emperor Hadrian at his own expense (Philostr. Vit. Soph. 1, 25, 6; Dio Cass. 69, 16; Schol. Lucian l.c.) and was dedicated by him in person during his second visit in Athens in

130 or 131 A.D. By command of the Emperor, the sophist Polemo, the most popular orator of the day, delivered the inaugural address. The temple was dedicated to the honor and worship of Hadrian as it was of Zeus. Pausanias saw the temple in its full beauty, and it is unfortunate that he gives so brief a description of it.

The later history of the temple is very obscure, nor do we know the cause of its destruction. When Cyriacus of Ancona visited Athens about 1450 A.D., only 21 columns were standing with their architraves (Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, 127). These had been reduced to 17 in the seventeenth century, and about 1760 the Turkish governor pulled down one of these to make lime for building a mosque. Of the surviving sixteen, the prostrate column was thrown down by a hurricane in 1852.

The temple rested on a platform of solid masonry, strengthened with buttresses on the south side. This platform is 676 feet long by 426 feet broad. The stylobate of the temple itself measured 354 feet in length by 135 feet in breadth. The temple was octostyle (Vitruv. 3, 2, 8), dipteral. The peristyle comprised more than 100 Corinthian columns, with double rows of 20 each on the northern and southern sides, and triple rows of 8 each at the east and west ends. The columns were 56 feet 7 inches in height, and 5 feet 7 inches in diameter at the base, with 24 flutings. The total height of the front is estimated to have been 91 feet. The existing columns are of Pentelic marble. The thirteen surmounted by the architrave are at the southeastern angle; the remaining three, one of which has fallen, are of the interior row of the southern side not far from the southwest corner, and are at a distance of about 100 feet from the thirteen mentioned.

The excavations of Mr. Penrose laid bare walls and pavement and a number of unfluted drums of large columns of common stone. One of these drums has a diameter of not less than 7 feet 6 inches. These are attributed to the temple begun by Pisistratus, of which the cella was estimated to be 116 feet long and 50 feet wide. The orientation differed from that of the later temple, which was exactly east and west. A rough wall of still earlier date, of hard limestone, was attributed by Mr. Penrose to the primitive temple ascribed to Deucalion.

## EXCURSUS VI. THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS

On the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, in the precinct sacred to the wine-god, is the ancient theatre of Dionysus — the cradle of the dramatic art of Hellas. The remains are not extensive, consisting merely of the orchestra, a portion of the stone seats and retaining-walls of the auditorium, and the front of the late Roman stage and the foundations of the stage buildings, but what is left is sufficient to enable us to determine with considerable accuracy the historical development and the construction of the best-known of all Greek theatres. For our knowledge of the theatre we are most largely indebted to Dr. Dörpfeld.

Of all ancient theatres, the Dionysiac theatre at Athens has had the most continuous history, going back almost to the very beginning of drama, and continuing in use until late Roman times. We shall, therefore, first notice the most important stages in its development, so that in studying its architectural remains we may be prepared to attribute to the different periods what properly belongs to each.

In the sixth century B.C., at the dawn of Athenian drama, there was in the sacred precinct on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis a circular dancing-place, or orchestra, consisting of beaten earth surrounded by a ring of stones, used for the chorus of the wine-god. Within the circle was an altar on the platform of which stood the coryphaeus or leader of the chorus. All arrangements for spectators or performers were of a purely provisional character.

In the following century, when dramatic art reached its acme under Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, the theatre also underwent great development and reached the form which obtained in its main features during its subsequent history. According to a statement made by Suidas (s.v. *Πρατίνας*) the first permanent theatre was erected in consequence of an accident which occurred in Ol. 70 (500–497 B.C.). Aeschylus, Pratinas, and Choerilus were contending for the tragic prize, when the wooden benches (*ἴκρια*) on which the spectators were seated collapsed. This led the Athenians to build a more substantial theatre.

Dr. Dörpfeld is of the opinion that this earliest theatron consisted of a massive retaining-wall of stone and earth to support wooden seats, as we have no evidence of the existence of stone seats in any fifth-century theatre. In digging down into the foundations of the present auditorium it has been found that there are two layers: the upper one, as shown by the fragments of pottery buried in it, of the fourth century, and the

lower, by the same evidence, of the fifth. In place of the provisional arrangements for the actors, in the early part of the century a wooden stage building was erected — an innovation attributed by Dr. Dörpfeld to Aeschylus. This consisted merely of a quadrangular chamber, whose façade represented a palace or a temple. It is manifest that the theatre of the great period of Attic drama was a much less imposing structure than is usually assumed.

In its third stage of development the theatre of Dionysus, from being a simple structure with wooden seats and wooden *skéné*, became a magnificent edifice with stone seats and an imposing stage building of the same material. We have many references in Greek literature pointing to the fact that about the middle of the fourth century or later a new theatre of unusual splendor was constructed. This building was completed under the administration of the finance minister and orator Lycurgus. (Paus. 1, 29, 16; Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. pp. 841 c, 852 b; C.I.A. II, 240; Hyperides, ed. Blass, Frag. 121). This must have occurred before 325 B.C., the year of the death of Lycurgus. Dr. Dörpfeld shows on technical grounds that in the main the existing theatre is that of Lycurgus. Most of its walls and foundations, as shown by the material used and the character of the work, belong to this epoch. The Piræus limestone and Hymettus and Pentelic marble in use are combined in a manner customary in buildings of this period. The technique of some of the work corresponds to that of the Choric Monument of Thrasylus, whose date is known to be 321 B.C. The evidence gathered from all sources indicates that the theatre was begun about the year 350, and completed not later than 326 B.C.

After the fourth century the literary record is very imperfect, and our knowledge of the development of the theatre rests largely on technical grounds. In the time of Lycurgus and earlier, stage scenery was represented by movable *proscenía*, i.e. scenery painted on canvas on wooden panels stretched between posts. In Hellenistic times, however, when the New Comedy prevailed, a stone proscenium was built, i.e. a permanent scene or background, adorned with columns about ten or twelve feet high, in which the scene was varied by changing the *pinakes*, or panels of wood, that were placed between the stone columns.

From certain walls of the foundation, the fragments of a façade, and an inscription extant on a piece of the architrave, it is evident that an extensive reconstruction of the stage building and orchestra took place in the first century A.D., at the command of the Roman Emperor, Nero. A stage was built with its front adorned with reliefs after the manner of

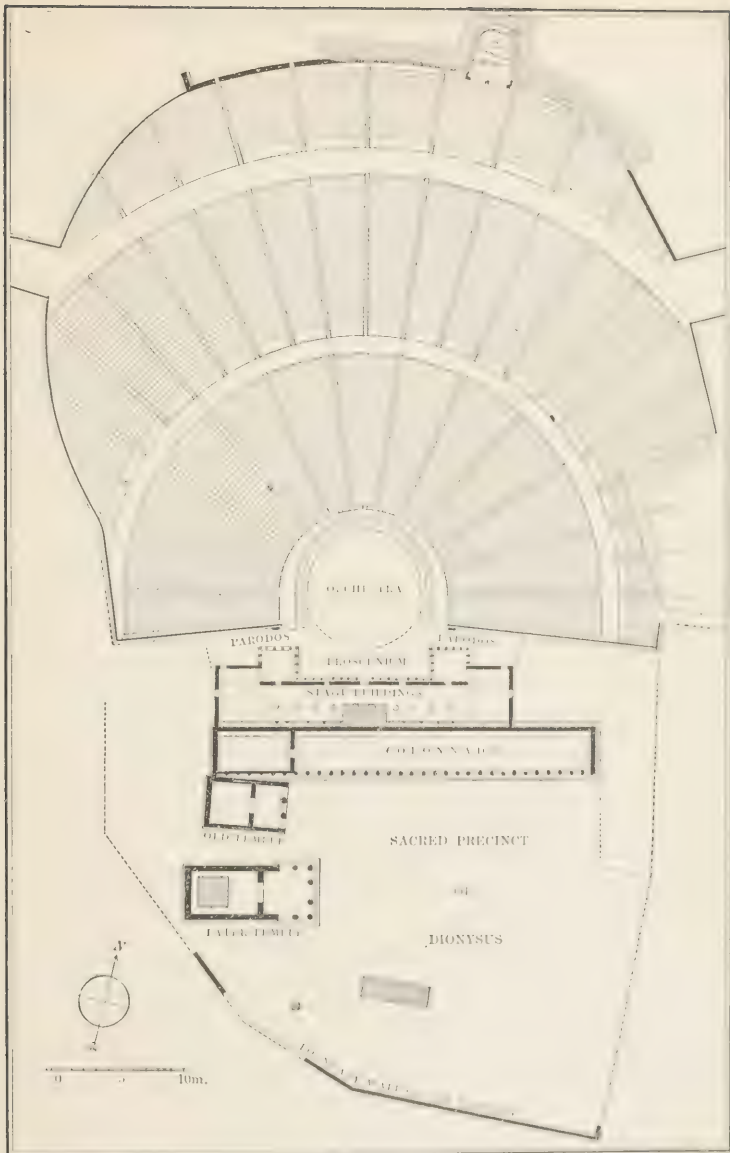


FIG. 2. THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS  
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Asia Minor and Roman theatres, the orchestra was paved, and other minor changes were made.

Finally, about two centuries later, a certain archon Phaedrus lowered and moved forward the stage of Nero, cutting down its façade as shown by the extant reliefs, and commemorating the fact by an inscription (C.I.A. III. 239) to be seen on the highest of the five steps leading from the orchestra to the top of the stage, translated as follows :

Phaedrus, Zoilus' son, in life-giving Attica ruler,  
Built in thine honor this beautiful stage,  
Thou god of the orgy.

Here ends the ancient history of the theatre. For centuries all record of it ceases. Buried under the deep accumulation of soil, the theatre of Dionysus disappeared so completely from view that seventeenth-century travelers were entirely in the dark as to its site. Even as late as 1748, Stuart speaks of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus as "the theatre of Bacchus." Robert Chandler, in 1765, was the first to suspect the true site. Leake, by calling attention to a coin in the Payne-Knight collection in the British Museum, removed all doubt as to its identity, for the coin shows the east front of the Parthenon above the theatre. In 1862 excavations were begun by the German architect Strack, who exposed to view large portions of the auditorium. Taking up his work, the Greek Archaeological Society cleared the whole sacred precinct. Further excavations, as of the western retaining-wall, were made in 1877. Finally, in 1886, 1889, and 1895, Dr. Dörpfeld completed the work of excavation by laying bare the foundations of the building in its various epochs.

We shall now briefly describe the theatre, considering first the actual remains and then its three natural divisions—the auditorium, the orchestra, and the stage buildings. Observe Dr. Dörpfeld's plan, reproduced in Fig. 2, p. 261.

The precinct of Dionysus is bounded on the north by the Acropolis rock; on the west by the precinct of Aesclepius; on the south by the modern road; on the east the boundary is not definitely determined. Within the precinct are the foundations of two temples. The older is near the stage buildings of the theatre and limited the extent of the colonnade at the rear; the remains show that it dates from before the Persian War. The later temple, to the south of this, is somewhat larger. Both consisted merely of naos and pronaos. The later temple was probably erected at the close of the fourth century (Plut. Nicias, 3).

The actual remains of the theatre consist of a confusing mass of foundations and walls of various periods. Of the sixth century is the section of a wall of hard limestone, forming part of the circular boundary of the original orchestra, somewhat to the south of the later orchestra. Of the fifth century is a portion of a straight wall, which was probably part of the supporting wall of the earlier auditorium. The great bulk of the foundations and walls belong to the Lyeurgus theatre erected, as we have seen, in the fourth century. The remains of the stone proscenium are of Hellenistic times. Worthy of note, also, are the Roman foundations under Nero and what survives of the stage erected under Phaedrus.

The auditorium was built on the slope of the Acropolis, which served as an elevation for the tiers of seats. Yet artificial substructions were necessary. These retaining-walls consisted of two stout walls in parallel lines, with cross-walls at intervals, the intervening space being filled in with dirt. These walls are of considerable strength and thickness, the outer being of Piraeus limestone, the inner of conglomerate. The two wings of the auditorium are terminated by two walls of unequal length, the eastern being about 111 feet, the western only 88 feet. The unsymmetrical circumference of the auditorium is due to the conformation of the ground. Side entrances or *paraskenia* between the south walls of the auditorium gave admittance to spectators and performers.

The inside boundary is a semicircle, with its two sides prolonged. The distance between the inside corners is 72 feet. The interior consisted of a series of stone seats, with marble chairs in the front row, rising tier above tier to the bounding walls of the theatre. All that remain are from twenty to thirty rows at the bottom and portions of a few rows at the top. The curve of the seats did not correspond to the curve of the orchestra. Fifty-eight of the sixty-seven marble seats originally in the front row remain. Behind the line of marble seats, after an interval of about three feet, began the first of the ordinary tiers of seats, which continued in the same style to the limits of the auditorium. The seats were about fifteen inches in height; lines cut in the stone indicate the space devoted to each person. Fourteen passages, running in divergent lines like the spokes of a wheel from the orchestra to the outside boundary, two being along the bounding walls, divided the auditorium into thirteen sections called *kekholes*. In addition to the vertical aisles, the auditorium was divided into three parts by two curved longitudinal passages called *diazomata*. Only the upper diazoma is now recognizable; it is about fifteen

feet wide. Dr. Dörpfeld calculates that the theatre would comfortably accommodate about 17,000 spectators.

The circular orchestra is not only the mathematical but also the ideal centre of the Greek theatre. The present orchestra occupies the identical site of the orchestra of Lycurgus, but it appears as it was after considerable changes were made in the time of Nero, who limited its extent to the south by erecting a stage the front of which was on a line connecting the two corners of the auditorium. A marble pavement was put on the orchestra, which was previously of solid earth. The gutter bounding the orchestra, intended to drain off the water from the auditorium, dates from Lycurgus. The pavement consists of slabs of Pentelic and Hymettus marble, variegated with strips of a reddish marble. In the centre the marble is arranged in a large rhomboidal figure, with a circular depression in the centre, intended to receive the altar of Dionysus. A marble balustrade surrounded the orchestra, and the gutter was covered over with slabs of marble. The width of the orchestra is about  $78\frac{1}{2}$  feet: and its depth from the stage-front of Phaedrus to the front row of spectators is about  $58\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

The stage buildings constitute the third and last division of the Greek theatre. The term for these was *skéné*; originally the tent or booth in which the single actor of the Thespian period prepared for the performance, the word continued in use to express the large and elaborate stage buildings of later periods.

The *skéné* of Lycurgus had as the principal room a large rectangular hall, the roof of which was perhaps borne by interior columns, with a total length of about 152 feet, and depth of about 21 feet. At each end were two projecting wings facing north, 23 feet by  $16\frac{1}{2}$  feet, called *paraskenia*. The space between the wings was about 66 feet. The central part and the wings were adorned with a façade of Doric columns, of which there are remains. The total height of the columns, architrave, triglyph frieze, and cornice was about 13 feet. A provisional proscenium was put up between the *skéné* and the orchestra. In the Lycurgus theatre there was no trace of a logeion. The orchestra drawn as a complete circle just touched the front line of the *paraskenia*. For about three centuries the stage buildings of Lycurgus remained unchanged. At length in Hellenistic times a stone proscenium was erected, the foundations of which can be traced; its top formed a podium or platform about 13 feet high and 9 feet deep. Also the *paraskenia* were drawn in a few feet.

The foundations of the *skéné* and proscenium of Nero's reconstruction can be traced on the plan, as well as the *paraskenia* to right and left. He



also built a logeion extending forward from the skené to the line indicated on the plan. Of this the existing sculptured marble blocks formed the façade. These have been cut down about five inches, so that the stage of Nero was about five feet, the usual height of a Roman logeion. As stated, this stage was in the third or fourth century moved forward about eight yards and lowered by Phaedrus, so as to stretch across the orchestra between the inner corners of the two wings of the auditorium. The western half of the front of this stage, adorned with four groups of figures in high relief, is preserved.

### EXCURSUS VII. THE ACROPOLIS

The Athenian Plain is triangular in shape, extending in a southwesterly direction from Mt. Pentelieus to the sea. Mt. Parnes and its spur Aegaleus form the north and northwest side of the triangle, Pentelieus the apex, Hymettus the south and southeast side, and the Saronic Gulf the base. Down the centre of the plain there stretches a range of hills, now called Tourko Vouni, forming the watershed of the Cephissus and the Ilissus, and terminating in the lofty peak of Lycabettus (900 feet). Nearly a mile to the southwest, and separated from Lycabettus by a broad valley, lies a precipitous rock, about 512 feet above the sea and 250 feet above the surrounding plain. This rock is the Acropolis of Athens.

Geologically considered, the rock consists of a coarse semi-crystalline limestone with which red schist is mixed. Its form is very irregular and its surface jagged and broken. The surface of the rock is by no means a flat table-land surrounded by precipitous sides. In its long axis from west to east there is from the Propylaea to the Parthenon a rise of nearly forty feet, so that the capitals of the columns of the one are about on a line with the bases of the columns of the other. The conformation of the surface is largely artificial. The seemingly level surface from north to south is due to the numerous fillings-in that have been made from time to time. The length from west to east is about 328 yards, the width from north to south about 148 yards.

Grottoes and caverns and projecting cliffs abound on three precipitous sides of the rock, while the fourth descends in a terraced slope. The north side especially contains prominent cliffs and deep hollows. Starting from the northeast corner and coming west there is a remarkable line of outlying rocks containing numerous small grottoes used in antiquity as niches for shrines and votive offerings. Further west is a long cavern, with underground steps from the Erechtheum above, which has been identified as the

Sanctuary of Aglaurus. Toward the northwest are the Long Cliffs, called *Μακρά*. These form the scene of the early legends embodied in the Ion of Euripides, and embrace the grotto of Pan, the grotto of Apollo, and the ancient spring Clepsydra.

At the eastern side, the rock runs out in two bold projections like natural bastions; the space between has been in great part artificially filled up. The largest of all the caves is to be found on this side; how it was utilized has not been definitely determined. The southern side, precipitous at the east end, slopes gradually westward forming three terraces. First are found the sacred precinct of Dionysus and the theatre, with the choregic monument of Thrasyllus above on a projecting rock. Westward, on the lowest terrace, are the Odeum of Herodes Atticus and the Colonnade of Eumenes; on the middle terrace is the precinct of Asclepius; and still higher is a small terrace with the shrines of Ge, Demeter, and perhaps other deities. The west side slopes gradually toward the Areopagus, and forms the natural approach to the Acropolis.

The history of the Acropolis falls naturally into eight periods:

A. *Primitive Athens*. — Relics of the Stone Age indicate that the Acropolis was the abode of man from an inconceivably remote period. Mycenaean remains are extensive; the Acropolis takes rank as a Mycenaean citadel along with Tiryns and Mycenae, and as Thucydides<sup>1</sup> states, "what is now the citadel was the city." Cecrops is the first mythical king, who is supposed to have migrated from Egypt and to have established himself on the rock with his retainers. Erechtheus is the next king of prominence, who dwelt in his prehistoric palace, wherein was the shrine of Athena. The worship of Zeus, Athena, and Poseidon was already established. Finally came the Ionians, Aegeus and his son Theseus; the latter consolidated the twelve Attic townships into his famous synoikismos, and the Acropolis became the centre of the political life of Attica.<sup>1</sup>

B. *The Epoch of Pisistratus*. — With King Codrus (1068 B.C.) the historical period of Athenian history is supposed to begin, but we hear almost nothing of the Acropolis until the time of Pisistratus. The old pediment reliefs in the Acropolis Museum prove conclusively that long before his time there existed on the Acropolis temples of Athena and other deities. The tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons is a most momentous period in the history of the Acropolis. Here they took up their residence, and strengthened the fortifications. The finds of archaic sculptures, and of the

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, ii, 15, discussed in Excursus III. Cf. Miss Harrison, *Primitive Athens* as described by Thucydides, Cambridge, 1906.

columns and pediment sculptures of the Old Athena Temple, embellished by Pisistratus, indicate the attention paid to art under this enlightened tyranny. Sculptors and architects were summoned from a distance to assist the native artists in their work. This epoch naturally closes with the sack by the Persians in 480 B.C., when temples were burnt, votive sculptures were thrown down and broken, and general havoc was wrought on the Acropolis.

C. *The Periclean Age.* — After the victory of Salamis and the recognition of Athens as the foremost state of Hellas, the Athenians undertook to rebuild their ruined city in a manner adequate to their increasing importance. Cimon and Themistocles began the movement to make the Acropolis a fit dwelling-place for the goddess Athena. The fortifications of the citadel were extended and strengthened; the surface was leveled up by filling in the hollow spaces with the débris of the Persian sack. A new portal or entrance-way was begun and the colossal bronze Athena of Phidias was set up. Then followed the golden age of Athens under Pericles (461–429 B.C.), who wished the Acropolis to become the concrete expression of the greatness of the Athenian empire. Phidias was his chief adviser in carrying out his plans. The results were the building of (1) the Parthenon (447–438 B.C.), by the architects Ictinus and Callicrates; (2) the Propylaea, with Mnesicles as architect (437–432 B.C.); (3) the temple of Athena Nike, planned 450 B.C. but probably not built until after the Propylaea; (4) the Erechtheum — doubtless planned by Pericles, as his building operations were interrupted by the Peloponnesian War, but not erected until 409–395 B.C.

D. *The Acropolis in Hellenistic Times.* — From the death of Pericles (429 B.C.) to the battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.) the Acropolis underwent no material change. From that date its history is involved in the history of the foreign patrons and foes of Athens. From the close of the third century the Acropolis profited greatly by the gifts of foreign benefactors. King Attalus I of Pergamum (241–197 B.C.) made many dedicatory gifts, especially the groups commemorating his victory over the Gauls; Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria (175–164 B.C.), who began rebuilding the Olympieum, hung a Gorgon's head as an apotropaion on the south wall; and Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.) of Pergamum erected the colonnade bearing his name, between the two theatres on the southern slope.

E. *The Acropolis under the Romans and the Byzantines.* — Rome, recognizing the intellectual preëminence of Athens, took pride in adorning the city. A circular temple of Rome and Augustus was built to the east of the

Parthenon about the beginning of the Christian era. M. Vipsanius Agrippa was honored with an equestrian statue to the left of the approach to the Propylaea, the pedestal of which is still standing. The marble steps leading up to the Acropolis probably date from this time. Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), the most generous of Athenian patrons, adorned the theatre with statues, and completed the Olympieum, but does not seem to have devoted especial attention to the Acropolis. The acceptance of Christianity by the Roman emperors and their changed attitude toward paganism contributed largely to the mutilation of the Acropolis. Theodosius II (408-450) is supposed to have removed the gold and ivory image of Athena; in 435 he issued a decree commanding heathen temples to be torn down or converted into churches. The Parthenon, in consequence of this policy, became in the latter part of the fifth or the early part of the sixth century the church of St. Sophia, and extensive changes were made in the interior. The name was later changed to the church of the Mother of God. The Erechtheum suffered a similar fate. Of the fortunes of Athens between the sixth and twelfth centuries, very little is known.

F. *The Acropolis under the Franks and Florentines.* — On the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, obtained the sovereignty of Hellas, with the title of King of Thessalonica. The following year he appeared in Athens with his victorious Burgundians and Lombards, and his vassal, Otho de la Roche, was installed as Duke of Athens. The Greek churches on the Acropolis became Latin, but we know nothing of other changes on the Acropolis made by Otho and his descendants, who held the city from 1205 to 1311; nor under their successors, the usurping Catalans, who were in power for the next twenty years: nor during the Sicilian domination, when the city was governed by regents of Frederick of Aragon and his successors.

In 1387 Athens fell into the hands of the Florentine Nerio Acciajuoli, Lord of Corinth. Nerio took up his residence in the Propylaea, which, under him or his successor Antonio, was transformed into a castle. The six Doric columns of the west portico were joined by a wall, with one entrance, and the four side doors of the portal were walled up, thus forming a large vestibule. The Pinacotheca was turned into executive offices, and another story was built above the entablature. At the same time the huge tower was built on the southwest wing from blocks of this wing and from neighboring buildings—a tower that long remained one of the most picturesque features in the Acropolis. This period was, in consequence, not favorable to the preservation of monuments.

G. *The Acropolis under the Turks.*— In 1456 Franco, last duke of Athens, after two years' heroic defense, surrendered the Acropolis to Omar, general of Mohammed II, who had conquered Constantinople in 1453. The Propylaea became the residence of Dasdar Aga, the Turkish governor. The Sultan Mohammed, who himself visited Athens in 1459, at first treated Athens with great moderation, even letting the Parthenon remain a Christian church, but after an insurrection against him he ruled with great severity and in 1460 had the Parthenon converted into a mosque. The Turks made but few changes in the building, merely removing the sacred image of the Virgin, whitewashing the walls, on which were pictures of saints, and building a minaret in the southwest corner. For nearly two centuries we hear almost nothing of the Acropolis. At length, in 1656, lightning struck a heap of powder, stored by Isuf Aga the commander in the east court of the Propylaea in preparation for cannonading a Christian church on the morrow. A frightful explosion followed, killing Isuf, and demolishing a large portion of the Propylaea. The architrave was shattered, the rich ceiling fell, columns were thrown down, and the portal was reduced almost to its present condition.

In 1674 the Marquis de Nointel, French Ambassador at Constantinople, had drawings made of the pediment sculptures and frieze of the Parthenon, which are usually attributed to the artist, Jacques Carrey. About 1676 Spon, the antiquarian, and Wheler, the naturalist, visited Athens, and the accounts of their journey, appearing in 1678 and 1682, are important sources of information about the Acropolis at this period. In 1686 drawings of the Parthenon were made by French officers under Gravier d'Ortières.

In 1687 the Venetian commander, Francesco Morosini, laid siege to the Acropolis, placing cannon on the Areopagus, the Museum hill, and the Pnyx. A Turkish deserter gave information that the Parthenon was being used by the Turks as a powder magazine. The guns were aimed at the Parthenon: and on Friday, the 26th of September, 1687, at half past seven, the Parthenon of Pericles was rent in twain. For two days and nights a fearful conflagration continued. On October 3 the Turkish garrison capitulated, but the Acropolis was reoccupied in April, 1688, by the Turks, who were not again dislodged from their possession of the citadel until 1822, when they were compelled to surrender to the Greek insurgents. The Greek garrison on the Acropolis was forced in 1827 to capitulate to the Turks, who did not finally depart from it until 1833, the year in which Prince Otho of Bavaria was proclaimed King of Greece.

A few important archaeological events occurred during this interval. In 1750 Stuart, the painter, and Revett, painter and architect, visited Athens, under the auspices of the Society of the Dilettanti, and in 1762 appeared the first volume of their "Antiquities of Athens," which marks the beginning of the scientific study of Athenian monuments. In 1765 the second expedition of the Society of the Dilettanti was sent out. In 1790 appeared the second volume of the "Antiquities of Athens." In 1801 Lord Elgin, British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, removed to London almost all the frieze, a number of metopes, and nearly all the extant pediment sculptures of the Parthenon, a caryatid and column of the Erechtheum, and various smaller marbles, which were finally placed in the British Museum and are now universally known as "the Elgin Marbles."

II. *The Acropolis and the New Greek Kingdom.*—In 1835, upon the removal of the Greek government from Nauplia to Athens, the Acropolis was delivered over to King Otho, with appropriate ceremonies, and forever ceased to be a citadel. The following dates are important for archaeological work since done :—

- 1833. First excavations, by private subscription.
- 1835. Ludwig-Ross, Conservator of Antiquities, removed the fortifications, rebuilt the Niké temple, and cleared the west front of the Propylaea.
- 1836. Pittakis, Ross' successor, completed the clearing of the Propylaea, and laid bare the foundations of the Erechtheum.
- 1853. The Beulé Gate and marble stairway were cleared.
- 1862. Excavations by a Prussian Expedition consisting of Bötticher, Curtius, and Strack.
- 1885. Excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society.
- 1899-1905. Partial restoration of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum.

#### EXCURSUS VIII. THE PROPYLAEA<sup>1</sup>

The Propylaea, the great portal of the Acropolis, was built by the architect Mnesicles on the foundations of an earlier gateway;<sup>2</sup> it was begun in the archonship of Euthymenes (437-436 B.C.), and was never completed, as the work was interrupted by the Peloponnesian War. The sum expended on it was said to be 2012 talents, or something over \$2,000,000 (see Harpoer. and Suid. s. v. *προπύλαια*; Plut. Pericles, 13; Diod. 12, 40; cf. Thuc. 2, 13). It was always regarded, along with the Parthenon, as

<sup>1</sup> See Dörpfeld's restoration of the ground plan of the Propylaea, given in Fig. 3, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> See Weller, C. H., "The Pre-Periclean Propylaea on the Acropolis of Athens," A. J. A. viii (1904), 33-70.

one of the glories of Athens (Dem. 22, 13; 23, 207; Plut. de glori. Ath. 7, 8; Aeschin. 2, 105; Dio Chrys. Or. 2, vol. I, 27, ed. Dindorf, etc.). Fragments of inscriptions giving accounts of moneys expended are extant (C.I.A. I, Nos. 314, 315; IV, No. 315 a, b, c; Jahn-Michaelis, p. 39).

The approach to the Propylaea is through an ancient gate between two quadrangular towers. This gate is known as the Beulé Gate, because it was in 1853 discovered and excavated by the French archaeologist Beulé, who freed it from the Turkish bastions that previously concealed it. Dr. Dörpfeld has shown that materials for the gate were taken from a choregic monument of Nicias, dating from the archonship of Neaechmus, 320-319 B.C. He thinks the monument was removed from its original site at the time of the building of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, between 160 and 177 A.D., and that the gate was most probably built soon after. Passing through the gate, we observe the remains of a great marble staircase 72 feet in width. The staircase and the towers facing the gate date from the first half of the first century after Christ. The staircase probably replaced a winding approach going back to primitive times. On the left is the pedestal of the statue of Agrippa; on the right is the huge bastion, on which rests the temple of Athena Nike.

To understand the plan of the Propylaea let us imagine first of all a cross-wall running north and south between two parallel walls, which it meets at right angles. The cross-wall is 59 feet in length, and is pierced by five gateways, the central of which is 24 feet 2 inches high by 13 feet 8 inches wide; the two on either side of this are 17 feet 8 inches high by 9½ feet wide; and the two extreme gateways are 11 feet 3 inches high by 4 feet 9 inches wide. Through the middle gateway ran the road for processions; the four side gateways were approached by a flight of five steps, four of marble, the fifth of black Eleusinian stone.

At their western and eastern extremities the cross-walls have placed before them porticoes of six Doric columns. The outer or western portico is very deep, measuring 59 feet in width by 49 feet in depth. Besides the six Doric columns along the front, we have at right angles to them two rows of three Ionic columns each, flanking the central passage through the portico to the middle gateway, and supporting originally the marble roof ornamented with golden stars, the wonder of ancient travelers. The roof is gone, and all the Ionic columns have lost their capitals. The inner portico facing east is of the same width, but is very shallow, being only 19 feet deep. Five of the six Doric columns fronting it retain their capitals, and two are united by an architrave block.

This is the main portion of the structure. But the whole breadth of rock here is 178 feet, whereas what we have already described takes up only about 60 feet. Dr. Dörpfeld has reconstructed the ground plan of Mnesicles to cover the field, though only a portion of the subordinate sections of the Propylaea was completed.

Adjoining the main portico at right angles to it north and south, two wings were planned, only one of which, however, was completed. The northwest wing consists of a chamber nearly square, being 35 feet 3 inches wide by 29 feet 5 inches deep, with a portico on its southern side, 13 feet deep, fronted by three Doric columns between antae.

Above the columns is an architrave with a plain frieze of triglyphs and metopes. The main chamber was lighted by a door 14 feet high by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide and by two small windows. This chamber was the ancient Pinacotheca or picture gallery.

The southwest wing, as we have it, consists of merely a portico facing north with no rear chamber. The front consisted of three Doric columns between antae, corresponding exactly to the front of the northwest portico. Yet the rear wall stops not opposite the northwest anta, but the third column, thus leaving the anta stranded. This is evidence that the architect has made a change in his plans, and Dr. Dörpfeld has endeavored to recover the original design by a study of the architectural details, especially the antae. His conclusion is that Mnesicles contemplated for the southwest wing a structure of the same dimensions as the opposite wing, but with this difference: the chamber with its portico was to be entirely open to the west facing the Nike temple, and instead of a wall as in the northwest wing, four columns between two antae should face west. The difference of plan was due to the fact that the Pinacotheca abutted on a precipice, while the southwest wing could serve as a colonnade before the Nike temple.

Besides the two western wings Dr. Dörpfeld has shown from a study of architectural details that the original plan provided also for two eastern wings. Thus, the anta at the northeast corner of the east portico is double, thus calling for a row of columns running north, as well as the extant row running south. The eastern wall of the northwest wing juts beyond the rest of the building. If continued to the Acropolis wall it would furnish the western wall of the northeast colonnade.

Similar arguments prove that a colonnade of like dimensions was projected as the southeast wing of the Propylaea. But these great ideas were never carried out, most likely on account of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, and the consequent lack of funds.



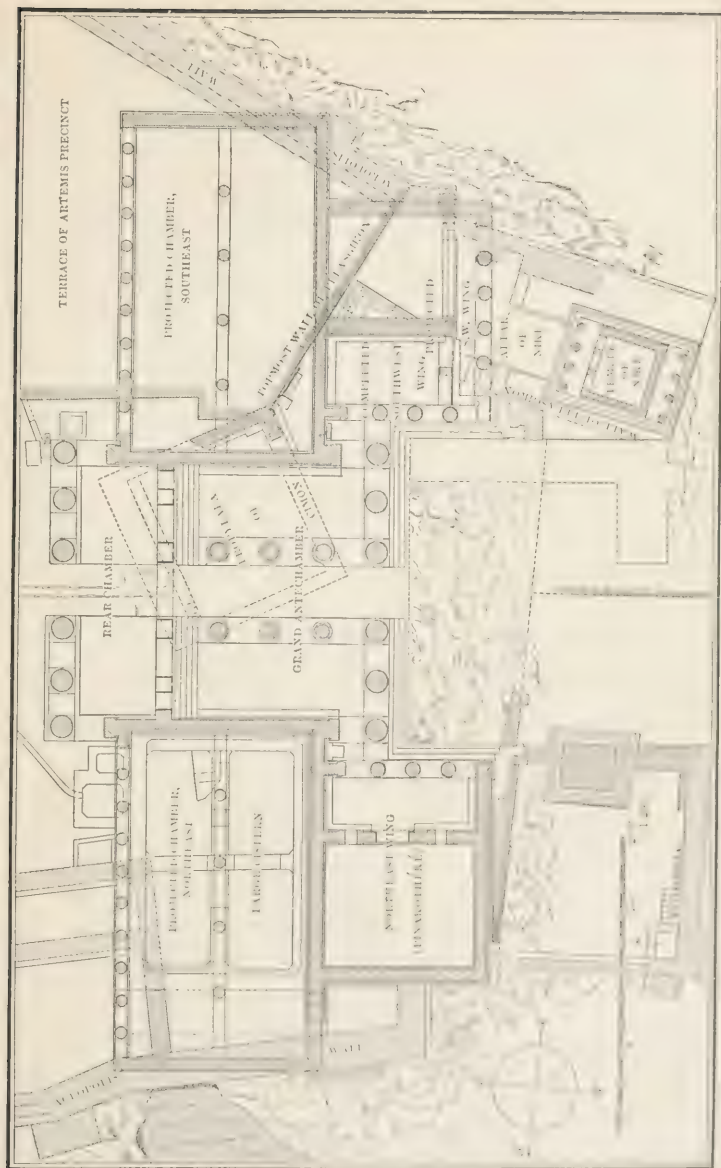


FIG. 3. THE PROPYLEAE.

## EXCURSUS IX. THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE

The temple which Pausanias (1, 22, 4; 3, 15, 7; 5, 26, 6) ascribes to Wingless Victory is more appropriately styled the temple of Athena Nike, that is, Athena in the character of Victory (Harpoer. and Suid. s.v. Νίκη Ἀθηνα; Soph. Philoct. 134; Eustath. on Hom. II, Φ, 410; C.I.A. I, p. 88 f., No. 189 a; II, Nos. 163, 471). Victory was regularly personified with wings in Greek art. As Athena is always represented wingless it is natural that here too, though under a special type, she should be wingless.

The temple has had an interesting modern history. It was seen and described by Wheeler in 1676. It was pulled down by the Turks, about 1687, and the material was used in making a battery on the site. In 1835 the temple was discovered by Ross, Schaubert, and Hansen, who rebuilt it as it now stands. The roof is almost gone, and the gables are wanting. Yet the temple is fairly well preserved.

The temple rests on a massive bastion 26 feet high to the south of the staircase. The material is Pentelic marble. The temple is of the Ionic order, amphiprostyle tetrastyle. It rests on a base of three steps, the stylobate being 27 feet 2 inches long from east to west by 18 feet 3½ inches broad from north to south. The height of the columns including base and capital is 13 feet 4 inches; the diameter, 1 foot 10 inches; the shaft of each column is of a single block of marble, with 24 flutes. The height of the entablature is 3 feet 8½ inches. The frieze, 86 feet in length and 1 foot 5½ inches high, sculptured in high relief, runs all round the temple. The cella is 16 feet long; the entrance was between two pillars connected with the antae by a balustrade.

The date of the temple has been long disputed: some archaeologists attributed it to the Cimonian period, others to the Age of Pericles, others to the middle of the Peloponnesian War. An inscription discovered a few years ago by Cavvadias, and dating probably about 450 B.C., calls for the construction of a gate, a temple, and an altar of marble, according to the specifications of the architect Calliocrates. Both Dörpfeld and Cavvadias think that the temple referred to can be no other than that of Nike. They hold that this temple was actually built soon after the middle of the century. The style of the sculptures and architectural refinements strongly contradicts this view, as they point rather to the period after the Parthenon and the Propylaea. It is likely that the decree of 450 B.C. was not immediately carried out and that the temple was erected after the Propylaea had

been begun, if not completed. See 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, 174 ff.; A. M. XXII (1897), 226 ff.; Judeich, 200 ff.

The Ionic frieze was sculptured in high relief. The scene portrayed on the east front was an assembly of gods, with Athena in the midst; on the other three sides are scenes of battle, Greeks fighting with Persians on the north and south sides, Greeks against Greeks on the west side. A portion of the frieze was carried off by Lord Elgin, and is in the British Museum; it has been replaced by a terra-cotta replica. Within the temple, says Pausanias (3, 15, 7), there was an ancient wooden image representing Athena wingless, with a pomegranate in her right hand, and a helmet in her left. Round the three precipitous sides of the temple along the edge of the bastion ran a breast-high parapet of marble slabs, with reliefs on the outer surface. A number of these slabs are preserved in the Acropolis Museum. One represents a winged Victory kneeling upon an ox, about to plunge a knife into its body; another, two Victories leading a cow; a third, a Victory tying her sandal. The reliefs are renowned especially for the graceful proportions of the figures, and the delicate treatment of the drapery.

#### EXCURSUS X. THE PARTHENON

The Parthenon is situated on the highest part of the Acropolis, about half way between its eastern and western limits, but much nearer the southern than the northern wall. It has suffered much in the passing centuries. There remain the stylobate complete; the double rows of columns at the two ends, and much of the colonnade on the northern and southern sides, with the exception of the central portions; the entablature at the eastern and western ends; most of the west pediment and a portion of the east pediment; and the walls of the west cella and portico, with only portions of the rest of the walls.

The foundations, which are very deep at the southeast corner, are the foundations of an earlier temple never erected, which have been extended to meet the change of form adopted for the new temple. This substructure is 250 feet long by 105 feet broad, while the stylobate of the Parthenon is 228 feet long by 101 feet broad, its proportions being as 4 to 9. Dr. Dörpfeld at first ascribed this earlier construction to Cimon (A. M. XVII, 157 ff.), but at length after a closer study of the foundations he has carried back the origin of the building to pre-Persian times, basing his theory on a study of the marks of fire on the stones. These led him to the conclusion that the scaffolding was standing when the Persian sack of the Acropolis took

place, and he now ascribes the inauguration of the undertaking to the new democracy founded by Cleisthenes shortly before the Persian War. This theory well accords with the extension and embellishment of the Old Temple of Athena. See A.M. XXVII (1902), 382 ff. The Periclean Parthenon took over the foundations of the earlier building, but adapted them to its change of form and dimensions.

The Parthenon was built to be a concrete expression of the glory and power of Athens incident to the rise in its fortunes as a result of its victories in the Persian Wars. Pericles was the father of the idea, and Phidias was his counselor. Inscriptions show that the present Parthenon was begun in 447 B.C. See A.M. XVII (1892), 158 ff.; B.C.H. XIII (1889), 174 ff. It was so far completed that the gold and ivory statue of Athena was dedicated at the Panathenaic festival in 438 B.C. (Schol. Ar. Pax, 605). The architects were Ictinus and Callicrates, but the general supervision was exercised by Phidias, who made the gold and ivory statue (Plut. Pericles, 13; Strabo, 9, pp. 395, 396; Paus. 8, 41, 9).

Although in inscriptions the name Parthenon was restricted to the west chamber, it became in time the popular designation of the whole temple. Demosthenes was the first who is known to have used it thus. See Dem. 22, 76. Cf. [Dicaearchus] *Descriptio Graeciae*, 1 (Geogr. Gr. Min., ed. Müller, 1, p. 98); *Rhet. Gr.*, ed. Walz. 7, p. 4; Strabo, 9, pp. 395, 396; Plut. Pericles, 13; Demetrius, 23; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* 2, 10.

The Parthenon is of the Doric order, octostyle peripteral. Three steps run all round the building. Upon the stylobate rises the temple, with eight columns to the front and rear and seventeen on the sides, the first known example of this arrangement. The average height of the columns is 34½ feet; their lower diameter, 6 feet 3 inches; the upper, 4 feet 10 inches. The flutes of the columns are 20 in number. The capitals of the columns consisted of the cushion-shaped echinus, and the abacus or plinth.

The architrave consisted of a series of three blocks of marble placed beside each other from the centre of one column to that of the next, about 4½ feet in height. The triglyph frieze rose above this to a like height, the metopes of which were adorned with sculptures in high relief. Above the triglyph frieze at the east and west ends rose the pediments, the inclosing lines of which were at an angle of 13½° with the horizontal cornice. The top and bottom members of the pediment project, framing the tympanum, or field of the pediment, which recedes 3 feet from the inclosing cornice. The tympanum is 93 feet long, and 11½ feet high in the centre.

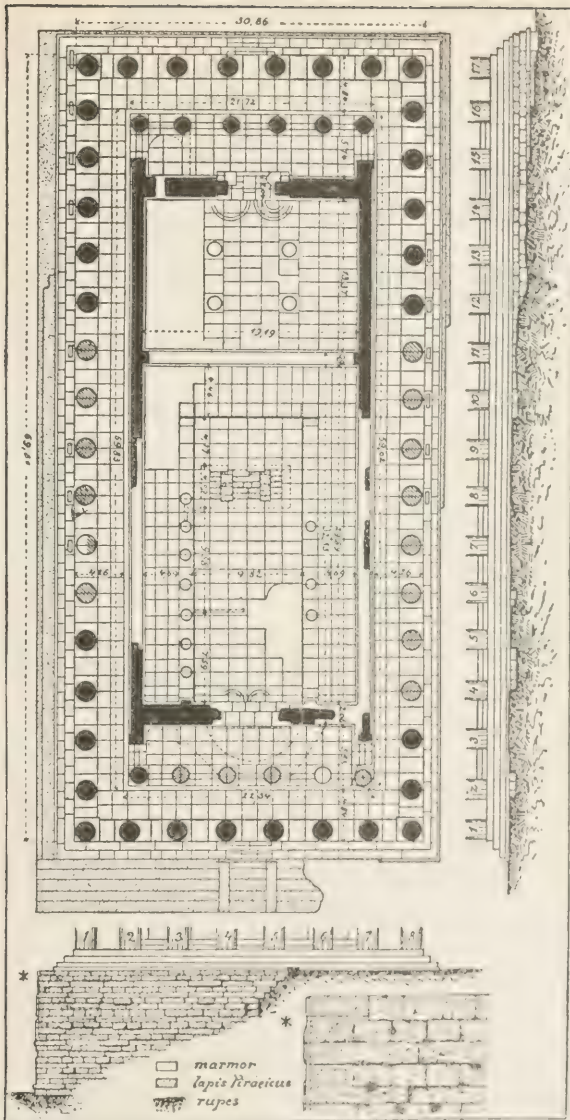


FIG. 4. FOUNDATIONS OF THE PARTHENON

The temple proper, as distinguished from the peristyle, formed a handsome amphiprostyle temple of the Doric order, 194 feet long and 71 feet wide, with 6 columns at each end, 33 feet in height. All round the top of its outer walls, and above the architrave over these columns, ran a frieze, or sculptured belt, nearly 3 feet 4 inches high.

The temple interior consisted of four parts, namely, the *pronaos* or eastern portico; the *naos* or cella, being the eastern chamber 96 feet long and 63 feet wide; the western chamber, called *Parthenon* in the restricted sense; and the western portico, probably called the *opisthodomos*. The *naos* was also known as the *Hekatompedos* from the fact that its length, including the thickness of the partition wall ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet), is exactly equal to 100 ancient Attic feet.

The cella was divided longitudinally into three aisles by two rows of Doric columns. In the central aisle, on a spot marked by a quadrangular space of Piraeus limestone, towards the west end of the chamber, stood the chryselephantine statue of Athena. There was no door between the cella and the western chamber. The great door at the eastern entrance admitting to the cella was about 16 feet wide and 33 feet high, and afforded sufficient light for the chamber.

The architectural features of the exterior of the temple invited sculptural embellishment in three parts of the building, namely the metopes, the pediments, and the frieze; and when it was completed no other building was comparable to it in the extent and variety of its sculptures.

The metopes are the flat slabs of marble between the triglyphs running round the building above the architrave. In the Parthenon all the ninety-two metopes were adorned with sculptures in high relief, representing usually single combats. The subject on the metopes of the east front is generally taken to be contests of Gods and Giants, on the west of Greeks and Amazons. The metopes on the south side had suffered comparatively little when Carrey drew them in 1674, and fifteen of the best of these are among the Elgin marbles. The metopes toward each end represented Lapiths and Centaurs, engaged in the struggle that ensued at the marriage feast of Pirithous, while the metopes in the middle of the series contained figures of stately women. The metopes on the north side had the same subject, but with the order of composition inverted.

The pediments were adorned with sculptures in the round. Pausanias tells us that the scene represented on the eastern end was the birth of Athena, on the western the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the supremacy of Attica. The principle of composition in each case was a

great central group, flanked on each side by secondary characters. The west pediment group, though now the greater wreck, is better known to us through the drawings ascribed to Carrey. The two contending deities were conceived as present on the Acropolis beside the actual olive tree and pool which they had created, and their charioteers and chariots are also present. The groups of interested spectators in the two wings have been variously interpreted, either as deified followers of Athena and Poseidon respectively, or as local heroes, or as personifications of the mountains and coast of Attica. Of this group only one torso remains, usually known as the river-god Cephissus. The two mutilated figures still on the pediment are supposed to be Cecrops and one of his daughters.

Of the east pediment we have no drawing to show what the great central group, now missing, was like. The great void in the centre, doubtless, was occupied originally by the deities regarded as present at the birth of the goddess Athena from the head of her father Zeus. The two central figures are usually represented as Zeus seated, with Athena standing beside him, full grown and full armed. The arrangement of the two angle groups is known from Carrey's drawing, and fortunately they are all preserved among the Elgin marbles. The scene is located on Mt. Olympus, and the extreme figures are Helios rising from the sea in the left angle and Selene descending behind the hills in the right. The reclining male figure next to Helios, popularly known as Theseus, is now generally regarded as the personification of Mt. Olympus. The three draped women in the left angle are generally identified as Horae, or as two Horae and Iris, the messenger goddess, and the three draped women in the right angle as the three Fates, appropriately present at a birth, or as Hestia, Ge and Thalassa (Waldstein), or as the three peculiarly Attic personifications of morning dew, Aglaurus, Herse, and Pandrosus (Murray).

The frieze consisted of a band in low relief running along the walls of the temple and over the inner rows of six columns of the east and west ends, just beneath the roof of the peristyle. The total length was 522 feet 10 inches, of which 240 feet 6 inches are among the Elgin marbles. The western frieze is still *in situ*. The height of the frieze was 3 feet 4 inches, and the average depth of the relief is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The subject portrayed was the great Panathenaic procession. The west frieze represented the stage of preparation; the north and south portions that of progress; and the east frieze the culmination of the procession. The slab just over the entrance to the temple represents the delivery of the sacred peplos to

the high priest or chief magistrate, and on each side of this is a group of slabs representing the Olympic deities present on the Acropolis to witness the ceremony.

Winckelmann's characterization — "noble naïveté and placid grandeur" aptly describes the art of the Parthenon sculptures. All the external decorations of the temple were intended to give honor to the goddess Athena, sublimely represented by the colossal gold and ivory image within the cella.

Pausanias describes the image of Athena Parthenos in great detail. From him we learn that the goddess stood upright, clad in a tunic reaching to the feet; that on her breast was the head of Medusa and on her head a helmet adorned with gryphons and a sphinx; that she held in one hand a Victory four cubits high, and in the other a spear, while at her feet was set a shield, and beside her spear a snake; and that the birth of Pandora was represented on the pedestal. Pliny (N. H. 36, 18) adds some important particulars: "He wrought on the convex side of the shield the Battle of the Amazons, on the concave the Battle of the Gods and Giants, on the sandals the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs. . . . On the basis the subject carved is what they call 'the birth of Pandora,' and the gods present at the birth are twenty in number." From other passages and inscriptions (cf. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, pp. 645 ff.) we learn that the height of the image was twenty-six cubits, that the face, feet, and hands were of ivory, and the pupils of precious stones. In addition to these literary sources the following works of art add to our knowledge of the image, namely: the Varvakeion and Lenormant statuettes in the National Museum at Athens; the Strangford shield in the British Museum; the Hermitage medallion at St. Petersburg, and various Athenian coins.

#### EXCURSUS XI. THE ERECHTHEUM

The temple generally known as the Erechtheum is situated on the northern side of the Acropolis, not far from the wall, in a slight depression about half way between the east and west ends.

As we observe from the study of the ground plan, the form of the Erechtheum is unique. The main structure is a quadrangular edifice 65½ feet long and 37 feet wide, resting on a basis of three steps. This main building has three vestibules (*προστώεις*), on the east, north, and south, forming entrances to the temple. As the temple was on a slope, the stereobate of the north and west sides is about 9 feet lower than that of the south



and east sides. At the eastern end we have a portico lined with six Ionic columns; at the northwest corner is a portico, with four Ionic columns in front, and one on each side behind the corner column; and at the southwest corner is a small porch with the roof supported by six *Korai* or *Caryatides*. The eastern portico, being fronted by six Ionic columns, gives the building the appearance of an Ionic hexastyle temple. At present the northernmost column is missing, having been carried off by Lord Elgin.

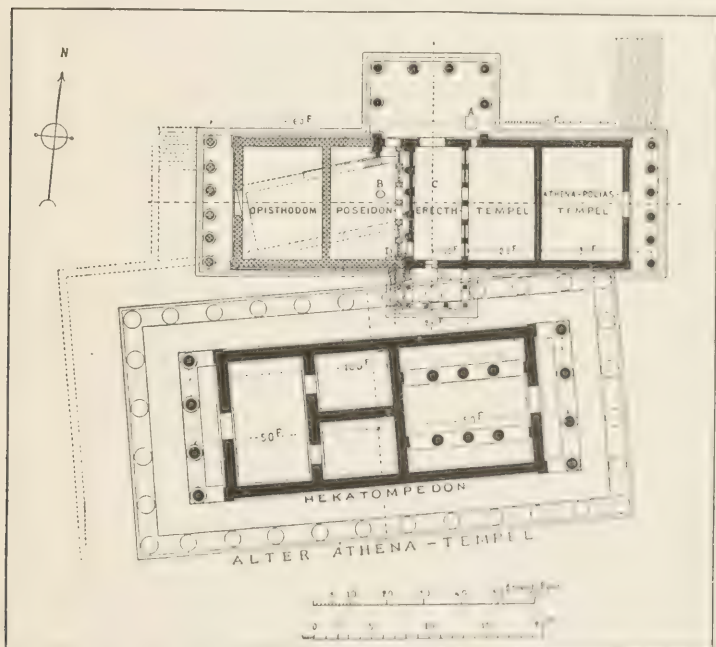


FIG. 5. ERECHTHEUM AND OLD TEMPLE OF ATHENA

The Ionic columns of the east portico are about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter, and 22 feet high. The base consists of two convex moldings (*tori*), separated by a *trochilus* or hollow molding. The upper torus is provided with 4 horizontal flutings. The shaft has 24 flutes separated by narrow fillets. As to the capital, the neck has a beaded molding and a frieze of palmettes; above this is an egg-and-tongue molding, and a plain band supporting the echinus or central cushion of the capital, which is adorned with

flutes and beads; the volutes are strongly marked with a double channel, and above this is a narrow abacus, enriched with an egg-and-tongue molding. The architrave consists of three horizontal members, as is usual in Ionic buildings, the second projecting a little beyond the first, and the third beyond the second. Above this is the frieze, about 2 feet in height, which ran completely round the building. The background is of black Eleusinian marble, to which were fastened figures sculptured in white marble. Owing to the mutilated condition of the fragments, the subject of the frieze has not been definitely determined. Stevenson, in *A. J. A. X* (1906), 47-71 [pl. vi-ix], has shown that the east wall was provided with windows, contrary to the usage of Greek temples.

The northwest portico is in the depression facing the north wall of the Acropolis. It is approached from the east by a flight of twelve steps, leading down to a paved area. The porch is bordered by six Ionic columns, four on the front, and one on each side between the corner column and the anta of the wall. The columns are larger and more beautiful even than those of the east front, exhibiting much more ornamental carving. On them rested the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice. The beautiful doorway has been frequently imitated. It narrows slightly as it approaches the top. Noteworthy are the heavy door-jambs with their enriched moldings and carved rosettes; the lintel of a similar ornamental nature with an additional molding on the top; the cornice with a richly carved band of ornament along its face; two carved brackets or consoles, one of which is now missing; and finally, above two courses of plain marble, a band of richly carved honeysuckle ornament and enriched molding forming a continuation of the capitals of the antae, immediately below the heavy-beamed and coffered ceiling.

Along the southern wall, at the southwest corner, is a third portico, much smaller than the other two. The roof is supported by six figures of maidens somewhat larger than life, standing on a parapet 8½ feet high, which incloses the porch. Inscriptions call these figures simply *korai*, "maidens," and the portico is very properly styled "the portico of the maidens." However, the term *caryatid* has come to be regularly applied to female figures serving as supports in architecture (cf. Vitruv. 1, 1, 5). The figures are arranged four in front, and two at the sides behind each corner figure. Two of the figures have been restored; one is a terra-cotta copy of the original carried off by Lord Elgin; the other three are the original figures *in situ*. The arms and hands of all six are missing. The figures form an admirable substitute for columns. The folds of the drapery

correspond to the flutings of a column; the rich masses of hair give an architectural roundness of outline similar to the echinus, so that the maidens seem fully equal to the burden they have to bear.

At the western end there is not an opisthodomos, as is usual in Greek temples, but the façade consists of a parapet of considerable height, on which rest four engaged columns, with rectangular windows in the intercolumniations. A small door in the wall admits to the western hall of the Erechtheum.

In the interior of the building we have the foundations of a cross-wall running from north to south just east of the great doorway opening to the north porch. Further, there are indications of the existence of the foundations of a cross-wall, or, more probably, a row of columns, a little more than half way between the first cross-wall and the west end of the temple. Thus the building was divided into three parts which may be conveniently called the east cella, the west cella, and the west hall. The east cella was entered from the east, the west cella and hall from the north portico. There was also a door in the cross-wall, and a row of steps leading down into the west cella from the east cella.

Under the north porch is a small crypt, entered from the interior of the building through a small door in the foundations of the north wall. The floor of the crypt is the native rock, and upon this are some irregular fissures which are supposed to be the marks shown in antiquity as those of Poseidon's trident (Paus. 1, 26, 5; Apollod. 3, 14, 1; Strabo, 9, p. 396). Some think the crypt may possibly have been the abode of the sacred serpent (Ar. Lysistr. 758; Hdt. 8, 41; Plut. Themistocles, 10).

In the west wall is a huge block of marble, 5 feet in thickness, one end of which rests on the same foundations as the caryatid portico. Beneath the middle of this block is a vacant space, later filled in with rough masonry of mediaeval date. The purpose of the block was manifestly to support the weight of the southwest corner of the Erechtheum, so as to keep intact some object below it. The presumption is that here was the *Ceopium* — probably a primitive vaulted tomb, mentioned in inscriptions (C.I.A. I, 322, 2).

Under the west hall are remains of a cistern, which was probably the *θάλασσα* formed by Poseidon when he struck the rock with his trident (Hdt. 8, 55).

West of the Erechtheum we have indications of the boundaries of a sacred precinct, running westward about 100 feet. This inclosure was doubtless the *Pandrosium*, or precinct of Pandrosus, mentioned by Pausanias (cf. C.I.A. I, 322, ll. 44, 45). In this precinct was the sacred

olive-tree of Athena, which sprang up in her contest with Poseidon, and, though burnt by the Persians, was found to have sprouted a cubit's length on the following day. Cf. Hdt. 8, 55; Philochorus, frag. 146 (Dion. Hal. de Din. 3); Apollod. 3, 14, 1, 2.

Pausanias is our chief authority as to the uses of the building and the relative position of the various sacred objects which it contained. In spite of the arguments of Dr. Dörpfeld and of Miss Harrison, it seems certain that the Old Athena Temple did not exist in Pausanias's time and that the whole of the text from 26, 6 to 27, 4 is a description of the building now known as the Erechtheum.

It is altogether probable that by the phrase *οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον* Pausanias referred merely to the west cella and hall, not to the whole building. The word *Ἐρέχθειον* occurs elsewhere only in Ps.-Plut. vit. x Or. p. 843 E, where it refers apparently to the chamber dedicated to Erechtheus. This is the view of Michaelis and Furtwängler. See also Schubart (Philol. 15, 385), who discusses Pausanias's usage of the word *οἶκημα*. The designation *Ἐρέχθειον* came to be used, however, for the whole building, just as did the term Parthenon for the greater temple.

Pausanias's description falls, therefore, into two parts, (1) the Erechtheum (1, 26, 5) or west cella and hall, (2) the naos of Athena Polias or the east cella (1, 26, 6-1, 27, 1). Adjacent was the sanctuary of Pandrosus (1, 27, 2). Now Pausanias speaks of the Erechtheum as double. In the west cella were doubtless (1) the altars to Poseidon-Erechtheus, to Butes, and to Hephaestus, and (2) the paintings of the Butadae; in the west hall was the salt well of Poseidon, or "the sea of Erechtheus" as it was also called (Apollod. 3, 14, 1; Hdt. 8, 55; Paus. 8, 10, 4), and in the crypt beneath were shown the marks of Poseidon's trident (cf. Strabo, 9, p. 396). Thence passing up the steps through the central door he entered the east cella, which was known as the naos of Athena Polias, where he saw chief of all (1) the old Athena agalma, (2) the lamp of Callimachus, and (3) various votive offerings.

Such was the construction of the Erechtheum as it was left unfinished by its architect, and as it exists to-day. Its plan has puzzled archaeologists and architects of every period, for it is obviously anomalous. As in the case of the Propylaea, so in the case of the Erechtheum, it has been Dr. Dörpfeld's<sup>1</sup> good fortune to reconstruct the complete design as it was probably conceived in the mind of its architect.

<sup>1</sup> See Dörpfeld, "Der ursprüngliche Plan des Erechtheion," A.M. xxix (1904), 101 ff. and Taf. 6, reproduced above, p. 281.

Dr. Dörpfeld holds that the temple was intended to consist of two cellas each fronted by a pronaos. The east cella is styled on the plan "Athena-Polias Temple," the west cella "opisthodomos." Between the east and west cellas is a building consisting of three chambers, bearing the designation "Poseidon-Erechtheus Temple." The middle chamber of this central portion is approached by two porticoes — the well-known northwest porch and the caryatid porch to the south. Thus the temple is given a symmetrical though somewhat complex form.

The complexity of form was occasioned by the fact that the temple was designed to replace both the Old Athena Temple and the old temple of Erechtheus with its manifold uses. Dr. Dörpfeld believes he has found traces of the old Poseidon-Erechtheus temple running diagonally under the western part of the new Erechtheum. The remains of the Old Athena Temple just to the south are well known. In supplanting the earlier temples by a common sanctuary Pericles planned that the east cella of the Old Athena Temple should be replaced by the east cella of the combined structure, and the opisthodomos of the old temple by the opisthodomos of the new. The old Erechtheum was reproduced in the building with three chambers, between the two parts of the structure, that took the place of the Old Athena Temple. The two porches to the north and south formed entrances to the Erechtheum proper, and at the same time gave suitable recognition to the mark of Poseidon's trident and the grave of Ccerops.

The sublime conception of the architect was not to be carried out. The new temple was doubtless begun before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. When it was found to be impossible to carry out the plan in its entirety a compromise was effected. The east cella was completed; two of the three chambers of the middle building were finished with the one to the west slightly reduced in size, and the western wall with its windows between engaged columns was given the form with which we are familiar.

Such is the theory of Dr. Dörpfeld in regard to the building of the Erechtheum. For historical evidence on this subject we are chiefly indebted to the famous Chandler inscription (C.I.A. I, 322), the date of which is 409 B.C. This inscription tells of the appointment of a commission to examine into the state of the building in order to ascertain what was still necessary for its completion. It shows that the work was already far advanced, and in all probability the temple was completed during the following year. The temple described is spoken of as that "in which is the ancient image," referring primarily to the east cella.

Xenophon (Hell. 1, 6, 1) states that the ancient temple on the Acropolis was set on fire, the date being 406 B.C. This probably referred to the Erechtheum which had replaced the old temple. The damage was not repaired immediately, as it appears to have been still incomplete in 395 B.C. (C.I.A. II, No. 829), but it must have been finished by 376 B.C. (C.I.A. II, No. 672). In Christian times the Erechtheum was turned into a church, with the necessary changes in its internal arrangements. The Turks used it as a dwelling-house, and to make an extra room the columns of the north portico were walled up. The building underwent great damage during the siege of the Acropolis by the Turks in 1827. It was repaired to some extent in 1838 and 1846, but in 1852 a storm blew down the engaged columns and the wall between them on the west end.

Within the past few years extensive restorations have been made on the Erechtheum, in order to preserve intact what has survived to us from ancient times.

#### EXCURSUS XII. THE OLD ATHENA TEMPLE

In 1885-1886, during the excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society, in the rectangular space long regarded as a sacred precinct just south of the Erechtheum, the foundations of a large ancient temple were discovered and excavated. Dr. Dörpfeld, who superintended the excavations, soon identified these remains with the sanctuary of Athena that had been burnt by the Persians when they sacked the Acropolis in 480 B.C., and styled it the "Old Athena Temple," which has become its popular designation. Fortunately from time to time architrave blocks, drums of columns, broken statues, and other architectural and sculptural fragments, many of which were built into the north wall, have come to light, and have been identified as belonging to this temple. As a result of these discoveries, a rather complete reconstruction of the building in all essential details has been made by Dr. Dörpfeld and his associates. The first ground plan of the temple appeared in the *Antike Denkmäler* of 1886. The results of the study of the architectural remains and of the fragments of sculpture preserved in the Acropolis Museum were given in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* of 1886 and succeeding years; and a complete account of this pre-Persian Doric temple, with elaborate illustrations, is given in *Wiegand-Schrader-Dörpfeld, Poros-Architektur der Akropolis*, Leipzig 1904. In this excursus we sketch merely the results of nearly a score of years of study as presented by the authors of this work.

The surface of the Acropolis where the temple was located was not naturally level, but sloped from southeast to northwest. Hence the site had to be artificially leveled. At the southeast corner the stylobate lay directly on the rock; on the northwest, however, foundation walls were built to the height of about ten feet; along the sides the height of the foundation walls steadily decreases from the northwest to the south and east, and their preservation is in proportion to their height. From a study of the ground plan<sup>1</sup> determined by the actual remains, we observe that there is a rectangular foundation wall surrounding the whole temple, on which rested the peristyle. Within this is a somewhat smaller rectangle which is divided by cross-walls into several compartments. At the east we have a rather narrow portico leading into the cella of the temple which is nearly square ( $33\frac{1}{2}$  ft.  $\times$  33 ft.); at the west, behind the portico, there is a somewhat larger chamber (38.3 ft.  $\times$  33 ft.) which contains two smaller rooms to the east, lying north and south of each other. The partition wall between the cella and the west chamber was without a door, suggesting that the former was for religious, the latter for secular purposes. From a study of the remains it is evident that we have here a temple about 100 Attic feet in length and 41 feet in breadth, around which was built a colonnade of the Doric order, with six columns at each end and twelve at each side, making it a hexastyle peripteral temple. Owing to its length the sanctuary was known as the Hekatompedon.

The foundation walls of the temple are not all of the same material. The foundations of the colonnade, including the stylobate, are of limestone from Kará at the foot of Mount Hymettus; those of the temple proper, of the bluish limestone of the Acropolis. The remains of columns, architrave blocks, and triglyphs are of poros; the metopes and pediment blocks are of a white coarse-grained marble. There are similar differences in technique between the colonnade and the building it surrounds. Both the material and the workmanship show that the naos was an early temple dating certainly not later than the seventh century, and that this primitive sanctuary of Athena was enriched with a colonnade and its marble embellishments during the supremacy of Pisistratus.

Thanks to the discovery of Athenian sculptures hidden away in the débris of the Acropolis after the Persian Wars, we can speak with definiteness of the plastic adornment not only of the enlarged temple of Pisistratus but also of the simpler amphiprostyle temple that existed long before his time. We shall take up first sculptures of the pediments of the pre-Pisistratean cella.

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 5, p. 281.

In the Acropolis Museum are several groups of highly colored poros pediment sculptures that undoubtedly belonged to primitive temples on the Acropolis. Certain of these are attributed by Wiegand and Schrader on good grounds to this earlier temple. The design of the western pediment fell into two parts. In one angle Heracles was represented as wrestling with the huge serpent Triton; the right-hand portion of the pediment was occupied by the strange figure with three human heads and bodies uniting in one snaky coil, extending to the end of the pediment, whose correct mythological name is supposed to be "Typhon." Yet he was no protagonist, only an interested spectator. The centre of the pediment was doubtless occupied by accessories, as the stem of a tree on which hung the bows and arrows and superfluous raiment of Heracles.

The eastern pediment was even more gorgeous in its embellishment. It may be briefly described as follows: Athena was seated in the apex; to her right was a seated and crowned figure which survives, and which must be regarded as a king or a god. The balancing figure to the left of the goddess is gone; the extant figure is usually called Zeus, but it was probably a subordinate god or a hero. Possibly Athena was represented as seated between Poseidon and Erechtheus. In each angle there was a great snake, the one blue and orange, the other a vivid emerald green, which were in all probability the two guardian snakes of the Acropolis, sometimes identified with Cecrops the snake king and his daughter Pandrosus.

When the colonnade was provided by Pisistratus, these rude poros sculptures were replaced by more imposing works in marble, and of these several figures of the group that were in the west pediment are in the Acropolis Museum. These consist of a colossal statue of Athena, and three figures of giants, besides other fragments, showing that the scene portrayed was the Battle of the Gods and Giants. Schrader concludes that the composition originally consisted of eight figures, of two of which we have no fragments whatever preserved. In the centre Athena bends over a fallen giant with the plume of his helmet grasped in her left hand. The two corners of the triangle were each filled by a giant, leaning forward with body supported on one knee and by one hand. As to the intervening parts between the centre and the extremities of the pediment, Schrader supplies to the right and left of Athena two groups consisting of a god standing and a giant fallen on one knee. The gods, probably Zeus and Heracles, rush from the centre against their adversaries who recoil toward the extremities. These eight figures would fairly occupy the space of the pediment.



Herodotus, 8, 53-55 records the burning and mutilation of the Old Athena Temple by the Persians. A sixth-century inscription (C.I.A. IV, pp. 137 ff.) speaks of a temple known as the Hekatompedon, and contains a provision that the chambers shall be opened by the treasurers. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that the reference here is to the compartments of the western end of this temple, which in his opinion were used as a treasury, while the naos contained the wooden image of Athena that fell from heaven. After the Persian Wars the poros and marble blocks of the colonnade were used in repairing the north wall, but the temple itself was restored and was the principal sanctuary on the Acropolis until the completion of the Parthenon in 438 B.C. We have already considered Dr. Dörpfeld's ground plan of the great marble temple which Pericles intended should replace the two poros temples of Athena and Erechtheus and embrace the holy "signs" and the grave of Cecrops. It is not known when the Old Athena Temple ceased to exist. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that the temple without the peristyle was restored shortly after the Persian War, serving as the principal temple on the Acropolis until the completion of the Parthenon, and that it continued to exist until the Roman or Byzantine period.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES, INTRODUCTION, AND APPENDIX

## PROPER NAMES AND TITLES

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Aesch. = Aeschylus<br/>           Aeschin. = Aeschines<br/>           A. Jb. = Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts<br/>           A.M. = Athenische Mittheilungen<br/>           Anacr. = Anacreon's genuine fragments<br/>           Anacreont. = Anacreontica (spurious)<br/>           Anth. P. = Anthologia Palatina<br/>           Anth. Plan. = Anthologia Planudea<br/>           Antiph. = Antiphanes<br/>           Apoll. Dysc. = Apollonius Dyscolus<br/>           Apollod. = Apollodorus<br/>           App. = Appianus<br/>           Ap. Rh. = Apollonius of Rhodes<br/>           Ar. = Aristophanes<br/>           Arat. = Aratus<br/>           Arcad. = Arcadius<br/>           Archil. = Archilochus<br/>           Arist. = Aristoteles<br/>           Aristid. = Aristides<br/>           Arr. = Arrianus<br/>           Ath. = Athenaeus<br/>           Att. = Attic<br/>           Ausg. Aufs. = Ausgewählte Aufsätze<br/>           Babr. = Babrius<br/>           Bekk. Anec. = Bekker's Anecdota Graeca<br/>           Berl. Philol. Woch. = Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift<br/>           Biog. Gr. = Biographi Graeci<br/>           Call. = Callimachus</p> | <p>C.I.A. = Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum<br/>           C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum<br/>           Clem. Al. = Clement of Alexandria<br/>           Dem. = Demosthenes<br/>           Dem. Phal. = Demetrius Phalereus<br/>           Dio C. = Dio Cassius<br/>           Diod. = Diodorus<br/>           Diog. L. = Diogenes Laërtius<br/>           Dion. H. = Dionysius of Halicarnassus<br/>           Droysen = Droysen's Geschichte des Hellenismus<br/>           E.M. or Etym. Magn. = Etymologicum Magnum<br/>           Eng. = English<br/>           Ep. = Epic<br/>           Eur. = Euripides<br/>           Eust. = Eustathius<br/>           G. = Goodwin's Greek Grammar<br/>           GMT. = Goodwin's Moods and Tenses<br/>           Gr. = Greek<br/>           H. = Hadley's Greek Grammar<br/>           Harp. = Harpocrates<br/>           Hdn. = Herodianus<br/>           Hdt. = Herodotus<br/>           Heliod. = Heliodorus<br/>           Hephaest. = Hephaestio<br/>           Hes. = Hesiodus<br/>           Hesychn. = Hesychnus<br/>           h. Hom. = Homeric hymns<br/>           Hipp. = Hippocrates</p> |
|---|--|

- H.N. = Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*  
 Hom. = Homerus  
 Il. = Homer's *Iliad* (A, B, Γ, etc., are used in referring to the different books)  
 Isocr. = Isocrates  
 Jb. f. Ph. = *Jahrbücher für Philologie*  
 J.H.S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*  
 Lat. = Latin  
 Long. = Longus  
 Longin. = Longinus  
 Luc. = Lucianus  
 LXX = Septuagint  
 Lys. = Lysias  
 L. & S. = Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*  
 Menand. = Menander  
 Od. = Homer's *Odysey* (α, β, γ, etc., are used in referring to the different books)  
 Paus. = Pausanias  
 Plat. = Plato  
 Plut. = Plutarch  
 Poet. Scen. Gr. = *Poetae Scenici Graeci*  
 Poll. = Pollux  
 Polyb. = Polybius  
 Rh. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*  
 Roscher = *Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, edited by W. Roscher  
 Schol. = scholiast  
 Simon. = Simonides  
 Soph. = Sophocles  
 S.Q. = *Schriftquellen zur Topographie von Athen*, by Milchhoefer, in *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, by E. Curtius, pp. 1-cxxiv  
 Steph. Byz. = Stephanus of Byzantium  
 Stesich. = Stesichorus  
 Stob. = Stobaeus  
 Suid. = Suidas  
 Theoc. = Theocritus  
 Theoph. = Theophrastus  
 Thuc. = Thucydides  
 Tyrt. = Tyrtaeus  
 Verg. = Vergilius  
 Vitruv. = Vitruvius  
 Xen. = Xenophon  
 Xenoph. = Xenophanes
- In abbreviating the names of Greek authors and of their works, Liddell and Scott's List has been generally followed.

## OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

- App. = Appendix  
 ch. or chap., chaps. = chapter, chapters (when numerals follow)  
 etc. = and so forth  
 f., ff. = following (after numerical statements)  
 gen. = genitive  
 ibid. = in the same place  
 id. = the same  
 i.e. = that is  
 inv. = imperative  
 intr. = intransitive, intransitively  
 κτλ. = και τὰ λοιπά  
 l.c. = loco citato  
 p., pp. = page, pages  
 Rem. = remark  
 sc. = scilicet  
 s.v. = sub voce  
 viz. = namely  
 v.l. = varia lectio  
 §, §§ = section, sections

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